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THE HISTORY
OF
ENGLISH POETRY,

FROM THE
CLOSE OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY
TO THE
COMMENCEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,
THREE DISSERTATIONS:
1. OF THE ORIGIN OF ROMANTIC FICTION IN EUROPE.
2. ON THE INTRODUCTION OF LEARNING INTO ENGLAND.
3. ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

BY
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FROM THE EDITION OF 1824
SUPERINTENDED BY THE LATE
RICHARD PRICE, Esq.
INCLUDING THE NOTES OF MR. RITSON, DR. ASHBY, MR. DOUCE, AND
MR. PARK.

NOW FURTHER IMPROVED BY THE CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS
OF SEVERAL EMINENT ANTIQUARIES.

IN THREE VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THOMAS TEGG, 73 CHEAPSIDE.

1840.

PRINTED BY RICHARD AND JOHN E. TAYLOR,
RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.



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THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.

SECTION VI.

Adam Davie flourished in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Specimens of his poetry. His Life of Alexander. Robert Baston's comedies. Anecdotes of the early periods of the English, French, and Italian drama.

ALTHOUGH much poetry began to be written about the reign of Edward the Second, yet I have found only one English poet of that reign whose name has descended to posterity^a. This is Adam Davy or Davie. He may be placed about the year 1312. I can collect no circumstances of his life, but that he was marshall of Stratford-le-bow near London^b. He has left several poems never printed, which are almost as forgotten as his name. Only one manuscript of these pieces now remains, which seems to be coeval with its author^c. They are VISIONS, THE BATTELL OF JERUSALEM, THE LEGEND OF SAINT ALEXIUS, SCRIPTURE HISTORIES, OF FIFTEEN TOKNES BEFORE THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT, LAMENTATIONS OF SOULS, and THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER^d.

In the VISIONS, which are of the religious kind, Adam Davie draws this picture of Edward the Second standing before the shrine of Ed-

^a Robert de Brunne, above mentioned, lived, and perhaps wrote some of his pieces, in this reign; but he more properly belongs to the last. [Warton need not have written *perhaps*, since he might have seen in Hearne's edition of de Brunne's Chronicle that it was not finished till 1338. The author should certainly be placed in Edward the Second's reign, although it is true that he *began* to compose his *Manuel des Péchés* in 1302. —M.]

^b This will appear from citations which follow.

^c MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. I 74. [622.] fol. membran. It has been much damaged, and on that account is often illegible.

^d In the manuscript there is also a piece in prose, entitled, *The Pylgrymages of the holi land*. f. 65—66. It begins: "Qwerr soever a cros standyth ther is a forgyvenes of payne." I think it is a description of the holy places, and it appears at least to be of the hand-writing of the rest.

ward the Confessor in Westminster abbey at his coronation. The lines have a strength arising from simplicity.

To our Lorde Jeshu Crist in heven
 Iche to day shawe myne sweven^e,
 That iche mette^f in one nycht,
 Of a knycht of mychel mycht:
 His name is yhote^e syr Edward the kyng,
 Prince of Wales Engelonde the fair thyng;
 Me mett that he was armid wele,
 Bothe with yrne and with stele,
 And on his helme that was of stel,
 A coroune of gold bicom him wel.
 Bifore the shrine of Seint Edward he stood,
 Myd glad chere and myld of mood^b.

Most of these Visions are compliments to the king. Our poet then proceeds thus:

Another suevene me mette on a twefnit¹
 Bifore the fest of Alhalewen of that ilke kniȝt,
 His name is nempned^k hure bifore,
 Blissed be the time that he was bore, &c.
 Of Syr Edward oure derworth^l kyng
 Iche mette of him anothere faire metyng, &c.
 Me thought he rood upon an asse,
 And that ich take God to witnesse;
 Ywonden he was in a mantell gray,
 Toward Rome he nom^m his way,
 Upon his hevede sate a gray hure,
 It semed him wel a mesure;
 He rood withouten hose and shlo,
 His wone was nough so for to do;
 His shankes semeden al bloodrede,
 Myne herte wopⁿ for grete drede;
 As a pylgrym he rood to Rome,
 And thider he com wel swithe sone.
 The thrid suevene me mette a niȝt
 Riȝt of that derworth knight:
 The Wednysday a nicht it was
 Next the dai of seint Lucie bifore Christenmasse, &c.
 Me thought that ich was at Rome,
 And thider iche come swithe sone,

^e dream.

^f dreamed. In the first sense, we have
me mette in Chaucer, Non. Pr. T. v. 1013.
 Urr. And below.

^k named.

^l twelfth-night.

^l dear-worthy.

ⁿ wept.

^b fol. 27.

^k named.

^m took.

The pope and syr Edward our kyng
 Bothe hy^o hadden a newe dubbyng, &c.
 Thus Crist ful of grace
 Graunte our kyng in every place
 Maistrie of his witherwines
 And of al wicked Sarasynes.
 Me mette a swevene one worthig^p a niȝth
 Of that ilche derworthi kniȝth,
 God iche it shewe and to wisesse take
 And so shilde me fro, &c.
 Into a chapel I cum of vre lefdy^q,
 Jhe Crist her leve^r son stod by,
 On rod^a he was an loveliche mon,
 Als thilk that on rode was don
 He unneled^t his honden two, &c.
Adam the marchal of *Stratford atte Bowe*
 Wel swithe wide his name is iknowe
 He himself mette thisⁱ metyng,
 To wisesse he taketh Jhesu hevene kyng,
 On wedenyssday^u in clene leinte^v
 A voice me bede I ne shulde nouȝt feinte,
 Of the suevenes that her ben write
 I shulde swithe don^x my lord kyng to wite.
 The thursday next the beryng^y of our lefdy
 Me thouȝth an aungel com syr Edward by, &c.
 Iche tell you forsoth withoutten les^z,
 Als God of hevene maide Marie to moder ches^a,
 The aungell com to me *Adam Davie* and seide
 Bot thou *Adam* shewe this thee worthe wel yvel mede, &c.
 Whoso wil speke myd me *Adam* the marchal
 In Stretforde bowe he is yknown and over al,
 Iche ne schewe nouȝt this for to have mede
 Bot for God almiȝtties drede.

There is a very old prose romance, both in French and Italian, on the subject of the *Destruction of Jerusalem*^b. It is translated from a

^o they.
^p worȝ. Orig. [on worthing nyth. Park, Coll.]
^q lady. ^r dear.
^s cross. ^t unneiled.
^u Wodenis day. Woden's day. *Wednesday*.
^v Lent.
^x make haste. [Swithe don to wite, quickly let him know.—RITSON.]
^y Christmas-day.
^z lies.
^a "As sure as God chose the Virgin Mary to be Christ's mother."

^b In an antient inventory of books, all French romances, made in England in the reign of Edward the Third, I find the romance of Titus and Vespasian. Madox, *Formul. Anglican.* p. 12. See also Scipio Maffei's *Traduttori Italiani*, p. 48. Crescimbeni (*Volg. Poes.* vol. i. l. 5. p. 317.) does not seem to have known of this romance in Italian. Du Cange mentions *Le Roman de la Prise de Jerusalem par Titus*, in verse. *Gloss. Lat. l. Ind. Auct.* p. cxciv. A metrical romance on this subject is in the royal manuscripts. 16 E. viii. 2. *Brit. Mus.* [The romance here referred to, re-

Latin work, in five books, very popular in the middle ages, entitled, *HEGESIPPI de Bello Judaico et Excidio Urbis Hierosolymitanæ Libri quinque*. This is a licentious paraphrase of a part of Josephus's Jewish history, made about the fourth century: and the name Hegesippus is most probably corrupted from Josephus, perhaps also called Josippus. The paraphrast is supposed to be Ambrose of Milan, who flourished in the reign of Theodosius^c. On the subject of Vespasian's siege of Jerusalem, as related in this book, our poet Adam Davie has left a poem entitled the *BATELL OF JERUSALEM*^d. It begins thus:

Listeneth all that beth alyve,
Both cristen men and wyve:
I wil you tel a wonder cas,
How Jhesu Crist bihated was,
Of the Jewes felle and kene,
That was on him sithe ysene,
Gospelles I drawe to witnesse
Of this mater more and lesse, &c.*

In the course of the story, Pilate challenges our Lord to single combat. This subject will occur again.

Davie's *LEGEND OF SAINT ALEXIUS THE CONFESSOR, SON OF EUPHEMIUS*, is translated from Latin, and begins thus:

All that willen here in ryme,
Howe gode men in olde tyme,
Loveden God almizth;
That weren riche, of grete valoure,
Kynge's sones and emperoure
Of bodies strong and liȝth;
Ȝee habbeth yherde ofte in geste,
Of holi men maken feste
Both day and nighth,

lates to the fabulous expedition of Charlemagne to Jerusalem, and has been printed with illustrative notes by M. Fr. Michel, 12mo. Lond. 1836. See vol. i. p. 128.—M.] There is an old French play on this subject, acted in 1437. It was printed in 1491. fol. M. Beauchamps, Rech. Fr. Theat. p. 134.

^c He mentions Constantinople and New Rome; and the provinces of Scotia and Saxonia. From this work the Maccabees seem to have got into romance. It was first printed at Paris. fol. 1511. Among the Bodleian manuscripts there is a most beautiful copy of this book, believed to be written in the Saxon times.

^d The latter part of this poem appears detached, in a former part of our manuscript, with the title *THE VENGEAUNCE*

OF GODDES DEATH, viz. f. 22 b. This latter part begins with these lines:

And at the fourty dayes ende,
Whider I wolde he bade me wende,
Upon the mount of olyvete, &c.

[This is probably the same as "*La Vengeance et Destruction de Iherusalem par personages executée par Vespasien et son filz Titus, contenant en soy plusieurs chroniques Rommaines tant du regne de Neron Empereur que de plusieurs aultres belles hystoires*." Printed at Paris, 1510. 4to. for Johan Trepperel. "The Dystruccion of Iherusalem, by Vaspazian and Tytus," was twice printed by W. de Worde, and once by Pynson. See Herbert's *Ames*, pp. 177, 220, 294.—Douce.]

^e MS. at supr. f. 72 b.

For to have the joye in hevene
 (With aungells song, and merry stevene,)
 The which is brode and briȝth :
 To you all heiȝe and lowe
 The riȝth sothe to biknowe
 ȝour soules for to save, &c.^f

Our author's SCRIPTURE HISTORIES want the beginning. Here they begin with Joseph, and end with Daniel.

For thritti pens^g thei sold that childe
 The seller hiȝth Judas,
 Itho^h Ruben com hom and myssed hym
 Sori ynough he was.ⁱ

HIS FIFTEEN TOKNES^k BEFORE THE DAY OF JUDGMENT, are taken from the prophet Jeremiah.

The first signe thar ageins, as our lord hymselfe sede,
 Hungere schal on erthe be, trecherie, and falshede,
 Batteles, and littell love, sēkenesse and haterede,
 And the erthe schal quaken that vche man schal ydrede :
 The mone schal turne to blood, the sunne to derkhede, &c.^l

Another of Davie's poems may be called the LAMENTATION OF SOULS. But the subject is properly a congratulation of Christ's advent, and the lamentation, of the souls of the fathers remaining in limbo, for his delay.

Off joye and blisse is my song careth to bileve^m,
 And to here hym among that al our sorouȝ shal reve,
 Ycome he is that swete dewe, that swete hony drope,
 The kyng of alle kynges to whom is al our hope :
 Becom he is our brother, whar was he so long ?
 He it is and no other, that bouȝth us so strong :
 Our brother we moweⁿ hym clepe wel, so seith hymself ilome^o.

^f MS. ut supr. f. 22-72 b.

^g thirty pence. ^h Ipo. Orig.

ⁱ MS. ut supr. f. 66-72 b.

^k tokens. ^l MS. ut supr. f. 71 b.

^m leave. ⁿ may.

^o sometimes. MS. ut supr. f. 72. [By an error of the press in the former edition, the reference to the note was affixed to the word "wel;" and though Warton in his Additions had pointed out the mistake, yet the candour of Mr. Ritson fastened on the original reading and exposed it as a voluntary and ignorant blunder. Could this gentleman have condescended to be just, or to confide in an interpretation furnished him by Warton, he might have avoided the erroneous explanation given

of "ylome" in the Glossary to his Metrical Romances, or at any rate have obtained a closer approximation to the true meaning than his own knowledge supplied him with.

Ure ship flet forth *ylome*;

which the Glossary renders *lately*. It is the Anglo-Saxon *ge-lome*, *sæpe*, frequently, *continuer*. In the Chronicle of England we have,

And yet the Englesche *ofte* ilome;

where "ofte" appears to be a gloss which has found its way into the text. "Oft and gelome" is the language of Cædmon.—PRICE.] }

My readers will be perhaps surprised to find our language improve so slowly, and will probably think, that Adam Davie writes in a less intelligible phrase than many more antient bards already cited*. His obscurity, however, arises in great measure from obsolete spelling, a mark of antiquity which I have here observed in exact conformity to a manuscript of the age of Edward the Second; and which in the poetry of his predecessors, especially the minstrel-pieces, has been often effaced by multiplication of copies, and other causes. In the mean time it should be remarked, that the capricious peculiarities and even ignorance of transcribers, often occasion an obscurity, which is not to be imputed either to the author or his age⁴.

But Davie's capital poem is the *LIFE OF ALEXANDER*, which deserves to be published entire on many accounts. It seems to be founded chiefly on Simeon Seth's romance above mentioned; but many passages are also copied from the French *ROMAN D'ALEXANDRE*, a poem in our author's age perhaps equally popular both in England and France. It is a work of considerable length⁷. I will first give some extracts from the Prologue.

Divers is this myddel erde
To lewed men and to lerid^a, &c.
Notheles, ful feole and fille
Beoth y-founde in heorte and wille
That hadde levere a ribaudye
Than to here of God, other of seynte Marie;

* [Mr. Campbell has observed upon this passage: "Warton anticipates the surprize of his reader in finding the English language improve so slowly when we reach the verses of Davie. The historian of our poetry had in a former section treated of Robert De Brunne as a writer anterior to Davie; but as the latter part of De Brunne's Chronicle was not finished till 1339, in the reign of Edward III., it would be surprising indeed if the language should seem to improve when we go back to the reign of Edward II." Essay on English Poetry, p. 57.—In this the usual accuracy and candour of Mr. Campbell appear to have forsaken him. The observation in the text is far from being a general one, and might have been interpreted to the exclusion of De Brunne. That such was Warton's intention is obvious from note ^a, p. 1, where he speaks of De Brunne as living, and probably composing some of his pieces, during the reign of Edward II. A date (1303) recorded in his translation of the *Manuel de Péchés*, was the cause of his being classed among the writers of the preceding reign.—PRICE.]

⁴ Chaucer in *Troilus* and *Cressida* men-

tions "the grete diversite in English, and in writing of our tongue." He therefore prays God, that no person would *miswrite*, or *misse-metre* his poem. lib. ult. v. 1792. seq.

⁷ [In attributing this romance to Davie, Warton has followed the authority of Tanner, who was probably led into the mistake by finding it bound up with the remaining works of this "poetic marshall." We are indebted to Mr. Ellis for detecting—upon the force of internal evidence—this misappropriation of a very spirited composition to the insipid author of the Legend of Saint Alexius. It has since been published from a transcript of the Lincoln's-Inn MS. made by Mr. Park, and forms the first volume in Mr. Weber's collection. In deference to the opinions of these gentlemen—opinions sanctioned as it would seem by the approbation of Mr. Douce and Mr. Ellis—the text has been supplied from the printed copy, though the Editor's private judgment is decidedly in favour of the Bodleian version.—PRICE.]

^a Leg. *lerd*. learned.

Other to drynke a coppe ful of ale,
 Than to here ony god tale:
 Soche Y wolde were oute-bishett;
 For sikerliche, hit weore nede.
 For they no haveth no joye, y wot wele
 Bote in the gutte and the barell.⁴

Adam Davie thus describes a splendid procession made by Olympias :

In this tyme faire and jolif^a
 Olimpias, that faire wif,
 Wolde make a riche feste
 Of knightis and ladies honeste,
 Of burgeys and of jugoleris
 And of men of eche mesteris^v,
 For mon seith by north and south
 Wimmen beth, ever selcouth;
 Muche they desirith to schewe heore body
 Heore faire heir, heore fair rody,
 To have los^w and praisyng:
 Al hit is folie by hevene kyng!
 So dude dame Olimpias
 To schewe hire gentil face.
 Scheo hette marchal, and knyghtis
 Greythen heom to ryde anon ryghtis.
 And ladies and demoselis
 Maken heom redy, a thousand delis,
 In faire atire, in divers coyntise
 Monye ther riden in riche wise.
 A myyle, al so whit as mylk
 With sadel of gold, semely of selk
 Was y-brought to theo quene
 With mony bellis of selver schene
 Y-fastened on orfreys^x of mounde
 That hongen adoun to theo grounde.
 Forth thei ferden^y with heore roite
 A thousand ladies of o swte.
 A speruer^z that was honeste
 So was at theo ladies feste :

^a The work begins thus:

Whilem clerkes wel ylerid
 Faire y-dyght this myddel erde,
 And clepid hit in here maistrie,
 Europe, Affryke, and Asyghe:
 At Asyghe al so muchul ys
 As Europe, and Affryk, I wis, &c.

And ends with this distich:

Alisaunder! me reowith thyn endyng
 That thou n'adest dyghed in cristenyng.

^v jolly.

^w of each, or every, profession, trade,
 sort. praise.

^x embroidered work, cloth of gold.

Aurifrigium, Lat.

^y fared: went.

^z sparrow-hawk; a hawk.

Four trumpes to-fore^a hire bleow
 Mony man that day hire kneow :
 An hundred and wel mo
 Alle abowed hire to.
 Al thes toun y-honged was^b
 Ageynes^c theo lady Olimpias.^d
 Orgles, tymbres, al maner gleo^e
 Was dryuen ageyn that lady freo.
 Withoute theo toun was mury :
 Was reised ther al maner pley^f;
 There was knyghtis turnyng
 There was maiden es carolyng
 There was champions skyrmyng^g,
 Of heom and of other wrastlyng
 Of liouns chas, of beore baityng
 And bay of bor^h, of bole slatyngⁱ.
 Al theo city was by-hong
 Of riche baudekyns and pellis^k among
 Dame Olimpias among this pres^l
 Sengle rod^m, al mantul-les.—
 Hire yolowe heirⁿ was fair atyred
 With ryche strynges of gold wyred
 And wryen hire abouten al^o
 To hire gentil myddel smal
 Bryght and fair was hire face^p
 Uche maner faired^q in hire was^r.

^a before.

^b "hung with tapestry." We find this ceremony practised at the entrance of lady Elisabeth, queen of Henry the Seventh, into the city of London.—"Al the strets ther whiche she shulde passe by wer clenly dressed and besene with cloth, of tappes-trye and arras, and some streetes as Chepe, hanged with riche clothes of golde, velvettes and silkes." This was in the year 1481. Leland. Coll. iv. Opuscul. p. 220. edit. 1770.

^c "against her coming."

^d See the description of the tournament in Chaucer, Knight's Tale, where the city is hanged with cloth of gold. v. 2570. Urr.

^e "organs, timbrels, all manner of music."

^f "all sorts of sports."

^g skirmishing.

^h "baying or bayting of the boar."

ⁱ *slaying* [baiting—M.] *bulls*; bull-feasts. Chaucer says that the chamber of Venus was painted with "white *bolis* grete." Compl. of Mars and Ven. v. 86.

^k skins.

^m rode single.

ⁿ yellow hair.

^o "covered her all over."

^p line 155.

^q beauty.

^r John Gower, who lived an hundred years after our author, has described the same procession, Confess. Amant. lib. vi. fol. 137 a. b. edit. Berthel. 1554.

But in that citee then was
 The quene, whiche Olimpias
 Was hote, and with solempnitee
 The feste of hir nativitee,
 As it befell, was than hold :
 And for hir lust to be behold,
 And preised of the people about,
 She shop hir for to riden out,
 Al affir meet al opinly.
 Anon al men were redie ;
 And that was in the month of Maie :
 This lusty quene in gode araie
 Was sette upon a mule white
 To sene it was a grete delite
 The joye that the citee made.
 With fresh thinges and with glade

Much in the same strain the marriage of Cleopatras is described.

Tho this message was hom y-come
 Ther was mony blithe gome
 With rose and swete flores
 Was strawed halles and bouris ;
 With samytes and baudekyns
 Weore cortined the gardynes.
 Alle the innes of the toun
 Haddyn litel foisoun^a,
 That day cam Clorpatras ;
 So mucle people with hire was.
 Upon a mule, whyt so mylk ;
 Hire harneys gold beten with selk.
 The prynce hire ladde of Sandas,
 And of Cydoyne sire Jonatas,
 Ten thousand barouns hire come myde,
 And to chirche they ryden.
 Spoused scheo is and set on deys :
 Now ginnith the geste of noblés :
 At theo feste was trumpyng,
 Pipyng and eke taboryng,
 Sytolyng and ek harpyng^t.

We have frequent opportunities of observing, how the poets of these times engraft the manners of chivalry on antient classical history. In the following lines Alexander's education is like that of Sir Tristram. He is taught tilting, hunting, and hawking.

Now con Alisaundre of skyrmyng,
 And of stedes disrayng,
 And of sweordis turnyng,
 Apon stede, apon justyng,
 And sailyng, of defendyng
 In grene wode of huntyng
 And of reveryng and of haukyng^u :
 Of batail and of al thyng.

The noble towne was al behonged ;
 And everie wight was son alonged
 To see this lustie ladie ryde.
 There was great mirth on al syde,
 When as she passed by the streate
 There was ful many a tymbre beate,
 And many a maide carolende.
 And thus throughout the town plaiende
 This quene unto the plaiene rode
 Whar that she hoved and abode
 To se divers games plae,
 The lustie folke just and tornaye.

An so couth every other man
 Which play with, his play began,
 To please with this noble queen.
 Gower continues this story, from a romance mentioned above, to fol. 140.
^a provision. ^t line 1023.
^u Chaucer, R. of Sir Thop. v. 3245.
 Urry's edit. p. 145.
 He couth hunt al the wild dere,
 And ride an *hawkyng by the rivers*.
 And in the Squyr of Low Degree, *supr.*
citat. p. 179.

In another place Alexander is mounted on a steed of Narbone*; and amid the solemnities of a great feast, rides through the hall to the high table. This was no uncommon practice in the ages of chivalry†.

He leap up, and hadde soon doon,
Apon a stede of faire bon; (Narabone)
He rod forth upon the lond
Theo riche croune in his hond,
Of Nicholas that he wan :
Byside rideth a gentil man.
To the paleis they gonne ride
And fond this feste in all pruyde
Forth goth Alisaundre, saun fable
Ryght to theo heygh table‡.

His horse Bucephalus, who even in classical fiction is a horse of romance, is thus described :

An horn the forbed amyrdward
That wolde perce scheldis hard.

To which these lines may be added :

Alisaundre arisen is
And sittith on his hygh deys
His duykes and his barouns saun doute
Stondith and sittith him aboute‡.

The two following extracts are in a softer strain, and not inelegant for the rude simplicity of the times :

Mury is the blast of the styvour†
Mury is the twynkelyng of the harpour‡;
Swote is the smeol of flour
Swete hit is in maidenen bour

——— Shall ye ryde
On hawkyng by the river syde.
Chaucer, *Franklein's Tale*, v. 1752. p. 111.
Urr. edit.

These fauconers upon a faire rivere
That with the hawkis han the *heron*
slaine.

* [The Lincoln's Inn MS. reads "faire bone," which is probably the correcter version.—PRICE.]

† See Observations on the Fairy Queen, i. § v. p. 146.

‡ line 1075.

§ I cannot explain this word. It is a wind-instrument.

¶ This poem has likewise, in the same vein, the following well-known old rhyme, which paints the manners, and is perhaps the true reading, line 1163.

Swithe mury hit is in halle
When the *burdes wawen alle*.

And in another place we have,

Mury hit is in halle to here the harpe;
The mynstrall syngith, theo jogolour
carpith.—l. 5990.

Here, by the way, it appears, that the minstrels and juglers were distinct characters. So Robert de Brunne, in describing the coronation of king Arthur, apud Anstis, Ord. Gart. i. p. 304.

Jogleurs wer ther inouh
That wer queitise for the drouh,
Mynstrels many with dyvers glew, &c.

And Chaucer mentions "*minstrels* and *eke joglours*." Rom. R. v. 764. But they are often confounded or made the same.

Appeol swote berith faire colour
In treowe love is swote amour^a.

Again,

In tyme of May, the nyghtyngale
In wode makith miry gale ;
So doth the foules grete and smale
Som on hulle, som on dale^b.

Much the same vernal delights, cloathed in a similar style, with the addition of knights turneyng and maidens dancing, invite king Philip on a progress ; who is entertained on the road with hearing tales of ancient heroes.

Mery time it is in May
The foules syngeth her lay ;
The knighttes loueth the tornay
Maydens so dauncen and thay play.
The kyng forth rideth his journey
Now hereth gest of grete noblay^c.

Our author thus describes a battle^d :

Alisaundre to-fore is ryde
And mony gentil knyght him myde
Ac, for to abide his maignè freo
He abideth undur a treo.
xl. thousand chivalrie
He heom taketh in his bataillè.
He dassceth forth overward
Theo othres comen afterward :
He soughte his knyghtis in mischef
He tok hit in heorte agref.
He tok Bulsifal^e in the syde ;
As a swalewe he can forth glide.
A duyck of Perce sone he mette
With his launce he him grette ;
He perced his bruny and clewyd his scheld,
Theo heorte he carf ; so he him yeilded :
Theo duyck feol down to the grounde
He starf quykliche of that wounde.
Alisaundre tho aloud saide,
Other tole nane Y payd :
Yut ye schole, of myn paye
Or Y go hennes, more asay !
Anothir launce in honde he hent ;
Ageyns the Prynce of Tyre he went,

^a line 2571.

^b line 2546.

^c line 5210.

^d line 3776.

^e Bucephalus.

And smot him thorough the breste thare
 And out of his sadel him bare ;
 And Y sey, for soth thyng
 He brak his lance in the fallyng.
 Octiater, with muche wondur
 Antiochim hadde him undur,
 With his sweord he wolde his heved
 Fro the body have y-weved.
 He sygh Alisaundre the gode gome
 To him wardes swithe come
 He left his pray and fleygh to hors
 For to save his owne cors.
 Antiocus on stede he leop
 Of no wounde tok he kep ;
 And eke he hadde y-mad furford
 Alle y-mad with speris ord^f.
 Tholomeus and his felawe^g
 Of this socoure weore ful fawe.
 Alisaundre made a cry hardy
Ore tost, ore tost, aly ! aly !
 There knyghtis of Akaye
 Justed with heom of Arabye ;
 Tho^h of Rome, and heo of Mede
 Mony lond with othir yeode
 Egipte justed with Tire
 Simple knyghtis with riche sire ;
 There was yeve no forberying ;
 Bytweone favasourⁱ and kyng,
 To-fore, me myghte, and by hynde
 Contek^k seche and kontek fynde.
 With Perciens foughte Egregies^l ;
 Ther ros cry, and gret noyse.
 They kydde^m there they nere nyce
 They braken speres to sclyces :
 Me myght fynde knyghtis there,
 Mony on lost his justere :
 There was sone in litel thraweⁿ,
 Many gentil knyght y-slawe ;
 Mony arm, mony hed^o,
 Was sone fro the body weved :
 Mony gentil levedy^p
 There les hire amy^q :

^f point^g fellows.^h they.ⁱ servant ; subject.^k strife.^l Greeks.^m thought [shewed].ⁿ short time.^o head.^p lady.^q paramour.

There was mony mon killed
 And mony fair pencil by bled^r.
 There was sweord lakkyng^a
 There was spere bathyng^t.
 Bothe kynges there, saun doute
 Beoth y-beten, with al heore rowte;
 The on to don men of him speke
 The other his harmes for to wreke.
 Mony loundes nygh and feor.
 Losten heore lordes in that weorre.
 The eorthe quakid of hir rydyng
 The wede^u thicked of heore cryeng
 Theo blod of heom that was slawen
 Ran by flodis and by lauen, &c.

I have already mentioned Alexander's miraculous horn*.

He blew his horn, saun doute
 His folk come swithe aboute:
 And he heom saide with voys clere,
 "Y bidde, freondes, ye me hére!
 Alisaundre is y-come in this lond
 With stronge knyghtis, and myghty of hond."

Alexander's adventures in the deserts among the Gymnosopists, and in Inde, are not omitted. The authors whom he quotes for his vouchers, shew the reading and ideas of the times."

Thoo Alisaundre went thorough desert
 Many wondres he seigh apert^a
 Whiche he dude wel descryve
 By good clerkes in her lyve
 By Aristotle his maister that was
 Better clerk sithen non nas.
 He was with hym and seigh and wroot
 Alle thise wondres, (god it woot)
 Salomon that al the werlde thorough yede
 In sooth witnesse helde hym myde.

^r "many a rich banner, or flag, sprinkled with blood."

^a clashing. ["Lakkyng seems to mean *licking* (blood) as the poet speaks of spears bathing in blood." WEBER.—This phrase is one of frequent occurrence in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and bears a very different import from that given by Mr. Weber: *sweord-lac* A. S. *gladiorum ludus*, from *lacan*, to play.—PRICE.]

^t MS. *bajing*. I do not understand the word. [There seems no difficulty in under-

standing the word in its usual sense—the points of the spears were *bathed* in blood.—M.]

^u weather, sky.

* [It is most probable that Warton interpreted this passage of Alexander's horn: Mr. Weber certainly has; though the context plainly shews that it was Darius who blew it.—PRICE.]

^w line 4772.

^x saw openly.

Ysidre^y also, that was so wys
 In his bokes telleth this.
 Maister Eustroge bereth hym wnesse
 Of the wondres more and lesse.
 Seynt Jerome, yee shullen y-wyte
 Hem hath also in book y-wryte;
 And Magestene, the gode clerk
 Hath made therof mychel werk.
 Denys that was of gode memorie
 It sheweth al in his book of storie;
 And also Pompie^a of Rome lorde,
 Dude it writen every worde.
 Beheldeth me therof no fynder^a;
 Her bokes ben my shewer
 And the lyf of Alysaunder
 Of whom fleigh so riche sklaunder.
 Yif yee willeth yive listnyng
 Now yee shullen here gode thing.
 In somers tyde the day is long;
 Foules syngeth and maketh song
 Kyng Alisaunder y-went is,
 With dukes, erles, and folk of pris,
 With many knighth and doughtty man,
 Toward the cité of Facen;
 After kyng Porus that flowen^b was
 Into the cité of Bandas:
 He wolde wende thorough desert
 Thise wonders to seen apert.
 Gyoures he name^c of the londe
 Fyve thousande I understonde
 That hem shulden lede ryth^d,
 Thorough desert by day and nyth.
 The gyoures loveden the kyng noughth
 And wolden have hym bycaughth:
 Hy ledden hym therfore als I fynde
 In the straungest peryl of Ynde.
 Ac, so ich fynde in the book
 Hy were asshreynt in her crook.
 Now rideth Alisaunder with his ost,
 With mychel pryde and mychel boost;
 Ac ar hy comen to castel, oither toun
 Hy shullen speken another lessoun.

^y *Isidore*. He means, I suppose, Isidorus Hispalensis, a Latin writer of the seventh century.

^a He means Justin's Trogus Pompeius

the historian, whom he confounds with Pompey the Great.

^a "don't look on me as the inventor."

^b fled.

^c took.

^d straight.

Lordynges, also I fynde
 At Mede so bigynneth Ynde :
 Forsothe ich woot, it stretcheth ferrest,
 Of alle the londes in the est,
 And oth the south half sikerlyk
 To the cee taketh of Affryk ;
 And the north half to a mountayne,
 That is ycleped Caucasyn^e.
 Forsothe yee shullen understonde
 Twyes is somer in the londe
 And never more wynter ne chalen^f.
 That londe is ful of al wele ;
 Twyes hy gaderen fruyt there
 And wyne and corne in one yere.
 In the londe als I fynde, of Ynde
 Ben citès five thousynde ;
 Withouten ydles and castles,
 And boroughs tounes swithe feles^g.
 In the londe of Ynde thou mighth lere
 Nyne thousynde folk of selcouth^h manere
 That ther non is other yliche ;
 Ne held thou it noughth ferlich
 Ac by that thou understonde the gastes
 Bethe of man and ek of beestes, &c.

Edward the Second is said to have carried with him to the siege of Stirling castle, in Scotland, a poet named Robert Baston. He was a Carmelite friar of Scarborough ; and the king intended that Baston, being an eye-witness of the expedition, should celebrate his conquest of Scotland in verse. Hollingshead, an historian not often remarkable for penetration, mentions this circumstance as a singular proof of Edward's presumption and confidence in his undertaking against Scotland : but a poet seems to have been a stated officer in the royal retinue when the king went to war¹. Baston, however, appears to have been chiefly a Latin poet, and therefore does not properly fall into our series. At least his poem on the siege of Striveling castle is written in monkish Latin hexameters¹ : and our royal bard being taken prisoner in the expedition, was compelled by the Scotch to write a panegyric, for his

^e Caucasus.

^f chill, cold.

^g very many.

^h uncommon.

¹ Leland. Script. Brit. p. 338. Hollingsh. Hist. ii. p. 217. 220. Tanner mentions, as a poet of England, one Gulielmus Peregrinus, who accompanied Richard the First into the Holy Land, and sung his achievements there in a Latin poem, entitled *ODOFORICON RICARDI REGIS*, lib. i. It is dedicated to Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, and Stephen Turn-

ham, a captain in the expedition. He flourished about A. D. 1200. Tann. Bibl. p. 591. See Voss. Hist. Lat. p. 441. He is called "poeta per eam ætatem excellens." See Bal. lib. 45. Pits. 266.

[See Leland. Script. Brit. p. 228. And a note in the editor's first Index, under *GULIELMUS DE CANNO*.—ADDITIONS.]

¹ It is extant in Fordun's *Scoti-chron.* c. xxiii. l. 12.

ransom, on Robert Brus, which is composed in the same style and language^k. Bale mentions his *Poemata, et Rhythmi, Tragœdiæ et Comœdiæ vulgares*^l. Some of these indeed appear to have been written in English: but no English pieces of this author now remain. In the mean time, the bare existence of dramatic compositions in England at this period, even if written in the Latin tongue, deserve notice in investigating the progress of our poetry. For the same reason I must not pass over a Latin piece, called a comedy, written in this reign, perhaps by Peter Babyon; who by Bale is styled an admirable rhetorician and poet, and flourished about the year 1317. This comedy is thus entitled in the Bodleian manuscript, *De Babione et Croceo domino Babionis et Viola filiastra Babionis quam Croceus duxit invito Babione, et Pecula uxore Babionis et Fodio suo, &c.*^m It is written in long and short Latin verses, without any appearance of dialogue. In what manner, if ever, this piece was represented theatrically, cannot easily be discovered or ascertained. Unless we suppose it to have been recited by one or more of the characters concerned, at some public entertainment. The story is in Gower's *CONFESSIO AMANTIS*. Whether Gower had it from this performance I will not enquire. It appears at least that he took it from some previous book.

I find writte of Babio,
Which had a love at his menage,
Ther was no fairer of hir age,
And hight Viola by name, &c.

^k Leland. ut supr. And MSS. Harl. 1819. Brit. Mus. See also Wood, Hist. Ant. Univ. Oxon. i. p. 101.

^l Apud Tanner, p. 79.

^m Arch. B. 52.

[It is difficult to account for the decided yet erroneous manner in which Warton has spoken of this piece. In the Cotton manuscript, (Titus A. xx.) the several parts of the dialogue are distinguished by initial capitals; and on the opposite side stand marginal notices of the change of person. Thus: "Babio, Violæ; Viola, Babioni; Fodius, Babioni; Babio, Croceo."—The Comedy of Geta noticed below, and also occurring in the Cotton MS., is founded on the ancient fable of Jupiter's intrigue with Alcmena. It is in the same style of dialogue with Babio, and has similar marginal directions; such as "Jupiter, Alcmenæ; Alcmena, Jovi." The line quoted by Warton occurs in what may be called the Prologue. The Cotton MS. affords no clue as to the date of these singular productions. It contains a farrago of rhythmical pieces from the time of Gualo (1160) to Baston and perhaps later. But in France such pieces appear to have been current during the twelfth century. Du

Boulay has noticed a tragedy *de Flaura et Marco*, and a comedy called *Alda*, written by William of Blois in the reign of Louis VII. (1137–1180). See Hist. Univ. Par. tom. ii. p. 337.—PRICE.]

[The Geta is a middle age version of the subject of one of the comedies of Plautus, and was probably written about the same time as the Babio, namely, the beginning of the thirteenth century. The author was Vital of Blois (Vitalis Ble-sensis). Several similar poems are found in MS. in the continental libraries. They certainly bear no marks of having been intended for dramatic pieces. The only MSS. known of the Babio are, the one in the British Museum, and two in the Bodleian library: those of the Geta are very numerous. The latter was first printed by Angelo Maio, at Rome, and since by Frederic Osann, at Darmstadt. A more complete text by the aid of better MSS., along with the Babio, and some other similar pieces, has been published by the writer of this note. The Alda was written by Matthæus Vindocinensis. See further Dr. Endlicher's excellent Catalogue of the Vienna MSS.—W.]

And had affaited to his hande
 His servant, the which Spodius
 Was hote, &c.
 A fresh a free and friendly man, &c.
 Which Croceus by name hight, &c.ⁿ

In the mean time it seems most probable, that this piece has been attributed to Peter Babyon, on account of the likeness of the name BABIO, especially as he is a ridiculous character. On the whole, there is nothing dramatic in the structure of this nominal comedy; and it has certainly no claim to that title, only as it contains a familiar and comic story carried on with much scurrilous satire intended to raise mirth. But it was not uncommon to call any short poem, not serious or tragic, a comedy. In the Bodleian manuscript, which comprehends Babyon's poem just mentioned, there follows *COMEDIA DE GETA*: this is in Latin long and short verses^o, and has no marks of dialogue^p. In the library of Corpus Christi college at Cambridge, is a piece entitled *COMEDIA ad monasterium de Hulme ordinis S. Benedicti Dioces. Norwic. directa ad Reformationem sequentem, cujus data est primo die Septembris sub anno Christi 1477, et a morte Joannis Fastolfe militis eorum benefactoris^q precipui 17, in cujus monasterii ecclesia humatur^r*. This is nothing more than a satirical ballad in Latin; yet some allegorical personages are introduced, which however are in no respect accommodated to scenical representation. About the reign of Edward the Fourth, one Edward Watson, a scholar in grammar at Oxford, is permitted to proceed to a degree in that faculty, on condition that within two years he would write one hundred verses in praise of the university, and also compose a COMEDY^s. The nature and subject of Dante's COMEDY, as it is styled, is well known^t. The comedies ascribed to Chaucer are probably his Canterbury Tales. We learn from Chaucer's own words, that tragic

^o Lib. v. f. 109. b. Edit. Berth. 1554.

^p Carmina composuit, voluitque placere poeta.

^q f. 121.

^r In the episcopal palace at Norwich is a curious piece of old wainscot brought from the monastery of Hulme at the time of its dissolution. Among other antique ornaments are the arms of Sir John Falstaff, their principal benefactor. This magnificent knight was also a benefactor to Magdalene College in Oxford. He bequeathed estates to that society, part of which were appropriated to buy liveries for some of the senior scholars. But this benefaction in time yielding no more than a penny a week to the scholars who received the liveries, they were called, by way of contempt, *Falstaff's buckram-men*.

^s Miscell. M. p. 274.

^t Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. ii. 4. col. 2.

^u [In the dedication of his *Paradise* to

Can della Scala, Dante thus explains his own views of Tragedy and Comedy: "Est comœdia genus quoddam poeticæ narrationis ab omnibus aliis differens. Differt ergo in materia a tragœdia per hoc, quod tragœdia in principio est admirabilis et quieta, in fine sive exitu, fœtida et horribilis..... Comœdia vero inchoat asperitatem alicujus rei, sed ejus materiam prospere terminatur.—Similiter differunt *in modo loquendi*." He has also expatiated upon the distinctive styles peculiar to such compositions, in his treatise "De vulgari Eloquentia;" though his precepts when opposed to his practice have proved a sad stumbling-block to the critics: "Per Tragœdiam superiorem styllum induimus, per Comœdiam inferiorem... Si tragice canenda videntur, tum adsumendum est vulgare illustre. Si vero comice, tum quandoque mediocre, quandoque humile vulgare sumatur." Lib. ii. c. iv.—PRICE.]

tales were called TRAGEDIES. In the Prologue to the *MONKES TALE*—

TRAGEDY is to tell a certaine story,
As old bokis makin ofte memory,
Of hem that stode in grete prosperite,
And be fallen out of her high degree, &c.[†]

Some of these, the Monke adds, were written in prose, others in metre. Afterwards follow many tragical narratives: of which he says,

TRAGIDIES first wol I tell
Of which I have an *hundred* in my cell.

Lidgate further confirms what is here said with regard to comedy as well as tragedy.

My maister Chaucer with fresh COMEDIES,
Is dead, alas! chief poet of Britaine:
That whilom made ful piteous TRAGEDIES[‡].

The stories in the *MIRROR OF MAGISTRATES* are called TRAGEDIES, so late as the sixteenth century[‡]. Bale calls his play, or MYSTERY, of God's PROMISES, a TRAGEDY, which appeared about the year 1538.

I must however observe here, that dramatic entertainments, representing the lives of saints and the most eminent scriptural stories, were known in England for more than two centuries before the reign of Edward the Second. These spectacles they commonly styled MIRACLES. I have already mentioned the play of saint Catharine, acted at Dunstable about the year 1110[‡]: William Fitz-Stephen, a writer of the

[†] v. 85. See also, *ibid.* v. 103. 786. 875.

[‡] Prol. F. Pr. v. i. See also Chaucer's *Troil.* and *Cr.* v. 1785. 1787.

[‡] The elegant Fontenelle mentions one Parasols a Limosin, who wrote *Cinque belles TRAGEDIES des gestes de Jeanne reine de Naples*, about the year 1383. Here he thinks he has discovered, so early as the fourteenth century, "une Poete tragique." I have never seen these five Tragedies, nor perhaps had Fontenelle. But I will venture to pronounce, that they are nothing more than five tragical narratives: Queen Jane murdered her four husbands, and was afterwards put herself to death. See Fontenelle's *Hist. de Theatr. Fr.* *Œuvr.* tom. trois. p. 20. edit. Paris, 1742. 12mo. Nor can I believe that the *Tragedies* and *Comedies*, as they are called, of Anselm Fayditt, and other early troubadours, had anything dramatic. It is worthy of notice, that Pope Clement the Seventh rewarded Parasols for his five *tragedies* with two canonries. Compare *Recherches sur les Theatr. de France*, par M. de Beauchamps, Paris, 1735. 4to. p. 65.

[‡] Dissertation ii.

[Perhaps the plays of Hroswitha, a nun of Gandersheim in Lower Saxony, who lived towards the close of the tenth century, afford the earliest specimens of dramatic composition, since the decline of the Roman Empire. They were professedly written for the benefit of those Christians, who, abjuring all other heathen writers, were irresistibly attracted by the graces of Terence, to the imminent danger of their spiritual welfare and the certain pollution of their moral feelings. Hroswitha appears to have been impressed with a hope, that by contrasting the laudable chastity of Christian virtue as exhibited in her compositions, with what she is pleased to term the lewd voluptuousness of the Grecian females, the Catholic world might be induced to forget the antient classic; and to receive with avidity an orthodox substitute, combining the double advantage of pleasure and instruction. How far her expectations were gratified in this latter particular, it is impossible to say; but we can easily conceive, that the almost total obliviscence of the Roman author during

twelfth century, in his *DESCRIPTION OF LONDON*, relates that, "London, for its theatrical exhibitions, had holy plays, or the representation of miracles wrought by confessors, and of the sufferings of martyrs¹." These pieces must have been in high vogue at our present period; for Matthew Paris, who wrote about the year 1240, says that they were such as "*MIRACULA VULGARITER APPELLAMUS*." And we learn from

the succeeding ages, must have surpassed even her sanguine wishes. It does not appear that these dramas were either intended for representation, or exhibited at any subsequent period. They have been published twice: by Conrad Celtes in 1501, and Leonhard Schurzleisch in 1707. They have also been analysed by Gottsched in his *Materials for a History of the German Stage*. Leip. 1757.—Pez (in his *Thesaur. Noviss. Anecd.* vol. ii. p. iii. f. 185.) has published an ancient Latin Mystery, entitled "*De Adventu et Interitu Antichristi*," and which he acknowledges to have copied from a manuscript of the twelfth century. It approaches nearer to the character of a pageant, than to the dramatic cast of the later mysteries. The dumb show appears to have been considerable; the dialogue but occasional; and ample scope is given for the introduction of pomp and decoration. The passages to be declaimed are written in Latin rhyme. Lebeuf also mentions a Latin Mystery written so early as the time of Henry I. of France (1031—1061). In this, Virgil is associated with the prophets who come to offer their adorations to the new-born Messiah; and at the conclusion he joins his voice with theirs in singing a long *Benedicamus*. A fragment of what may be a German translation of the same mystery, and copied from a manuscript of the thirteenth century, will be found in Dietrich's *Specimen Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, p. 122. Marburg 1642. But here, Virgil appears as an acknowledged heathen; and he is only admitted with the other prophets from his supposed predictions of the coming Messiah contained in his *Pollio*. In conformity with this opinion, Dante adopted him as his guide in the *Inferno*. —PRICE.]

¹ "*Lundonia pro spectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis scenicis, ludos habet sanctiones, representationes miraculorum quæ sancti confessores operati sunt, seu representationes passionum quibus claruit constantia martyrum.*" *Ad calc.* Stowe's *Survey of London*, p. 480. edit. 1599. The reader will observe, that I have construed *sanctiones* in a positive sense. Fitz-Stephen mentions at the end of his tract, "*Imperatricem Matildem, Henricum regem tertium, et beatum Thomam,*

&c." p. 483. Henry the Third did not accede till the year 1216. Perhaps he implied *futurum regem tertium*. [Fitz-Stephen is speaking of Henry the younger, son of Henry II. and grandson to the empress Matilda, who was crowned king in the life-time of his father; and is expressly styled *Henricus Tertius* by Matthew Paris, William of Newbery, and several other of our early historians.—RITSON.]

² Vit. Abbat. ad calc. Hist. p. 56. edit. 1639.

[William de Wadington (who possibly was a contemporary of Matthew Paris) has left a violent tirade against this general practice of acting Miracles. As it contains some curious particulars relative to the manner in which they were conducted, and the places selected for exhibiting them, an extract from it may not be out of place here.

Un autre folie apert
 Unt les fols clers cuntrové;
 Qe miracles sunt apelé.
 Lur faces unt la deguisé,
 Par visers li forsené,
 Qe est defendu en décrée;
 Tant est plus grant lur peché.
 Fere poent representement,
 Mes qe ceo seit chastement.
 En office de seint eglise
 Quant hom fet la, Deu servise.
Cum Ihu Crist le fist Dée,
En sepulcre esteit poé;
Et la resurreccion:
 Par plus aver devociun.
 Mes fere foles assemblez,
 En les rues des cites,
 Ou en cymiters apres mangiers,
 Quant venent les fols volonters,
 Tut dient qe il le sunt pur bien:
 Crere ne les devez pur rien,
 Qe fet seit pur le honur de Dée.
 E iuz del Deable pur verité.
 Seint Ysidre me ad testimonie,
 Qe fut si bon clerc lettré.
 Il dit qe cil qe sunt spectacles,
 Cum l'em fet en miracles,
 Ou iuz qe vus nomames einz,
 Burdis ou turnemens,
 Lur baptesme unt refusez,
 E Deu de ciel reneiez, &c.
 Ke en lur iuz se delitera,
 Chevals ou harnais les apretera,

Chaucer, that in his time PLAYS OF MIRACLES were the common resort of idle gossips in Lent.

Therefore made I my visitations,
To prechings eke and to pilgrimagis,
To PLAYS of MIRACLES, and mariagis, &c.^a

This is the genial WIFE OF BATH, who amuses herself with these fashionable diversions, while her husband is absent in London, during the holy season of Lent. And in PIERCE PLOWMAN'S CREDE, a piece perhaps prior to Chaucer, a friar Minorite mentions these MIRACLES, as not less frequented than markets or taverns.

We haunten no tavernes, ne hobelen abouten,
Att markets and MIRACLES we medeley us never^b.

Among the plays usually represented by the guild of Corpus Christi at Cambridge, on that festival, LUDUS FILIORUM ISRAELIS was acted in the year 1355^c. Our drama seems hitherto to have been almost entirely confined to religious subjects, and these plays were nothing more than an appendage to the specious and mechanical devotion of the times. I do not find expressly, that any play on a profane subject, either tragic or comic, had as yet been exhibited in England. Our very early ancestors scarce knew any other history than that of their religion. Even on such an occasion as the triumphant entry of a king or queen into the city of London, or other places, the pageants were almost entirely Scriptural^d. Yet I must observe, that an article in one of the pipe-

Vesture ou autre ournement,
Sachez il fet folement.
Si vestemens serent dediez,
Plus grant dassez est le pechez.
Si prestre ou clerc le ust presté,
Bien dust estre chaustié;
Car sacrilege est pur verité.
E ki par vanite les verrunt,
De lur fet partaverunt.
Harl. MS. 273. f. 141.—PRICE.]

In the same library there is also another, written on paper in the year 1611. Arch. B. 31. Of this last there is a translation in the British Museum. MSS. Harl. 1867 2. It is entitled the CREATION OF THE WORLD. It is called a Cornish play or opera, and said to be written by Mr. William Jordan. The translation into English was made by John Keigwin of Moushole in Cornwall, at the request of Trelawney, bishop of Exeter, 1691. Of this William Jordan I can give no account. In the British Museum there is an antient Cornish poem on the death and resurrection of Christ. It is on vellum, and has some rude pictures. The beginning and end are lost. The writing is supposed to be of the fifteenth century. MSS. Harl. 1782. 4to. See the learned Lwhyd's Archæol. Brit. p. 265. And Borlase's Cornwall, Nat. Hist. p. 295. edit. 1758.

^a Prol. Wif. B. v. 555. p. 80. Urr.
^b Signat. A. iii. b. edit. 1561.
^c Masters's Hist. C. C. C. p. 5. vol. i. [Perhaps the earliest English *Miracle-Play* extant, is "Our Saviour's Descent into Hell," noticed by Mr. Strutt in his "Manners and Customs of the People of England," vol. 2. It has been recently transcribed for publication from a MS. temp. Edward II. Mr. Croft, in his "Excerpts Antiquas," has given a specimen of the Corpus Christi pageant as it was exhibited at York in the thirteenth century.—PRICE.] What was the antiquity of the *Guany-Miracle*, or *Miracle-Play* in Cornwall, has not been determined. In the Bodleian library are three Cornish interludes, written on parchment. B. 40. Art.

^d When our Henry the Sixth entered Paris in 1431, in the quality of king of France, he was met at the gate of St. Denis by a Dumb Shew, representing the birth of the Virgin Mary and her marriage, the adoration of the three kings, and the parable of the sower. This pageant indeed was given by the French: but

rolls, perhaps of the reign of king John, and consequently about the year 1200, seems to place the rudiments of histrionic exhibition, I mean of general subjects, at a much higher period among us than is commonly imagined. It is in these words: "Nicola uxor Gerardi de Canvill, reddit computum de centum marcis pro maritanda Matildi filia sua cuicunque voluerit, exceptis MIMICIS regis^c."—"Nicola, wife of Gerard of Canville, accounts to the king for one hundred marks for the privilege of marrying his [her] daughter Maud to whatever person she pleases, the king's MIMICS excepted." Whether or no MIMICI REGIS are here a sort of players kept in the king's household for diverting the court at stated seasons, at least with performances of mimicry and masquerade, or whether they may not strictly imply MINSTRELLS, I cannot indeed determine. Yet we may remark, that MIMICUS is never used for MIMUS, that certain theatrical entertainments called mascardes, as we shall see below, were very antient among the French, and that these MIMICI appear, by the context of this article, to have been persons of no very respectable character^f. I likewise find in the wardrobe-rolls of Edward the Third, in the year 1348, an account of the dresses, *ad faciendum LUDOS domini regis ad festum Natalis domini celebratos apud Guldeford*, for furnishing the plays or sports of the king, held in the castle of Guildford at the feast of Christmas^g. In these LUDI, says my record, were expended eighty tunics of buckram of various colours, forty-two visours of various similitudes, that is, fourteen of the faces of women, fourteen of the faces of men with beards, fourteen of heads of angels, made with silver; twenty-eight crests^h, fourteen mantles embroidered with heads of dragons; fourteen white tunics wrought with heads and wings of peacocks, fourteen heads of swans with wings, fourteen tunics painted with eyes of peacocks, fourteen tunics of English linen painted, and as many tunics embroidered with stars of gold and silverⁱ. In the rolls of the wardrobe of king

the readers of Hollingshead will recollect many instances immediately to our purpose. See Monstrelet. apud Fonten. Hist. Theatr. ut supr. p. 37.

^c Rot. incert. ut videtur Reg. Johann. apud MSS. James, Bibl. Bodl. vii. p. 104.

[In the Gentleman's Magazine for January 1785, it has been ingeniously suggested that for *mimicis regis*, we should probably read "inimicis regis," and that the king's enemies were the persons excepted.—PARK.] [After this volume was printed, the Editor was politely informed by the Rev. James Dallaway, that the original roll reads "inimicis regis," and that the phrase was a common office form. Warton was misled by an erroneous transcript in the Bodleian library.—PRICE.]

^f John of Salisbury, who wrote about 1160, says, "Histriones et mimi non possunt recipere sacram communionem." Policrat. i. 8.

^g Comp. J. Cooke, Provisoris Magnæ Garderob. ab ann. 21 Edw. I. ad ann. 23. Membr. ix.

^h I do not perfectly understand the Latin original in the place, viz. "xiiij Crestes cum tibiis reversatis et calceatis, xiiij Crestes cum montibus et cuniculis." Among the stuffs are "viii pelles de Roan." In the same wardrobe rolls, a little above, I find this entry, which relates to the same festival: "Et ad faciendum vi pennecellos pro tubis et clarionibus contra festum natalis domini, de syndone, vapulatos de armis regis quartellatis." Membr. ix.

ⁱ Some perhaps may think, that these were dresses for a MASQUE at court. If so, Hollingshead is mistaken in saying, that in the year 1512, "on the daie of Epiphanie at night, the king with eleven others were disguised after the manner of Italie called a maske, a thing not seen be-

Richard the Second, in the year 1391, there is also an entry which seems to point out a sport of much the same nature. "*Pro xxi coifs de tela linea pro hominibus de lege contrafactis pro LUDO regis tempore natalis domini anno xii^k.*" That is, "for twenty-one linen coifs for counterfeiting men of the law in the king's play at Christmas." It will be sufficient to add here on the last record, that the serjeants at law at their creation, antiently wore a cap of linen, lawn, or silk, tied under the chin: this was to distinguish them from the clergy who had the tonsure. Whether in both these instances we are to understand a dumb shew, or a dramatic interlude with speeches, I leave to the examination of those who are professedly making enquiries into the history of our stage from its rudest origin. But that plays on general subjects were no uncommon mode of entertainment in the royal palaces of England, at least at the commencement of the fifteenth century, may be collected from an old memoir of shews and ceremonies exhibited at Christmas, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, in the palace of Westminster. It is in the year 1489. "This cristmas I saw no disguysings, and but *right few* PLAYS. But ther was an abbot of Misrule, that made much sport, and did right well his office." And again, "At nyght the kyng, the qweene, and my ladye the kynges moder, cam into the Whitehall, and ther hard a PLAY^l."

As to the religious dramas, it was customary to perform this species of play on holy festivals in or about the churches. In the register of William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, under the year 1384, an episcopal injunction is recited, against the exhibition of SPECTACULA in the cemetery of his cathedral^m. Whether or no these were dramatic SPECTACLES, I do not pretend to decide. In several of our old scriptural plays, we see some of the scenes directed to be represented *cum*

fore in England. They were apparelled in garments long and broad wrought all with gold, with visors and caps of gold," &c. Hist. vol. iii. p. 812. a. 40. Besides, these maskings most probably came to the English, if from Italy, through the medium of France. Hollingshead also contradicts himself: for in another place he seems to allow their existence under our Henry the Fourth, A.D. 1400. "The conspirators ment upon the sudden to have set upon the king in the castell of Windsor, under colour of a *maske* or *mummerie*," &c. *ibid.* p. 515. b. 50. Strype says there were PAGEAUNTS exhibited in London when queen Eleanor rode through the city to her coronation, in 1236. And for the victory over the Scots by Edward the First in 1298. Anecd. Brit. Topograph. p. 725. Lond. edit. 1768.

^k Comp. Magn. Garderob. an. 14. Ric. II. f. 193. b.

^l Leland. Coll. iii. Append. p. 256. edit. 1770.

^m Registr. lib. iii. f. 88. "*Canere Cantilenas, ludibriorum spectacula facere, saltationes et alios ludos inhonestos frequentare, choreas,*" &c. So in Statut. Eccles. Nannett. A.D. 1405. No "*mimi vel jocolatores, ad monstra larvarum in ecclesia et cemeterio,*" are permitted. Marten. Thesaur. Anecd. iv. p. 993. And again, "*Jocolatores, histriones, saltatrices, in ecclesia, cemeterio, vel porticu.—nec aliquæ choreæ.*" Statut. Synod. Eccles. Leod. A.D. 1287. apud Marten. ut *supr.* p. 846. Fontenelle says, that antiently among the French, comedies were acted after divine service, in the church-yard. "*Au sortir du sermon ces bonnes gens alloient a la Comedie, c'est a dire, qu'ils changeoint de Sermon.*" Hist. Theatr. ut *supr.* p. 24. But these were scriptural comedies, and they were constantly preceded by a BENEDICTE, by way of prologue. The French stage will occur again below.

cantu et organis, a common rubric in the missal. That is, because they were performed in a church where the choir assisted. There is a curious passage in Lambarde's Topographical Dictionary written about the year 1570, much to our purpose, which I am therefore tempted to transcribe^a. "In the dayes of ceremonial religion, they used at Wytney (in Oxfordshire) to set fourthe yearly in maner of a shew, or interlude, the resurrection of our Lord, &c. For the which purposes, and the more lyvely heareby to exhibite to the eye the hole action of the resurrection, the priestes garnished out certain smalle puppettes, representing the persons of Christe, the watchmen, Marie, and others; amongst the which, one bare the parte of a wakinge watchman, who espiinge Christe to arise, made a continual noyce, like to the sound that is caused by the metynge of two styckes, and was thereof commonly called *Jack Snacker of Wytney*. The like toye I myself, beinge then a childe, once sawe in Poule's church at London, at a feast of Whitsuntyde; wheare the comynge downe of the Holy Gost was set forthe by a white pigion, that was let to fly out of a hole that yet is to be sene in the mydst of the roofe of the greate ile, and by a longe censer which descendinge out of the same place almost to the verie grounde, was swynge up and downe at suche a lengthe, that it reached with thone swepe almost to the west-gate of the church, and with the other to the quyre staires of the same; breathinge out over the whole church and companie a most pleasant perfume of such swete thinges as burned therein. With the like doome shewes also, they used everie where to furnish sondrye parts of their church service, as by their spectacles of the nativitie, passion, and ascension," &c.

This practice of acting plays in churches was at last grown to such an enormity, and attended with such inconvenient consequences, that in the reign of Henry the Eighth, Bonner, bishop of London, issued a proclamation to the clergy of his diocese, dated 1542, prohibiting "all maner of common plays, games, or interludes to be played, set forth, or declared, within their churches, chapels," &c.^b This fashion seems to have remained even after the Reformation, and when perhaps profane stories had taken place of religious^c. Archbishop Grindal, in the year 1563, remonstrated against the danger of interludes: complaining that players "did, especially on holy days, set up bills inviting to their play^d." From this ecclesiastical source of the modern drama, plays continued to be acted on sundays so late as the reign of Elizabeth, and even till that of Charles the First, by the choristers or singing-boys of Saint Paul's cathedral in London, and of the royal chapel.

^a Pag. 459. edit. 1730. 4to.

^b Burnet. Hist. Ref. i. Coll. Rec. pag. 225.

^c From a puritanical pamphlet entitled *The third Blast of Retrait from Plaies*, &c. 1580. 12mo. p. 77. Where the author says, the players are "permitted to publish their mamettrie in everie temple

of God, and that, throughout England," &c. This abuse of acting plays in churches is mentioned in the canon of James the First, which forbids also the profanation of churches by court-leets, &c. The canons were given in the year 1603.

^d Strype's Grindall, p. 82.

It is certain, that these MIRACLE-PLAYS were the first of our dramatic exhibitions. But as these pieces frequently required the introduction of allegorical characters, such as Charity, Sin, Death, Hope, Faith, or the like, and as the common poetry of the times, especially among the French, began to deal much in allegory, at length plays were formed entirely consisting of such personifications. These were called MORALITIES. The miracle-plays, or MYSTERIES, were totally destitute of invention or plan: they tamely represented stories according to the letter of scripture, or the respective legend. But the MORALITIES indicate dawnings of the dramatic art: they contain some rudiments of a plot, and even attempt to delineate characters, and to paint manners. From hence the gradual transition to real historical personages was natural and obvious. It may be also observed, that many licentious pleasantries were sometimes introduced in these religious representations. This might imperceptibly lead the way to subjects entirely profane, and to comedy, and perhaps earlier than is imagined. In a mystery^r of the MASSACRE OF THE HOLY INNOCENTS, part of the subject of a sacred drama given by the English fathers at the famous council of Constance, in the year 1417^s, a low buffoon of Herod's court is introduced, desiring of his lord to be dubbed a knight, that he might be properly qualified to *go on the adventure* of killing the mothers of the children of Bethlehem. This tragical business is treated with the most ridiculous levity. The good women of Bethlehem attack our knight-errant with their spinning-wheels, break his head with their distaffs, abuse him as a coward and a disgrace to chivalry, and send him home to Herod as a recreant champion with much ignominy. It is in an enlightened age only that subjects of scripture history would be supported with proper dignity. But then an enlightened age would not have chosen such subjects for theatrical exhibition. It is certain that our ancestors intended no sort of impiety by these monstrous and unnatural mixtures. Neither the writers nor the spectators saw the impropriety, nor paid a separate attention to the comic and the serious part of these motley scenes; at least they were persuaded that the solemnity of the subject covered or excused all incongruities. They had no just idea of decorum; consequently but little sense of the ridiculous: what appears to us to be the highest burlesque, on them would have made no sort of impression. We must not wonder at this, in an age when courage, devotion, and ignorance, composed the character of European manners; when the knight going to a tournament, first invoked his God, then his mistress, and afterwards proceeded with a safe conscience and great resolution to engage his antagonist. In these Mysteries I have sometimes seen gross and open obscenities. In a play of *the Old and New Testament*^t, Adam and Eve are both exhibited

^r MSS. Digb. 134. Bibl. Bodl. [Printed by the Abbotsford Club, 4to. 1836.—M.]

^s L'Enfant. ii. 440.

^t MSS. Harl. 2013, &c. Exhibited at Chester in the year 1327, at the expence of the different trading companies of that

on the stage naked, and conversing about their nakedness : this very pertinently introduces the next scene, in which they have coverings of fig-leaves. This extraordinary spectacle was beheld by a numerous assembly of both sexes with great composure : they had the authority of scripture for such a representation, and they gave matters just as they

city. *The Fall of Lucifer* by the Tanners. *The Creation* by the Drapers. *The Deluge* by the Dyers. *Abraham, Melchisedech, and Lot* by the Barbers. *Moses, Balak, and Balaam* by the Cappers. *The Salutation and Nativity* by the Wrights. *The Shepherds feeding their flocks by night* by the Painters and Glaziers. *The three Kings* by the Vintners. *The Oblation of the three Kings* by the Mercers. *The Killing of the Innocents* by the Goldsmiths. *The Purification* by the Blacksmiths. *The Temptation* by the Butchers. *The last Supper* by the Bakers. *The Blindmen and Lazarus* by the Glovers. *Jesus and the Lepers* by the Corvesarys. *Christ's Passion* by the Bowyers, Fletchers, and Ironmongers. *Descent into Hell* by the Cooks and Innkeepers. *The Resurrection* by the Skinners. *The Ascension* by the Taylors. *The election of S. Mathias, Sending of the holy ghost, &c.* by the Fishmongers. *Antechrist* by the Clothiers. *Day of Judgment* by the Websters. The reader will perhaps smile at some of these COMBINATIONS. This is the substance and order of the former part of the play:—God enters creating the world : he breathes life into Adam, leads him into Paradise, and opens his side while sleeping. Adam and Eve appear naked and *not ashamed*, and the old serpent enters lamenting his fall. He converses with Eve. She eats of the forbidden fruit and gives part to Adam. They propose, according to the stage-direction, to make themselves *subligacula a foliis quibus tegamus Pudenda*. Cover their nakedness with leaves, and converse with God. God's curse. The serpent *exit* hissing. They are driven from Paradise by four angels and the cherubim with a flaming sword. Adam appears digging the ground, and Eve spinning. Their children Cain and Abel enter : The former kills his brother. Adam's lamentation. Cain is banished, &c.

[A few brief extracts from this collection will be found in the second volume of Mr. Strutt's "Manners and Customs of the People of England," and in Mr. Lysons' *Magna Britannia* (co. Cheshire). See also Mr. Ormerod's *Hist. of Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 296.—The contradictions in the Chester registers, which record the exhibition of these plays, have caused a diversity of opinion as to the period of their appear-

ance, and the name of their author. If Sir John Arnwaie were mayor of Chester in the year 1269, "in [which] yere," it is said, "the Whitson plays were invented in Chester by one Rondoll Higden, a monk in the Abby of Chester," (Harl. MS. 2125. f. 272 verso) it is very evident that they could not have been written by the same Randall Higden who continued the *Polychronicon* to 1344, and whose death is placed by Bale in 1363. There are, however, some suspicious circumstances attending the document which contains this statement, that render its accuracy extremely questionable. It professes to be a catalogue of Mayors from the 24th of Henry III. which however it dates in the year 1257—a trifling error of seventeen years,—it acknowledges a difference of chronology from all preceding registers, which it justifies by the stale device of having consulted "true and ancient deeds;" and it attempts to invalidate the accounts generally received, by saying they were all compiled *so late* as the reign of Edward III. The document itself is of the seventeenth century; and as the Chester antiquaries have been unable to adduce any collateral testimonial favouring its authenticity, it may not be too much to affirm, that the whole account bears strong internal marks of being a blundering attempt to fill a vacancy in the Chester annals between the reigns of Henry and Edward. The existence of one John Arnwaie at this period (noticed by Mr. Ormerod), who be it observed is styled neither knight nor mayor of Chester, can hardly be considered as corroborative evidence. If we reject the authority of this catalogue, the chronological discrepancies become trifling. Sir John Arnwaie and Randall Higden are then made contemporaries; and the later traditions—for such they seem to be—may easily be reconciled with historical facts. In Geo. Bellen's Catalogue of the Mayors and Sheriffs of Chester, from 1317 to 1622, (Harl. MS. 2125. f. 197.) we find it stated under the year 1327, when Sir John Arnwaie was mayor: *The Whitson plays first made by one Dan Randall [Higgenett] a moonke of Chester Abbey [who was thrise at Rome before he could obtayn leave of the Pope to have them in the English tonge]* The passages within brackets appear to be the

found them in the third chapter of Genesis. It would have been absolutely heresy to have departed from the sacred text in personating the primitive appearance of our first parents, whom the spectators so nearly resembled in simplicity : and if this had not been the case, the dramatists were ignorant what to reject and what to retain.

In the mean time, profane dramas seem to have been known in France at a much earlier period^u. Du Cange gives the following picture of the king of France dining in public before the year 1300. During this ceremony, a sort of farces or drolls seems to have been exhibited. All the great officers of the crown and the household, says he, were present. The company was entertained with the instrumental music of the minstrells, who played on the kettle-drum, the flagellet^v, the cornet, the Latin cittern, the Bohemian flute, the trumpet, the Moorish cittern, and the fiddle. Besides there were "des FARCEURS, des jongleurs, et des plaisantins, qui divertissoient les compaignies

additions of a later hand. In the Harl. MS. 1948. f. 48, it is also said, under the year 1339,—that one Randoll Higden, a monk in the Abbaye of Chester, did translate the same (Whitson plays) into Englishe. The plays accord with this declaration, and attribute the authorship to one Don Rondall. A proclamation bound up with them, and bearing date 24th Henry VIII. (1533) assigns their first appearance to the mayoralty of John Arnwaie, though it contains the following notice of the author : "a play . . . was devised and made by one Sir Henry Frances sometyne Moonck of this monastery dissolved who obtayning and gat of Clemant then. busshop of Rome a 1000 dayes of pardon and of the busshop of Chester at that tyme 40 dayes of pardon . . . to every person resorting in peaceable maner with good devotion to heare and see the sayd playes," &c.—In all these accounts the tradition is consistent, that the mysteries originated during the mayoralty of Sir John Arnwaie ; and, with the exception of the last-mentioned document, that they were written by Don Randall or Randoll Higden. To this assertion of the proclamation, we can oppose the decided testimony of the prologue to the plays ; and Mr. Lysons has suggested an easy solution of the difficulty, by supposing Frances to have been instrumental only in procuring the indulgence from Pope Clement. This, if obtained of Clement VI. (as there is every reason to believe), must have occurred between the years 1342–1352 ; and the distance of time would account for the confusion of his labours with those of Higden. There is nothing improbable in the statement that Higden translated these plays from the Latin ; though his journeys to Rome, enshrined as they are in the

mystic number three, savour strongly of traditionary exaggeration. Perhaps in this we have the counterpart to the narrative in the proclamation ; for the equity of tradition rather delights in awarding reciprocal compensations, than in restoring to the contending claimants their original property.—PRICE.]

^u John of Salisbury, a writer of the eleventh century, speaking of the common diversions of his time, says, "*Nostra ætas prolapsa ad fabulas et quævis inania, non modo aures et cor prostituit vanitati,*" &c. Policrat. i. 8. An ingenious French writer, Mons. Duclos, thinks that PLAYS are here implied. By the word *Fabula*, says he, something more is signified than dances, gesticulation, and simple dialogue. *Fable* properly means composition, and an arrangement of things which constitute an action. Mem. Acad. Inscr. xvii. p. 224. 4to. But perhaps *fabula* has too vague and general a sense, especially in its present combination with *quævis inania*, to bear so precise and critical an interpretation. I will add, that if this reasoning be true, the words will be equally applicable to the English stage.—At Constantinople it seems that the stage flourished much under Justinian and Theodora, about the year 540. For in the Basilical codes we have the oath of an actress *μη ἀναχωρεῖν τῆς πορνείας*. Tom. vii. p. 682. edit. Fabrot. Græco-Lat. The antient Greek fathers, particularly St. Chrysostom, are full of declamation against the drama ; and complain, that the people heard a comedian with much more pleasure than a preacher of the Gospel.

^v I believe, a sort of pipe. This is the French word, viz. Demy-canon. See Carpent. Du Cange, Gl. Lat. i. p. 760.

par leur faceties et par leur COMEDIES, pour l'entretien." He adds, that many noble families in France were entirely ruined by the prodigious expences lavished on those performers². The annals of France very early mention buffoons among the minstrels at these solemnities; and more particularly that Louis le Debonnaire, who reigned about the year 830, never laughed aloud, not even when at the most magnificent festivals, players, buffoons, minstrels, singers, and harpers, attended his table³. In some constitutions given to a cathedral church in France, in the year 1280, the following clause occurs. "Nullus SPECTACULIS aliquibus quæ aut in *Nuptiis* aut in *Scenis* exhibentur, intersit⁴." Where, by the way, the word *Scenis* seems to imply somewhat of a professed stage, although the establishment of the first French theatre is dated not before the year 1398⁵. The play of ROBIN and MARIAN is said to have been performed by the school-boys of Angiers, according to annual custom, in the year 1392⁶. A royal carousal given

² Dissertat. Joinv. p. 161.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Montfaucon. Cat. Manuscript. p. 1158. See also Marten. Thesaur. Anecd. tom. iv. p. 506: Stat. Synod. A.D. 1468. "Larvaria ad Nuptias," &c. Stowe, in his Survey of London, mentions the practice of acting plays at weddings.

* [A modern French antiquary (M. Roquefort) has claimed a much higher antiquity for the establishment or rather origin of the French stage; though upon principles, it must be allowed, which have a decided tendency to confound all distinctions between the several kinds of poetic composition. The beautiful tale of Aucassin and Nicolette, is the corner stone upon which this theory reposes; and which, as the narrative is interspersed with song, seems to have induced a belief, that the recitations were made by a single Trouvere, and the poetry chaunted by a band of attendant minstrels. Admitting this to be the case—yet for which no authority is offered—the approximation to dramatic composition is equally remote as when left in the hands of a solitary declaimer. Upon this ground every ballad, or romantic tale, which is known to have been accompanied by music and the voice, might be styled "a monument of theatric art;" and by analogy, the rhapsodists of Greece, who sang the Iliad at the public games, might be said to have "enacted the plays" of Homer. Nor is the argument in favour of the *Jeux-partis*, or such fabliaux as the *deux Bordoers ribauds*, in any degree more admissible. In all these pieces there is nothing more than a simple interchange of opinion, whether argumentative or vituperative, without pretension to incident, fable, or development of character. Indeed, if a multiplicity of

interlocutors would alone constitute a drama, the claim of Wolfram von Eschenbach to be the founder of the German stage (as some of his countrymen have maintained) would be undeniable. In his "Krieg auf Wartburg," a singular monument of early (1207) improvisatorial skill, the declaimers in the first part are six and in the second three Master or Minne-singers. But this poem, like the *Tençons* of the Troubadours, is a mere trial of poetical ingenuity, and bears a strong resemblance both in matter and manner to the *Torneymens* of the same writers. That it was not considered a play in earlier times, is clear from an illumination published by Mr. Dozen; where the actors in this celebrated contest are represented seated and singing together, and above them is this decisive inscription: Hie krieget mit sange Herr Walther von der Vogelweide, &c. *Here batailleth in song*, &c. However, should this theory obtain, Solomon, bishop of Constance in the tenth century, will perhaps rank as the earliest dramatist at present known: Metro primus et coram Regibus plerumque pro ludicio cum aliis certator. Ekkehardus de Casibus S. Galli, p. 49.—PRICE.]

* The boys were *deguisez*, says the old French record: and they had among them *un Fillette deguisee*. Carpent. ubi supr. V. ROBINET. PENTECOSTE. Our old character of MAYD MARIAN may be hence illustrated. It seems to have been an early fashion in France for schoolboys to present these shews or plays. In an antient manuscript, under the year 1477, there is mentioned "Certaine MORALITE, ou FARSE, que les escolliers de Pontoise avoit fait, ainsi qu'il est de coutume." Carpent. ubi supr. V. MORALITAS. THE MYSTERY

by Charles the Fifth of France to the emperor Charles the Fourth, in the year 1378, was closed with the theatrical representation of the *Conquest of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bulloign*, which was exhibited in the hall of the royal palace^b. This indeed was a subject of a religious tendency; but not long afterwards, in the year 1395, perhaps before, the interesting story of PATIENT GRISILDE appears to have been acted at Paris. This piece still remains, and is entitled *Le MYSTERE de Grisildis, marquise de Saluce*^c. For all dramatic pieces were indiscriminately called MYSTERIES, whether a martyr or a heathen god, whether saint Catharine or Hercules was the subject.

In France the religious MYSTERIES, often called PITEAUX, or PITEUX, were certainly very fashionable, and of high antiquity: yet from any written evidence, I do not find them more antient than those of the English. In the year 1384, the inhabitants of the village of Aunay, on the Sunday after the feast of Saint John, played the MIRACLE of Theophilus, "ou quel Jeu avoit un personnage de un qui devoit getter d'un canon^d." In the year 1398, some citizens of Paris met at Saint Maur to play the PASSION of CHRIST. The magistrates of Paris, alarmed at this novelty, published an ordonnance, prohibiting them to represent "aucuns jeux de personages soit de vie de saints ou autre-

OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT is said to have been represented in 1424, by the boys of Paris placed like statues against a wall, without speech or motion, at the entry of the duke of Bedford, regent of France. See J. de Paris, p. 101. And Sauval, Ant. de Paris, ii. 101.

[*Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, the piece alluded to in the text, has been analysed by M. le Grand in the second volume of his "Fabliaux et Contes." It is there called *Le Jeu du Berger et de la Bergere*, and by him attributed to Adan de le Hale, nicknamed le Boçu d'Arras. In this he is followed by M. Meon, the editor of Barbazan's Fabliaux, who also ascribes to the same author a play called *Le Jeu du Mariage*. M. Roquefort catalogues "Robin et Marion" among the works of Jehan Bodel d'Arras, the author of three plays called *Le Jeu de Pelerin*, *Le Jeu d'Adam ou de la Feuillée*, *Le Jeu de St. Nicholas*; and a mystery called *Le Miracle de Theophile*. This latter may be the same referred to below. Adan de la Hale appears to have lived in the early part of the thirteenth century (Roquefort, p. 103.), and Jehan Bodel during the reign of St. Louis (1226-70). These perhaps are the earliest specimens extant of any thing resembling dramatic composition in the French language. It is true M. de la Rue (Archæol. vol. xiv.) has noticed an early drama, which from finding it bound up with a sermon written by Langton,

archbishop of Canterbury (in 1207), he is disposed to attribute to that prelate. But the outline he has given of its contents clearly shows it to be nothing more than a dramatic disposition of the same arguments, which fill the "*Chateau d'Amour*" quoted above. We have there seen, that the author professes to follow an original of some kind by Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, Langton's contemporary; and unless we choose to reject this statement as fictitious, M. de la Rue's conjecture as to the author of the drama becomes more than doubtful. The primate, who was a man of considerable learning, would hardly have dramatized for vulgar readers the mystic rhapsodies of his erudite suffragan. —PRICE.]

^b Felib. tom. ii. p. 681.

^c It has been printed, more than once, in the black letter. Beauchamps, p. 110.

^d Carpentier, Suppl. Du Cange Lat. Gl. V. LUDUS.

[This story of a man who sold himself to the Devil and was redeemed by the Virgin to whom he had recommended himself, occurs in a collection of miracles put into verse by Guatier de Quensi, a French poet of the 13th century; from whose work and others of the same kind an abridgement was printed at Paris in the beginning of the 16th century. This was made by Jean le Conte, a friar minor. Quensi's work is among the Harl. MSS. no. 4400. —DOUCE.]

ment," without the royal licence, which was soon afterwards obtained*. In the year 1486, at Anjou, ten pounds were paid towards supporting the charges of acting the PASSION OF CHRIST, which was represented by masks, and, as I suppose, by persons hired for the purpose†. The chaplains of Abbeville, in the year 1455, gave four pounds and ten shillings to the PLAYERS of the PASSION‡. But the French MYSTERIES were chiefly performed by the religious communities, and some of their FÊTES almost entirely consisted of a dramatic or personated shew. At the FEAST of ASSES, instituted in honour of Baalam's Ass, the clergy walked on Christmas day in procession, habited to represent the prophets and others. Moses appeared in an alb and cope, with a long beard and rod. David had a green vestment. Baalam with an immense pair of spurs, rode on a wooden ass, which inclosed a speaker. There were also six Jews and six Gentiles. Among other characters the poet Virgil was introduced as a gentile prophet and a translator of the Sibylline oracles. They thus moved in procession, chanting versicles, and conversing in character on the nativity and kingdom of Christ, through the body of the church, till they came into the choir. Virgil speaks some Latin hexameters, during the ceremony, not out of his fourth eclogue, but wretched monkish lines in rhyme. This feast was, I believe, early suppressed‡. In the year 1445, Charles the Seventh of France ordered the masters in Theology at Paris to forbid the ministers of the collegiate churches to celebrate at Christmas the FEAST of FOOLS¹

* Beauchamps, ut supr. p. 90. This was the first theatre of the French: the actors were incorporated by the king, under the title of the *Fraternity of the Passion of our Saviour*, Beauch. ibid. The *Jeu de personages* was a very common play of the young boys in the larger towns, &c. Carpentier, ut supr. V. PERSONAGIUM. And LUDUS PERSONAG. At Cambray mention is made of the shew of a boy *larvatus cum maza in collo* with drums, &c. Carpent. ib. V. KALENDÆ JANUAR.

† "Decem. libr. ex parte nationis, ad onera supportanda hujus Misterii." Carpent. ut supr. V. PERSONAGIUM.

‡ Carpent. ut supr. V. LUDUS. Who adds, from an antient Computus, that three shillings were paid by the ministers of a church, in the year 1537, for parchment, for writing LUDUS RESURRECTIONIS DOMINI.

¹ See vol. I. p. 204.

² Marten. Anecd. tom. i. col. 1804. See also Belet. de Divin. Offic. cap. 72. And Gussanvill. poet. Not. ad Petr. Blesens. Felibien confounds *La Fete de Fous et la Fete de Sotise*. The latter was an entertainment of dancing called *Les Sauttes*, and thence corrupted into *Soties*, or *Sotise*. See Mem. Acad. Inscript. xvii. 225, 226. See also Probat. Hist. Antissiodor. p. 310.

Again, the *Feast of Fools* seems to be pointed at in Statut. Senonens. A.D. 1445. Instr. tom. xii. Gall. Christian. Coll. 96. "Tempore divini servitii larvatos et monstruosos vultus deferendo, cum vestibus mulierum, aut lenonum, aut histriionum, choreas in ecclesia et choro ejus ducendo," &c. With the most immodest spectacles. The nuns of some French convents are said to have had *Ludibria* on St. Mary Magdalene's and other festivals, when they wore the habits of seculars, and danced with them. Carpent. ubi supr. V. KALENDÆ. There was the office of *Rex Stultorum* in Beverley church, prohibited 1391. Dugd. Mon. iii. Append. 7.

[In the Constitutions of Robert Grossetest bishop of Lincoln, is the following prohibition: "Execrabilem etiam consuetudinem quæ consuevit in quibusdam ecclesiis observari de faciendo Festo Stultorum speciali autoritate rescripti Apostolici penitus inhibemus; ne de domo orationis fiat domus ludibrii," &c. See Brown, Fascicul. rerum expetendarum, ii. 412. And in his 32nd Letter, printed in the same collection, ii. 331, after reciting that the house of God is not to be turned into a house of buffoonery, &c. he adds: "Quapropter vobis mandamus in virtute obedientie firmiter injungentes, quatenus Fes-

in their churches, where the clergy danced in masques and antic dresses, and exhibited *plusieurs mocqueries spectacles publics, de leur corps de guisements, farces, rigmereis*, with various enormities shocking to decency. In France as well as England it was customary to celebrate the feast of the boy-bishop. In all the collegiate churches of both nations, about the feast of Saint Nicholas, or the Holy Innocents*, one of the children of the choir completely apparelled in the episcopal vestments, with a mitre and crosier, bore the title and state of a bishop, and exacted canonical obedience from his fellows, who were dressed like priests. They took possession of the church, and performed all the ceremonies and offices¹, the mass excepted, which might have been celebrated by the bishop and his prebendaries^k. In the statutes of the archiepiscopal cathedral of Tulle, given in the year 1497, it is said, that during the celebration of the festival of the boy-bishop, "MORALITIES were presented, and shews of MIRACLES, with farces and other sports, but compatible with decorum.—After dinner they exhibited, without their masks, but in proper dresses, such farces as they were masters of, in different parts of the city^l." It is probable that the same entertainments attended the solemnisation of this ridiculous festival in England^m: and from this supposition some critics may be in-

tum Stultorum, cum sit vanitate plenum et voluptatibus spurcum, Deo odibile et demonibus amabile, de cætero in ecclesia Lincoln. die venerandæ solennitatis circumcisionis Domini nullatenus permittatis fieri."—DOUCE.]

* [This feast was probably celebrated on St. Nicholas's day, on account of his being the patron saint of children. See his legend, printed at Naples, 1645. 4to.—DOUCE.]

¹ In the statutes of Eton-college, given 1441, the EPISCOPUS PUERORUM is ordered to perform divine service on St. Nicholas's day. Rubr. xxxi. In the statutes of Winchester-college, given 1380, PUERI, that is the boy-bishop and his fellows, are permitted on Innocent's-day, to execute all the sacred offices in the chapel, according to the use of the church of Sarum. Rubr. xxix. This strange piece of religious mockery flourished greatly in Salisbury cathedral. In the old statutes of that church there is a chapter DE EPISCOPO CHORISTARUM: and their *Processionale* gives a long and minute account of the whole ceremony. edit. Rothom. 1555.

^k This ceremony was abolished by a proclamation, no later than 33 Hen. VIII. Brit. Mus. MSS. Cott. Tit. B. 1. f. 208. In the inventory of the treasury of York cathedral, taken in 1530, we have "Item una mitra parva cum petris pro episcopo puerorum," &c. Dugd. Monast. iii. 169. 170. See also 313. 314. 177. 279. See also Dugd.

Hist. St. Paul's, p. 205. 206. where he is called EPISCOPUS PARVULORUM. See also Anstis Ord. Gart. ii. 309. where, instead of *Nihilensis*, read *Nicolensis*, or NICOLATENSIS.

^l Statut. Eccles. Tullens. apud Carpent. Suppl. Lat. Gl. Du Cang. V. KALENDÆ.

^m It appears that in England, the boy-bishop with his companions went about to different parts of the town; at least visited the other religious houses. As in Rot. Comp. Coll. Winton. A.D. 1461. "In Dat. episcopo Nicolatensi." This I suppose was one of the children of the choir of the neighbouring cathedral. In the statutes of the collegiate church of St. Mary Ottery, founded by bishop Grandison in 1337, there is this passage: "Item statuimus, quod nullus canonicus, vicarius, vel secundarius, pueros choristas in festo sanctorum Innocentium extra Parochiam de Ottery trahant, aut eis licentiam vagandi concedant." cap. 50. MS. Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. quat. 9. In the wardrobe-rolls of Edward III. an. 12. we have this entry, which shows that our mock-bishop and his chapter sometimes exceeded their adopted clerical commission, and exercised the arts of secular entertainment. "EPISCOPO PUERORUM ecclesiæ de Andeworp cantanti coram domino rege in camera sua in festo sanctorum Innocentium, de dono ipsius dom. regis, xiiis. vid."

clined to deduce the practice of our plays being acted by the choir-boys of St. Paul's church, and the chapel-royal, which continued, as I before observed, till Cromwell's usurpation. The English and French stages mutually throw light on each other's history. But perhaps it will be thought, that in some of these instances I have exemplified in nothing more than farcical and gesticulatory representations. Yet even these traces should be attended to. In the mean time we may observe upon the whole, that the modern drama had its foundation in our religion, and that it was raised and supported by the clergy. The truth is, the members of the ecclesiastical societies were almost the only persons who could read, and their numbers easily furnished performers: they abounded in leisure, and their very relaxations were religious.

I did not mean to touch upon the Italian stage: but as so able a judge as Riccoboni seems to allow that Italy derived her theatre from those of France and England, by way of an additional illustration of the antiquity of the two last, I will here produce one or two MIRACLE-PLAYS, acted much earlier in Italy than any piece mentioned by that ingenious writer, or by Crescimbeni. In the year 1298, on "the feast of Pentecost, and the two following holidays, the representation of the PLAY OF CHRIST, that is of his passion, resurrection, ascension, judgment, and the mission of the holy ghost, was performed by the clergy of Civita Vecchia, *in curia domini patriarchæ Austria civitatis honorifice et laudabiliter*." And again, "In 1304, the chapter of Civita Vecchia exhibited a Play of the creation of our first parents, the annunciation of the virgin Mary, the birth of Christ, and other passages of sacred scripture." In the mean time, those critics who contend for the high antiquity of the Italian stage, may adopt these instances as new proofs in defence of that hypothesis.

In this transient view of the origin and progress of our drama, which was incidentally suggested by the mention of Baston's supposed Comedies, I have trespassed upon future periods. But I have chiefly done this for the sake of connection, and to prepare the mind of the reader for other anecdotes of the history of our stage, which will occur in the course of our researches, and are reserved for their respective places. I could have enlarged what is here loosely thrown together, with many other remarks and illustrations: but I was unwilling to transcribe from the collections of those who have already treated this subject with great comprehension and penetration, and especially from the author of the

* Chron. Forojul. in Append. ad Monum. Eccl. Aquilej. pag. 30. col. 1.

[An earlier record of the exhibition of these miracle-plays in Italy will be found in the Catalogo de' Podestà di Padova: "In quest' anno (1243) fu fatta la rappresentation della Passione e Resurrezione di Christo nel Pra della Valle." Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. v. 8. p. 365.—The chief

object of the *Compagna del Gonfalone* instituted at Rome in the year 1264, was to represent the Mysteries "della Passione del Redentore." Tiraboschi, vol. iv. p. 342. —PRICE.]

• Ibid. page 30. col. 1. It is extraordinary, that the Miracle-plays, even in the churches, should not cease in Italy till the year 1660.

Supplement to the Translator's Preface of Jarvis's *Don Quixote*^p. I claim no other merit from this digression, than that of having collected some new anecdotes relating to the early state of the English and French stages, the original of both which is intimately connected, from books and manuscripts not easily found, nor often examined. These hints may perhaps prove of some service to those who have leisure and inclination to examine the subject with more precision.

SECTION VII.

Character of the Reign of Edward the Third. Hampole's Pricke of Conscience.

EDWARD the Third was an illustrious example and patron of chivalry. His court was the theatre of romantic elegance. I have examined the annual rolls of his wardrobe, which record various articles of costly stuffs delivered occasionally for the celebration of his tournaments; such as standards, pennons, tunics, caparisons, with other splendid furniture of the same sort: and it appears that he commanded these solemnities to be kept, with a magnificence superior to that of former ages, at Litchfield, Bury, Guildford, Eltham, Canterbury, and twice at Windsor, in little more than the space of one year^a. At his triumphant return from Scotland, he was met by two hundred and thirty knights at Dunstable, who received their victorious monarch with a grand exhibition of these martial exercises. He established in the castle of Windsor a fraternity of twenty-four knights, for whom he erected a round table, with a round chamber still remaining, according to a similar institution of king Arthur^b. Antis treats the notion, that

^p See also Dr. Percy's very ingenious Essay on the Origin of the English Stage, &c.

^a Comp. J. Cooke, Provisoris Magn. Garderob. ab ann. 21 Edw. III. ad ann. 23. supr. citat. I will give, as a specimen, this officer's account for the tournament at Canterbury. "Et ad faciendum diversos apparatus pro corpore regis et suorum pro hastiludio Cantuariensi, an. reg. xxii. ubi Rex dedit octo hernesia de syndone ynde facta, et vapulata de armis dom. Stephani de Cosyngton militis, dominis principibus comiti Lancastrie, comiti Suffolcie, Johanni de Gray, Joh. de Beauchamp, Roberto Maule, Joh. Chandos, et dom. Rogero de Beauchamp. Et ad faciendum unum harnesium de bokeram albo pro rege, exten-

cellato cum argento, viz. tunicam et acutum operata cum dictamine Regis,

*Hay Hay the wythe swan
By Godes soule I am thy man.*

Et croparium, pectorale, testarium, et arcenarium extencellata cum argento. Et ad parandum i. tunicam Regis, et i. cloacam et capuciam cum c. garteriis paratis cum boucles, barris, et pendentibus de argento. Et ad faciendum unum dublettum pro Rege de tela linea habente, circa manicas et fimbriam, unam borduram de panno longo viridi operatam cum nebulis et vineis de auro, et cum dictamine Regis, *It is as it is.*" Membr. xi. [A.D. 1349.]

^b Walsing. p. 117.

Edward in this establishment had any retrospect to king Arthur, as an idle and legendary tradition^c. But the fame of Arthur was still kept alive, and continued to be an object of veneration long afterwards: and however idle and ridiculous the fables of the round table may appear at present, they were then not only universally known, but firmly believed. Nothing could be more natural to such a romantic monarch, in such an age, than the renovation of this most antient and revered institution of chivalry. It was a prelude to the renowned order of the garter, which he soon afterwards founded at Windsor, during the ceremonies of a magnificent feast, which had been proclaimed by his heralds in Germany, France, Scotland, Burgundy, Heynault, and Brabant, and lasted fifteen days^d. We must not try the modes and notions of other ages, even if they have arrived to some degree of refinement, by those of our own. Nothing is more probable, than that this latter foundation of Edward the Third took its rise from the exploded story of the garter of the countess of Salisbury^e. Such an origin is interwoven with the manners and ideas of the times. Their attention to the fair sex entered into every thing. It is by no means unreasonable to suppose, that the fantastic collar of Essess [SS], worn by the knights of this Order, was an allusion to her name. Froissart, an eye-witness and well acquainted with the intrigues of the court, relates at large the king's affection for the countess; and particularly describes a grand carousal which he gave in consequence of that attachment^f. The first festival of this order was not only adorned by the bravest champions of Christendom, but by the presence of queen Philippa, Edward's consort, accompanied with three hundred ladies of noble families^g. The tournaments of this stately reign were constantly crowded with ladies of the first distinction; who sometimes attended them on horseback, armed with daggers, and dressed in a succinct soldier-like habit or uniform prepared for the purpose^h. In a tournament exhibited at London, sixty ladies on palfries appeared, each leading a knight with a gold chain. In this manner they paraded from the Tower to Smithfieldⁱ. Even Philippa, a queen

^c Ord. Gart. ii. 92.

^d Barnes, i. ch. 22. p. 292. Froissart, c. 100. Anstis ut supr.

^e Ashmole proves, that the orders of the *Annunciada*, and of the *Toison d'Or*, had the like origin. Ord. Gart. p. 180, 181. Even in the ensigns of the order of the Holy Ghost, founded so late as 1578, some love-mysteries and emblems were concealed under cyphers introduced into the blasonrie. See Le Laboureur, *Contin. des Mem. de Castelnau*, p. 895. "Il y eut plus de mysteres d'amourettes que de religion," &c. But I cannot in this place help observing, that the fantastic humour of un-riddling emblematical mysteries, supposed to be concealed under all ensigns and arms, was at length carried to such an extravagance, at least in England, as to be checked

by the legislature. By a statute of queen Elisabeth, a severe penalty is laid, "on all fond phantastical prophecies upon or by the occasion of any arms, fields, beasts, badges, or the like things accustomed in arms, cognisaunces, or signetia," &c. Statut. v. Eliz. ch. 15. A.D. 1564.

^f Ubi supr.

^g They soon afterwards regularly received robes, with the knights companions, for this ceremony, powdered with garters. Ashmol. Ord. Gart. 217. 594. And Anstis, ii. 123.

^h Knyghton, Dec. Script. p. 2597.

ⁱ Froissart apud Stowe's Surv. Lond. p. 718. edit. 1616. At an earlier period, the growing gallantry of the times appears in a public instrument. It is in the reign of Edward the First. Twelve jurymen

of singular elegance of manners^k, partook so much of the heroic spirit which was universally diffused, that just before an engagement with the king of Scotland, she rode round the ranks of the English army encouraging the soldiers, and was with some difficulty persuaded or compelled to relinquish the field^l. The countess of Montfort is another eminent instance of female heroism in this age. When the strong town of Hennebond, near Rennes, was besieged by the French, this redoubted amazon rode in complete armour from street to street, on a large courser, animating the garrison^m. Finding from a high tower that the whole French army was engaged in the assault, she issued, thus completely accoutred, through a convenient postern at the head of three hundred chosen soldiers, and set fire to the French campⁿ. In the mean time riches and plenty, the effects of conquest, peace, and prosperity, were spread on every side; and new luxuries were imported in great abundance from the conquered countries. There were few families, even of a moderate condition, but had in their possession precious articles of dress or furniture; such as silks, fur, tapestry, embroidered beds, cups of gold, silver, porcelain, and crystal, bracelets, chains and necklaces, brought from Caen, Calais, and other opulent foreign cities^o. The increase of rich furniture appears in a foregoing reign. In an act of parliament of Edward the First^p, are many regulations, directed to goldsmiths, not only in London, but in other towns, concerning the sterling alloy of vessels and jewels of gold and silver, &c. And it is said, "Gravers or cutters of stones and seals shall give every one their just

depose upon oath the state of the king's lordship at Woodstock; and among other things it is solemnly recited, that Henry the Second often resided at Woodstock, "pro amore cujusdam mulieris nomine Rosamunda." Hearne's Avesbury, Append. p. 331.

^k And of distinguished beauty. Hearne says, that the statuaries of those days used to make queen Philippa a model for their images of the Virgin Mary. Gloss. Rob. Brun. p. 549. He adds, that the holy virgin, in a representation of her assumption was constantly figured young and beautiful; and that the artists before the Reformation generally "had the most beautiful women of the greatest quality in their view, when they made statues and figures of her." *ibid.* p. 550.

^l Froissart, i. c. 138.

^m Froissart says, that when the English proved victorious, the countess came out of the castle, and in the street kissed sir Walter Manny the English general, and his captains, one after another, twice or thrice, *comme noble et vaillant dame*. On another like occasion, the same historian relates, that she went out to meet the officers, whom she kissed and sumptuously entertained in her castle. i. c. 86. At many

magnificent tournaments in France, the ladies determined the prize. See Mem. Anc. Cheval. i. p. 175 seq. p. 223 seq. An English squire, on the side of the French, captain of the castle of Beaufort, called himself *le Poursuivant d'amour*, in 1369. Froissart, l. i. c. 64. In the midst of grand engagements between the French and English armies, when perhaps the interests of both nations are vitally concerned, Froissart gives many instances of officers entering into separate and personal combat to dispute the beauty of their respective mistresses. Hist. l. ii. ch. 33. 43. On this occasion an ingenious French writer observes, that Homer's heroes of ancient Greece are just as extravagant, who in the heat of the fight, often stop on a sudden, to give an account of the genealogy of themselves or of their horses. Mem. Anc. Cheval. ubi sup. Sir Walter Manny, in 1343, in attacking the castle of Guiscard exclaims, "Let me never be beloved of my mistress, if I refuse this attack," &c. Froissart, i. 81.

ⁿ Froissart, i. c. 80. Du Chesne, p. 656. Mezeray, ii. 3. p. 19 seq.

^o Walsing. Ypodigm. 121. Hist. 159.

^p A.D. 1300. Edw. I. an. 28. cap. xx.

weight of silver and gold." It should be remembered, that about this period Europe had opened a new commercial intercourse with the ports of India^q. No less than eight sumptuary laws, which had the usual effect of not being observed, were enacted in one session of parliament during this reign^r. Amid these growing elegancies and superfluities, foreign manners, especially of the French, were perpetually increasing; and the native simplicity of the English people was perceptibly corrupted and effaced. It is not quite uncertain that masques had their beginning in this reign^s. These shows, in which the greatest personages of the court often bore a part, and which arrived at their height in the reign of Henry the Eighth, encouraged the arts of address and decorum, and are symptoms of the rise of polished manners^t.

In a reign like this, we shall not be surprised to find such a poet as Chaucer; with whom a new era in English poetry begins, and on whose account many of these circumstances are mentioned, as they serve to prepare the reader for his character, on which they throw no inconsiderable light.

But before we enter on so ample a field, it will be perhaps less embarrassing, at least more consistent with our prescribed method, if we previously display the merits of two or three poets, who appeared in the former part of the reign of Edward the Third, with other incidental matters.

The first of these is Richard [Rolle of] Hampole, an eremite of the order of saint Augustine. He was a doctor of divinity, and lived a solitary life near the nuns of Hampole, four miles from Doncaster in Yorkshire. The neighbourhood of this female society could not withdraw our recluse from his devotions and his studies. He flourished* in the year 1349^u. His Latin theological tracts, both in prose and verse, are numerous; in which Leland justly thinks he has displayed more erudition than eloquence. His principal pieces of English rhyme are a Paraphrase of part of the Book of Job, of the Lord's Prayer, of the seven penitential Psalms, and the PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE. But our hermit's poetry, which indeed from these titles promises but little entertainment, has no tincture of sentiment, imagination, or elegance. The following verses are extracted from the PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE, one of the most common manuscripts in our libraries, and I prophesy that I am its last transcriber†. But I must observe first, that this piece is divided into

^q Anderson, Hist. Comm. i. p. 141.

^r Ann. 37 Edw. III. cap. viii. seq.

^s See *supr.* p. 21 of this volume.

^t This spirit of splendor and gallantry was continued in the reign of his successor. See the genius of that reign admirably characterized, and by the hand of a master, in bishop Lowth's *Life of Wykeham*, p. 222. See also Hollingsh. Chron. sub ann. 1399. p. 508. col. 1.

* [died.—M.]

^u Wharton, App. ad Cave, p. 75. *Sæcul. Wicklev.*

† [This prophecy was not verified. In the *Archæologia*, vol. xix. pp. 314–335. 4to. 1821. is a long analysis of Hampole's poem, by Mr. J. B. Yates, illustrated by extracts; in which the writer advocates with very doubtful success the poetical talent of the recluse against the opinion of Warton.

seven parts. I. Of man's nature. II. Of the world. III. Of death. IV. Of purgatory. V. Of the day of judgment. VI. Of the torments of hell. VII. Of the joys of heaven^w.

Mankynde mad ys to do Goddus wylle,
 And alle hys byddyngus to fulfille;
 For of al hys makying more & les,
 Man most principal creature es.
 Al that he made for man hit was done,
 As 3e schal here after sone.
 God to monkynde had grete loue,
 When he ordeyned to monnus bihoue,
 This world & heuen hym to glade;
 Here in myddellerd man last he made,
 To hys lickenes in feire stature;
 To be most worthi creature,
 Biforen alle creatures of kynde,
 He 3af hym wit, skyl, and mynde,
 For to knowe bothe good & ille:
 & als he 3af hym a fre wille,
 For to chose & for to holde,
 Good or euel quethur he wolde.
 And as he ordeyned mon to dwelle,
 To lif in erthe in flesch and felle,
 To know hys werkus and hym worschepe,
 And hys comaundmentus to kepe,
 And 3yf he be to God buxome,
 To endles blis aftur to come;
 And 3yf he wrongly here wende,
 To peyne of helle wyt outen ende.

But it is somewhat remarkable, that previous to the publication of Mr. Yates's paper, a pamphlet of limited circulation (only 50 copies having been printed), written by W. J. Walter, appeared, 8vo. London, 1816. pp. 17. under the title of "An Account of a MS. of ancient English poetry, entitled *Clavis Scientiæ*, or *Bretayne's Skyll-key of Knawing*, by John de Wageby, monk of Fountains Abbey." This MS. in reality, is only one of the numerous copies existing of Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience*, somewhat altered and abbreviated, with some lines added at the conclusion by the scribe John de Wageby, whose name appears in the colophon. Mr. Walter gives a copious analysis of the work; and, like his successor Mr. Yates, is inclined to place the author much higher in the scale of poets than Warton's critique would justify.—M.]

^w *STIMULUS CONSCIENTIÆ* *thys boke ys namyd*. MS. Ashmol. fol. No. 41. There is much transposition in this copy. In MS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. 87. it is called *THE KEY OF KNOWING*. Princ.

The mist of the fader almiti
 The wisdom of the sone al witti.

[The Lansdowne MS. of the *Pricke of Conscience* (no. 348) agrees so closely both in matter and orthography with that contained in the Ashmole library, that little doubt can be entertained but one has been copied from the other. The few variations noticed in the text have arisen most probably from inattention in the transcriber.—PRICE.] [The Lansdowne text is here substituted for Warton's, but it by no means agrees so closely in orthography with the Ashmole copy as Mr. Price has stated.—M.]

God made to hys owne lickenes,
 Vche mon liuyng here more & les;
 To whome he hathe ȝeuen wit & wille*,
 For to knowe bothe good & ille,
 And wille to chese as they vouchesaue,
 Good or euel whethur they wol haue.
 He that hys wille to good wol bowe,
 God wol hym wyt grete mede alowe;
 He that to wyckednes wol & wo,
 Gret payne schalle he haue also.
 That mon therfore holde I^b for woode,
 That cheseth the euel & leueth the goode.
 God made mon of most dignite,
 Of alle creatures most fre,
 And namely to hys owne lickenes,
 As bfore told hyt es,
 And most hath ȝiuen & yit ȝiueþ,
 Than to any creature that liueth;
 & more hath het ȝit therto,
 Heuen blis ȝif he wel do.
 And ȝit when he had don amys,
 And had lost that ilke blis,
 God toke mankynde for hys sake,
 And for hys loue dethe wold take,
 And wyt hys blod bought aȝeyne,
 To hys blys fro endles payne.

PRIMA PARS DE MISERIA HUMANE CONDICIONIS.

Thus grete loue God to mon kedde,
 & mony good dedus to hym dyd.
 Therfore eueryche mon lernd & lewid,
 Schulde thynke on loue that he hym schewed,
 And these good dedus hold in mynde,
 That he thus dede for monkynde;
 & loue and thonke hym as he con,
 And ellus ys he vnkynde man,
 But he serue hym day & nyght,
 And hys ȝyftus vse hem ryght,
 To spende hys wit in goddus seruyce;
 Vtturly elles he nys not wyse,
 But he knowe kyndly what god es,
 And what mon ys that is les.
 How febul mon is soule and body,
 How strong god is and myghty,

* skil.—W.

^b is.—W.

How mon greueth god that dos not wele,
 How man is worthi ther fore to fele,
 How mercifoul & gracious god is,
 And how ful of alle goodnes,
 How ryghwis & how sothefast,
 What he hath don and schal at the last,
 And vche day doth to monkynde;
 This schulde iche mon haue in mynde.
 For the right way to that blys,
 That leduth man thidur that is this,
 The way of mekenes principaly,
 To drede and loue god almyghtty.
 This ys the way of wysdome,
 Into whiche way non may come,
 Withowten knowyng of god here,
 Hys myghtus and hys werkus sere.
 But ar he to that knowing winne,
 Hym self he mot know withynne;
 Ellus knowing may not be,
 To wysdome wey non entre.
 Sum han wyt to vndurstonde,
 And ȝit they are ful vnknowonde.
 And some thyng hathe no knowyng,
 That myght hem stur to good liuyng.
 Tho men had nede to lerne iche day,
 Of men that con more then thay,
 That myght to knowyng hem lede,
 In mekenes to loue god and drede.
 Wheche ys wey and goode wysschyng,
 That may to heuen blis men brynge.
 In gret peril of soule ys that mon,
 That hath wyt, mynde, & no good con,
 And wol not lerne for to knawe,
 The werkus of god and hys lawe.
 He nil do aftur mest no lest,
 Bot liueth as an vnskyful best,
 That nother hath skyl, wyt, nor mynde;
 That mon liueth aȝeyn hys kynde.
 Hyt excusith not hys vnknowyng,
 That hys wyt vsith not in lernyng,
 Namely in that hym oweth to knowe,
 To meke hys hert & make hyt lowe.
 The vnknoyng schuld haue wille,
 To lerne to knowe bothe good and ille.
 He that ought con, schuld lerne more,
 To know al that nedful wore;

For the vnconnyng^c by lerning
May brought be to vndurstondyng
Of many thynges to knowe & se
That hathe ben, is, and schal be;
And so to mekenes sture hys wille,
To loue & drede god and leue alle ylle.
Many ben glad triful to here,
And vanites wollen gladly lere;
Bysi thay ben in word and thought,
To lerne that soule helputh nought;
Bot that that nedful wore to knowe,
To here they are wondur slowe.
Therefore con thay nothyng se,
The perels thar they schuld drede and fle,
And what wey thay schulde take,
And wheche wey they schulde forsake.
No wondur is though they go wronge,
In derkenes of vnknowyng they gonge;
Wytout lyght of vndurstondyng,
Of that that falluth to ryght knowyng.
Therefore ich cristen mon and wommon,
That wyt and wysdom any con,
That con the ryght wey not sen,
Nor fle the perels that wyse fien,
Schulde buxum be and bysy,
To here and lerne of hem namely,
That vndurstonden and knowen skyl,
Wheche wey is good and wheche ys il.
He that wol ryght wey of lyuyng loke,
Schal thus bigyn, seythe the boke:
To knowe fyrst what hym self ys;
So may he come to mekenys,
That grounde of al vertues ys last,
The wheche alle vertues may be stedfast.
He that knoweth wel and con se
What he ys, was, and schal be,
A wyser man may be tolde,
Whethur he be 3ong or olde,
Then he that con al othur thyng,
And of hym self hath no knowyng.
He may no good knowe, ny fele,
But he fyrst knowe hym seluen wele.
Therefore a mon schulde fyrst lere
To know hym self properly here.

* unknowyng.—W.

For 3yf he knew hym self kyndly,
 Then may he know god almyghty.
 And on hys endyng thynke schuld he,
 And on the last day that schal be.
 Know schulde he what this worlde es,
 Ful of pompe and lecherousnes,
 And lerne to knowe, and thenke wyt alle,
 What schalle aftur this lyf befall.
 Knowyng of this schuld hem lede
 To mete wyt mekenes and wyt drede.
 So may he come to good lyuyng,
 And at the last to good endyng.
 And, when he schal of this world wende,
 Be brouzt to blys wyt outen ende.
 The begynnyng of this proces,
 Ryzt knowyng of a mon hym self yt es.
 Bot sum men han grete lettyng,
 That thay may haue no ryght knowyng.
 Of hem self that thay schuld fyrst knowe,
 That first to mekenes schuld hem drawe.
 Ther of foure thinges I fynde,
 That manus wyt maketh oft blynde,
 And knowyng of hym self hyt lettuth,
 Wherefore he hym self forjetuth.
 To this wytnes Bernard onsweres,
 And tho foure wrytun are in this vers^x, &c.

In the Bodleian library I find three copies of the *PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE* very different from that which I have just cited. In these this poem is given to Robert Grosthead bishop of Lincoln, above mentioned^y. With what probability, I will not stay to enquire; but hasten to give a specimen. I will only premise, that the language and handwriting are of considerable antiquity, and that the lines are here much longer. The poet is describing the future rewards and punishments of mankind.

The goode soule schal have in his herynge
 Gret joye in hevene and grete lykyng:
 For hi schulleth yhere the aungeles song,
 And with hem hi schulleth^x synge ever among,
 With delitable voys and swythe clere,
 And also with that hi schullen have there

^x Compare Tanner, *Bibl.* p. 375. col. 1.
 And p. 374. col. 1. Notes. And GROST-
 HEAD. And MSS. Ashm. 52. pergam. 4to.
^y Laud. K. 65. pergam. And G. 21.
 And MSS. Digb. 14. Princ.

"The mizt of the fader of hevene
 The wit of his son with his giftes
 sevene."
^x shall.

All other maner of ech a melodye,
 Off well lykynge noyse and menstralsye,
 And of al maner tenes^b of musike,
 The whuche to mannes herte miȝte like,
 Withoute eni maner of travayle,
 The whuche schal never cesse ne fayle :
 And so schil^c schal that noyse be, and so swete,
 And so delitable to smale and to grete,
 That al the melodye of this worlde heer,
 That ever was yhuryd ferre or neer,
 Were therto bote^d as sorwe^e and care
 To the blisse that is in hevene well ȝare^f.

Of the contrarie of that blisse.

Wel grete sorwe schal the synfolke^g bytyde,
 For he schullen yhere in ech a syde^h
 Well gret noyse that the feondesⁱ willen make,
 As thei al the worlde scholde al to-schake ;
 And alle the men lyvyng that miȝte hit yhure,
 Scholde here wit^k loose, and no lengere alyve dure^l.
 Thanne hi^m schulleth for sorwe here hondes wringe,
 And ever weillaway hi schullethe be cryinge, &c.
 The gode men schullethe have worschipes grete,
 And eche of them schal be yset in a riche sete,
 And ther as kynges be ycrownid fayre,
 And diȝte with riche perrieⁿ and so ysetun^o in a chayre,
 And with stones of vertu and preciouise of choyse,
 As David thus sayth to god, with a mylde voyse,
Posuisti, domine, super caput eorum, &c.
 "Lorde," he seyth, "on his heved thou settest wel ariȝt
 A coroune of a pretious ston richeliche ydiȝt."
 Ac so fayre a coroune nas never non ysene,
 In this worlde on kynges hevede^p, ne on quene :
 For this coroune is the coroune of blisse,
 And the ston is joye whereof hi schilleth never misse, &c.
 The synfolke schulleth, as I have afore ytold,
 Fele outrageous hete, and afterwards to muche colde ;
 For now he schullethe freose, and now brenne^q,
 And so be ypynd that non schal other kenne^r,
 And also be ybyte with dragonnes felle and kene,
 The whuche schulleth hem destrye outȝite and clene,

^b tunes.

^d but.

^f prepared.

^h every side.

^k senses.

^c shrill.

^e sorrow.

^g sinners.

ⁱ devils.

^l remain.

^m they.

^o seated.

^q This is the Hell of the monks, which Milton has adopted.

^r know.

ⁿ precious stones.

^p head.

And with other vermyn and bestes felle,
The whiche beothe nouȝt but fendes of helle, &c.

We have then this description of the New Jerusalem:—

This cite is yset on an hei hille,
That no synful man may therto tille^a:
The whuche ich likne to beril clene,
Ac so fayr berel may non be ysene.
Thulke hyl is nouȝt elles to understondynge
Bote holi thuȝt, and desyr brennynge,
The whuche holi men hadde heer to that place,
Whiles hi hadde on eorthe here lyves space;
And I likne, as Y may ymagene in my thouȝt,
The walles of hevene, to walles that were ywrouȝt
Of all maner preciose stones yset yfere^t,
And ysemented with gold briȝt and clere;
Bot so briȝt gold, ne non so clene,
Was in this worlde never ysene, &c.
The wardes of the cite of hevene briȝt
I likne to wardes that wel were ydyȝt,
And clenly ywrouȝt and sotely enteyled,
And on silver and gold clenly anamayled^u, &c.
The torettes^w of hevene grete and smale
I likne to the torrettes of clene cristale, &c.

I am not, in the mean time, quite convinced that any manuscript of the PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE in English belongs to Hampole. That this piece is a translation from the Latin appears from these verses:—

Therefore this boke is in Englis drawe
Of fele^x matters that bene unknowe
To lewed men that are unkonande^y
That con no latyn undirstonde^z.

^a come.

^u enamelled.

^z many.

^x MSS. Digb. ut supr. 87. ad princip.

[Mr. Ritson conceived this passage "by no means conclusive of a Latin original," and inferred that it might "be nothing more than [Hampole's] reason for preferring English to Latin." Lydgate, however, considered Hampole as a translator only:

In perfit living which passeth poysie
Richard hermite contemplative of sentence

Drough in Englishe, the Pricke of Conscience. Bochas, f. 217. b.

And this opinion is confirmed by the express acknowledgment of the King's MS.

^t together.

^w turrets.

^y ignorant.

Now have I firste as I undertoke

Fulfilled the sevene materes of this boke,

And oute of Latyn I have hem idrawe

The whiche to som man is unknowe,

And namely to lewed men of Yngelonde

That konneth no thinge but Englishe undirstonde.

And therfor this tretys oute drawe I wolde

In Englishe that men undirstonde hit sholde,

And Prikke of Conscience is this tretys yhote, &c.

For the love of our Lord Jesus Christ now, Fraieth specially for hym that hit oute drow,

And also for hym that this boke hath iwrite here,

Whether he be in water ather in londe ferre or nere.

The Latin original in prose, entitled *STIMULUS CONSCIENTIÆ**, was most probably written by Hampole: and it is not very likely that he should translate his own work. The author and translator were easily confounded. As to the copy of the English poem given to bishop Grosthead, he could not be the translator, to say nothing more, if Hampole wrote the Latin original. On the whole, whoever was the author of the two translations, at least we may pronounce with some certainty, that they belong to the reign of Edward the Third.*

Indeed it would be difficult to account for the existence of two English versions, essentially differing in metre and language; though generally agreeing in matter, unless we assume a common Latin original. Which of these is Hampole's translation, can only be decided by inspecting a copy once in the possession of Dr. Monro; and which Hampole "left to the society of Friars-minors at York, after his and his brother's death." No manuscript which has fallen under the Editor's notice, makes mention of Hampole in the text; nor has he been able to discover any shadow of authority, for attributing to this sainted bard, the pieces numbered from 6 to 16 in Mr. Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica*.—PRICE.]

* In the Cambridge manuscript of Hampole's Paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer, above mentioned, containing a prolix description of human virtues and vices, at the end, this remark appears:—"Explicit quidam tractatus super Pater noster secundum Ric. Hampole qui obiit A. D. MCCCLXXXIV." [But the truer date of his death is in another place of the same MS. viz. 1348.] MSS. More, 215. Princ.

"Almighty God in trinite
In whom is only personnes thre."

The Paraphrase on the book of Job, mentioned also before, seems to have existed first in Latin prose under the title of *Parvum Job*. The English begins thus:

"Lief lord, my soul thou spare."

In Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. F 77. 5, &c. &c. It is a paraphrase of some Excerpts from the book of Job. The seven penitential Psalms begin thus:

"To goddis worschippe that dere us bougt."

MSS. Bodl. Digb. 18. Hampole's Expositio in Psalterium is not uncommon in English. It has a preface in English rhymes in some copies, in praise of the

author and his work. Pr. "This blessyd boke that hire." MSS. Laud. F 14, &c. Hampole was a very popular writer. Most of his many theological pieces seem to have been translated into English soon after they appeared: and those pieces abound among our manuscripts. Two of his tracts were translated by Richard Misyn, prior of the Carmelites at Lincoln, about the year 1435. The *Incendium Amoris*, at the request of Margaret Hellingdon a recluse. Princ. "To the askynge of thi desire." And *De Emendatione Vitæ*. "Tarry thou not to oure." They are in the translator's own hand-writing in the library of C. C. C. Oxon. MSS. 237. I find other antient translations of both these pieces. Particularly, *The PRICKE OF LOVE after Richard Hampol, tretting of the three degrees of love*. MSS. Bodl. Arch. B. 65. f. 109. As a proof of the confusions and uncertainties attending the works of our author, I must add, that we have a translation of his tract *De Emendatione* under this title:—*The form of perfytt living, which holy Richard the hermit wrote to a recluse named Margarete*. MS. Vernon. But Margarete is evidently the recluse, at whose request Richard Misyn, many years after Hampole's death, translated the *Incendium Amoris*. These observations, to which others might be added, are sufficient to confirm the suspicions insinuated in the text. Many of Hampole's Latin theological tracts were printed very early at Paris and Cologne.

* [Much about the same period, Lawrence Minot, not mentioned by Tanner, wrote a collection of poems on the principal events of the reign of king Edward the Third, preserved in the British Museum. MSS. Cotton. Galb. E ix.—ADDITIONS.]

[The poems of Minot were published by Mr. Ritson in 1796. They are noticed hereafter, and a few specimens of his style are given.—PRICE.]

SECTION VIII.

Pierce Plowman's Vision. Antient State and original Institution of Fairs. Donat explained. Antichrist.

THE next poet in succession is one who deserves more attention on various accounts. This is Robert Longlande, author of the poem called the VISION OF PIERCE PLOWMAN, a secular priest, and a fellow of Oriel college, in Oxford. He flourished about the year 1350* [1362]. This poem contains a series of distinct visions, which the author imagines himself to have seen, while he was sleeping, after a long ramble on Malverne-hills in Worcestershire. It is a satire on the vices of almost every profession; but particularly on the corruptions of the clergy, and the absurdities of superstition. These are ridiculed with much humour and spirit, couched under a strong vein of allegorical invention. But instead of availing himself of the rising and rapid improvements of the English language, Longland prefers and adopts the style of the Anglo-Saxon poets. Nor did he make these writers the models of his language only: he likewise imitates their alliterative versification, which consisted in using an aggregate of words beginning with the same letter. He has therefore rejected rhyme, in the place of which he thinks it sufficient to substitute a perpetual alliteration. But this imposed constraint of seeking identical initials, and the affectation of obsolete English, by demanding a constant and necessary departure from the natural and obvious forms of expression, while it circumscribed the powers of our author's genius, contributed also to render his manner extremely perplexed, and to disgust the reader with obscurities. The satire is conducted by the agency of several allegorical personages, such as Avarice, Bribery, Simony, Theology, Conscience, &c. There is much imagination in the following picture, which is intended to represent human life, and its various occupations:

* I have here followed a date commonly received. But it may be observed, that there is in this poem an allusion to the fall of Edward the Second. The siege of Calais is also mentioned as a recent fact; and *Bribery* accuses *Conscience* of obstructing the conquest of France. See more in Observations on the Fairy Queen, ii. § xi. p. 281.

[Mr. Tyrwhitt has shown that the Visions must have been written after or during the year 1362, since they mention "the south western winde on Saturday at even," which is thus recorded by Thorn, apud Decem Scriptores. "A.D. mcccclxii. 15 die Januarii, circa horam vespertarum, ventus vehemens notus australis Africus tantâ rabie erupit," &c. Of the author he

has said in another place: "The Visions of (i. e. concerning) Pierce Ploughman are generally ascribed to one Robert Langland; but the best MSS. that I have seen make the Christian name of the author William, without mentioning his surname; so in MS. Cot. Vesp. D xvi. at the end of page 1, is this rubric: 'Hic incipit secundus Passus de visione Willelmi de Petro Plouhman.' And in verse 5. of page 2. *And sayde sonne, slepest thou?* the MS. has: *And sayde Wille slepest thou?* See also the account of MS. Harl. 2376, in the Harleian catalogue." This subject will be considered in a note at the end of this section.—PRICE.]

And than gan I to mete a mervelyous swevene,
 That I was in [a?] wyldyrnese, wyst I never qwere;
 And as I beheld on hey, est on to the sonne,
 I saw a towr on a toft, ryaly emaked,
 A depe dale benethe, a donjoun therein,
 With depe dykys and dyrke, and dredful of sygth.
 A fayr feld ful of folke fond I ther betwene,
 Of al maner of men, the mene and the ryche,
 Werkynge and wanderyng, as the world askyth;
 Summe put hem to the plow, pleyid hem ful seelde,
 In syttyng and sowyng [swonken full harde¹,]
 And wan that wastors with gloteny dystroid;
 And somme put [hem] to pryde, &c.^b

The following extracts are not only striking specimens of our author's allegorical satire, but contain much sense and observation of life, with some strokes of poetry.^c

Thus yrobed in russet, I romed me aboute,
 Al a somer seson, for to seche DOWEL^d,
 And frayed^e ful efte, of folk that I mette,
 If eny wyghtte wiste, where DOWEL was at inne^f,
 And what man he myghtte be, of many men I askid.
 Was never wyghtte as I wente, that me wyse couthe^g

^b Fol. i. a. edit. 1550. By Roberte Crowley, 4to. He printed three editions in this one year. Another was printed [with *Pierce Plowman's Crede* annexed] by Owen Rogers, 1561. 4to. See Strype, *Ann. Reformat.* i. 135. And Ames, *Hist. Print.* p. 270.

^c F. 39 seq. Pass. viii. seq. edit. 1550. [This single passage has been collated with the Harl. MS. No. 3954. On further inspection, this manuscript was not only found incomplete, but essentially varying from the printed copy of Crowley. Its orthography has a strong provincial cast; its details both of character and description are frequently mere sketches in comparison with the later visions; its alliteration, though often varying to advantage, is as frequently faulty and confused, and it closes with the second *Passus* de Dobet. The remaining passages have been collated with the Cotton MS. *Caligula A xi.*, which, though it has a different commencement from Crowley's edition, was found to agree very closely throughout with the printed text after the fourth *Passus*. In fact, Crowley's MS. appears to have been a very excellent one; and, with the exception of the orthographical differences, which it may

be presumed were intentional, the printed copy has conferred nearly as many favours upon the present text as have been gleaned from the Cotton manuscript. The latter, for the sake of consistency, has been made the basis of the text; its erroneous or doubtful readings—more especially such as offended against the alliteration—have been removed to the notes below, and those of Crowley's edition substituted in their stead. These are all inclosed within brackets.—For the gratification of the scrupulous antiquary, the corresponding passages from Dr. Whitaker's edition, corrected by two MSS. in the British Museum, will be given in an Appendix to this section, together with the Editor's reasons for adopting the present text. An examination of the laws of Alliterative Metre, &c. will also be given.—PRICE.]

^d Do-well. ^e inquired. ^f lived. ^g inform me. [Crowley constantly reads *wysh*, *wysked*, &c.; not I conceive from ignorance, as asserted by Dr. Whitaker, but in conformity with the orthography of his MS. Thus the Museum copy of *The Pricke of Conscience* reads "*wysschyng*" where the Ashmole MS. has "*wisayng*." This must have arisen from the different

¹ travelyd ful sore. MS.

Where this leede logged^h, lasse other more,
 Til hit bifel on Friday, two freris I mette,
 Maistris of the menours^l, men of gret witte ;
 I halsed hem hendeliche^k, as I hadde lerned,
 And preied hem per charite, er thei passeden ferther,
 If thei knewen eny countrye or coostes as thei wente
 Wher that DOWELL dwellyth, doith me to wyte^l.
 For thei ben men of this mold, that most [wide²] walken,
 And knowe contrees and [courts³,] and many kynnes^m places,
 Bothe prencis paleis, and pore mennys cotis,
 And DOWEL and DOEVEL, wher thei dwellen bothe.
 Amongis us that man is dwellyng, coth [the] mynours,
 And ever hath as I hope, and [ever] shal heraftir.
 Contra coth I, as a clerk, and comsed to disputen,
 And seide hem sothly, Septies in die cadit justus,
 Sevene sythesⁿ on the day seith the book, synneth the rightful;
 And who so synneth [I say⁴,] doth evel as me thynketh,
 And DOEVEL and DOWEL mowe not dwelle togedris,
 Ergo he is nat alwey among you freris,
 He is other whiles elles wher, to wisse the peple.
 I sey the, my sone, seide the frere thanne,
 Howe severe sithes the sad^o man on a day synneth,
 Bi a [⁵forbisne^p] coth the frere, I shal the faire shewe;
 Let brynge a man in a boot, amydde the brood watir,
 The wynd and the watir, and the boot waggyng
 Makith the man many a time [to fall than to stonde⁶];
 For stonde [he] nevere so styfe, he [stumbleth⁷] yf he meveth,
 And yit is he save and sound, and so hym behoveth;
 For if he ne arise the rathur, and raughte to the stere,
 The wynd wold with the watur the boot overthrowe,
 And thanne were his lyf lost thorgh laches^q of hymselfe.
 And thus hit falleth, coth the frere, by folk here on erthe:
 The watir is likened to the worlde, that [waneth⁸] and wexith,
 The goodes of this ground arn like to the grete wawes,
 That as wynd and wedris wawen aboute.
 The boot is likened to our bodies, that brotel ben of kynde,
 That thorgh the fende and the fleisch, and the freil worlde

enunciation given the (double) as in different counties. In many parts of Germany the words *stein*, *stehen*, &c. are pronounced as if they were written *shstein*, *shichen*.—PRICE.]

^h lived.

^k saluted them civilly.

^l know.

^m times.

^p similitude.

¹ the friers minors.

² sorts of.

³ sober; good.

⁴ laziness.

⁵ wyld.

⁶ townes.

⁷ seide he.

⁸ an example.

⁹ Crowley and the Harl. MS. read "to fall and to stande." A better reading is given by Dr. Whitaker, "to fall if he stande." Perhaps the original text was, "to fall and (*quasi*, and if) he stand."

⁷ tumbleth.

⁸ wanteth.

Synneth the sad man a day, sevene sithes ;
 Ac dedly synne doth he nat, for DOWEL hym kepith,
 And that is CHARITE the champion, chief help agenst synne ;
 For he strengtheth man to stonde, and sterith mannys soule,
 And doith thi body bowe, as boot doth in the watir,
 Ay is thi soul save, but if thi silf wole.
 Do a dedlye synne, and drenche [so] thi soule,
 God wole sofre wel thy slewthe, if thi silf liketh,
 For he yaf the to yeres-yeves to yeme wel thiself,
 And that is witte and frewille, to every wyghtte a porcion,
 To fleyng foules, to fisches, and also to bestes ;
 Ac man hath most therof, and most is to blame,
 But if he worche wel therwith, as DOWEL hym techith.
 I have no kynde knowyng, coth I, to conceyve al your wordes,
 Ac if I may live and loke, I shal go lerne bettere,
 I bykenne the Crist, that on the crois diede,
 And I seide the same save you from myschaunce,
 And yeve you grace on this grounde good men to worthe.
 And thus I wente wyde where, walkyng by myn one,
 By [a wide⁹] wilderness, and by a wodis syde ;
 The blisse of the briddes, broughtte me a-slepe,
 And undir [a] lynde^r [on¹⁰] a launde, lenede I me a stounde^s,
 To [lyth¹¹]^t the laies, that the lovely foules maden ;
 Myrthe of hire mouthes made me there to slepe.
 The merveilous meteles, me metteⁿ thanne
 That ever dremyd wyghtte, in world as I wene ;
 A much man as me thoughtte, and lik to my silve,
 Com and callid me, be my kinde^w name.
 What art thou, coth I tho, that thou my name knowest ?
 That thou wost wel, coth he, and no wyghtte bettere
 Wot I what thou art ? THOUGHTTE, seide he thanne ;
 I have suwid^s the this sevene yere, sey thou me no rather ?
 Art thou THOUGHTTE, coth I tho, [thou couldest me wysse¹²]
 Wher that DOWEL dwellith, and do me that to knowe.
 DOWEL and DOBET, and DOBEST the thirde, coth he,
 Arn thre fair vertues, and ben not fer to fynde ;
 Who so is trew of his tonge, and of his two handes,
 And thorgh his labour and his londes his lyfode wynneth,^r
 And is trusty of hys taylyng^s, taketh but his owne,
 And is nat dronkelew^a ne deynous, DOWEL him folweth ;
 DOBET doth ryght thus, and DORTH BEST moch more ;
 He is low as a lambe, and lovelich of spech,

^r lime tree.^t listen.^s a while.ⁿ dreamed.^w own.^a dealing ; reckoning.^s sought.^y gets.^a drunkard.⁹ wilde.¹⁰ undir.¹¹ hiren.¹² knowest ywisse.

And helpeth alle men, aftir that hem nedith ;
 The bagges and the bigurdles, he hath [to brok¹²] hem alle^b,
 That erl avarus helde and his heires ;
 And thus with mammones money he [hath¹³] made hym frendis,
 And is ronnen to religion, and hath rendrid^c the bible,
 And precheth to the peple seynt Poulis wordis,
 Libenter suffertis insipientes cum sitis ipsi sapientes ;
 [And suffereth the unwyse, wyth you for to lyve,
 And with glad wil doth he good, for so god you hoteth]¹⁴.
 DOBEST is above bothe, and berith a bieschopis crois,
 And is hokid on that on ende to halie^d men fro helle,
 And a pike is in the poynt^e to putte adon the [wyked¹⁵]
 That waiten eny wickednesse, to do DOWELL to tene.
 And DOWELL [and] DOBET, amonges hem have [ordeyned¹⁶]
 To croune one to be kyng, to reulen hem bothe,
 That if DOWELL or DOBET diden ayenst DOBEST,
 Thanne shal the kynge come, and [cast¹⁷] hem in yrens ;
 And but if DOBEST [byd^{*}] for hym, there to be for ever.
 Thus DOWEL and DOBET, and DOBEST the thridde,
 Crouned one to [be¹⁸] king, to [kepen¹⁹] hem alle,
 And to reule the reme, by hire^f thre wittes,
 And in none other wise, but as thei thre assenteth.
 I thanked THOUGHTTE tho, that he me [thus] taughtte ;—
 And [yet²⁰] savoreth me noght thi segge, I covyt to lerne,
 How DOWEL, DOBET, and DOBEST, don among the peple ?
 But WITT con wisse the^h, coth THOUGHTTE, wer theiⁱ iii dwellen,
 Els wot I noon that can the telle, that now lyveth.
 THOUGHTTE and I thus thre daies [we] yeden^k,
 Disputyng upon DOWELL, day aftir othir ;
 And er we wer war, with WITTE ganne we mete.
 He was long and lene, liche to non othir ;
 Was no pride on his apparail, ne povert neither,
 Sadde of his semblant, and of softe chere.
 I durst mene no mater, to make hym to jangle,
 But as I bad THOUGHTTE tho be mene bytwene,
 And put forth some purpose, to preve his wittes,
 What was DOWEL fro DOBET, and DOBEST fram hem bothe
 Thanne THOUGHTTE in that tyme, seide these wordes,
 Where DOWEL, DOBET, and DOBEST [ben²¹] in londe,

^b broke to pieces.
^d draw.

^c translated.
^e staff.

^f their.
ⁱ they.

^h thee.
^k went.

¹² broken.

¹³ had.

¹⁴ For these two lines the MS. reads

"And to the unwise ye don good for so god you hotith."

¹⁵ helle.

¹⁶ ordeyneth.

¹⁷ putte.

¹⁸ dide.

¹⁹ the.

²⁰ helpe.

²¹ aright:—perhaps we should read "Ac aright."

²¹ was.

Here is Wille wold wite, if WITT couth teche hym,
 And whather he be man or [woman²¹,] this man [fain] wold aspie,
 And worchen as thei thre wolde, this is his entente.
 Syre DOWEL dwellith, coth WITT, noȝt a day hennes,
 In a castel that KYNDE¹ made, of four kynnes thynges;
 Of erthe and of aier is hit made, medled togedris
 With wynde and with watir, wittirly^m enjoyned.
 KYNDE hath closed therynne, craftely withalle,
 A lemman^a that he loveth, lyk to hym silve;
 ANIMA she hatte, ac Envy hire hateth,
 A proud prikiere of Fraunce, princeps hujus mundi,
 And wold wyne hire away with wiles and he myghtte
 Ac KYNDE knoweth this wel, and kepith hire the bettre,
 [And²²] doth hire with sire DOWEL is duk of these marchis,
 DOBET is hire damsel, sire DOWELLYS doughtter,
 To serve this lady leely^o, bothe late and rathe^p.
 DOBEST is above bothe a bieschopis pere,
 That he bitt mot be don^q, he reuleth hem alle.
 ANIMA that lady, is lad by his leryng,
 Ac the constable of that castel, that kepith al the watche,
 Is a wise knightte withalle, sire Inwitt he hatte;
 And hath fyve fair sones bi his first wyf,
 Sire Seewel, and Saywel, and Huyrewel the hende,
 Sir Worchewel with thyn hond, a wyghtte man of strengthe,
 And Sire Godfray Gowel, grete lordis forsothe
 These fyve ben y-sette, to save this lady Anima,
 Til KYNDE come or sende, to saven hire for ever.
 What [kins] thing is KYNDE, coth I, canst thou me telle?
 Kynde, coth Witt, is a creatour, of al kynnes thynges;
 Fadir and formour of alle, that ever was maked,
 And that is the gret God that bygynnyng hadde never.
 Angelis and al thyng arn at his wille,
 Lord of lyf and of lyghtte, of blisse and of peyne;
 Ac man is hym most lik, of merke^r and of shafte,
 For thorgh the word that he spak, woxen forth bestes,
 And made [Adam²³] likest [to] hym self one,
 And Eve of his rib bon, withouten any [meane²⁴];
 For he was synguler hym self, and seid faciamus,
 [As²⁵] who seith more mote herto, than my word one.
 My myghtte mote helpe now with my speche,
 Right as a lord shulde make letirs, and hym lackid perchement,
 Though he couthe write never so wel, [if he hadde a pen²⁶]

¹ nature.^m cunningly.^p early.^q must be done.^a paramour.^o fair lady; [loyally.]^r fashion; similitude.²¹ noman.²² as.²³ man.²⁴ mede.²⁵ and.²⁶ Crowley reads "if he had no pen"; which may be right.

The lettre for al the lordship, I lyve were never ymaked;
 And so hit semyth by hym, as the book tellith,
 Ther hit seith, Dixit et facta sunt.
 He moste worche with his word, and his witt shewe,
 And in this maner was man made, thorgh myghtte of God almighty,
 With his word and workmanschip, and with lyf to laste;
 And thus God gaf hym a goste^a, of the godhede of hevene,
 And of his gret grace, grauntid hym blisse,
 And that is lyf that ay shal laste, to al [our] lynage aftir.
 And that is the [castel²⁸] that KYNDE made, Caro it hatteth,
 And is as moch to mene, as man with a soule;
 And that he wroughtte with werke, and with word bothe.
 Thorgh myght of the mageste, man was ymakid
 Ynwyttes and Alwittes, closid ben therynne,
 For love of the ladie Anima, that lyf is ynempned^t;
 [Over al in mans body she walketh and wandreth],
 Ac in the herte is [hir²⁹] home, and [hir²⁹] most^u reste;
 Ac [In] witt is in the heed, and to the herte he loketh,
 What Anima is lef or loth^v, he ledith hire at his wille.—
 Thanne hadde WITT a wyf, that was hote dame STUDIE,
 That leve was of lire, and of lith bothe;
 She was wondurlich wrooth, Wytt me thus taughtte,
 And al staryng dame Studie sternliche seide:
 Wel art you wys, coth she to Wytt, eny wysdomes to telle,
 To flateris or to folis, that frentik ben of witte;
 And blamed hym and banned^x hym, and bad hym be stille,
 Wyth such wyse wordis to wissen eny sottis;
 And seide, Noli mittere, man, margerye perlis
 Amonges hogges, that have hawes at wille;
 Thei don but drevel theron, draf^y wer hem lever^a,
 Than al the precious peré that in paradys wexeth^a.
 I seie hit by suche, coth she, that shewen by hire werkes,
 That hem were lever^b lond, and lordship on erthe,
 [Or³⁰] richesse [or³¹] rentis, and reste at hire wille,
 Than al the sothe sawes, that Salamon saide evere.
 Wysdom and wytt, now is nat worthe a kerse,^c
 But if he be carded with coveityse^d, as clotheris kembern wolle;
 Whoso can contrreve desceytes, and conspire wronges
 And lede forth a love-day^e, to lette wyth treunthe.

^a spirit.^t named.^b they had rather.^u greatest.^w unwilling.^c not worth a straw.^x cursed.^d covetousness.^y See Draffesack. Chauc. Urr. p. 33.^e lady. [A day appointed for the amicable settlement of differences was called a love-day.—TYRWHITT.]

v. 1098.

^z rather.^z grow.²⁸ catel.²⁹ his.³⁰ of.³¹ and of.

He that such craftis can, to counseil is clepid oft,
 Thei leden lordis with lesynges, and beliyeth treuthe.
 Job the gentil in his gestis, gretly wytnesseth
 That wicked men welden the welthe of this world,
 And that thei ben lordis of eche lond, that out of lawe libbeth,
Quare impii vivunt, bene est omnibus qui prevaricantur et inique agunt.
 The sauter seth the same, by suche that done ille,
Ecce ipsi peccatores habundantes in seculo obtinuerunt divitias.
 Loo! seith holy lettrur, which lordis ben these [shrewes?³²]
 Thiike that god most geveth, lest good thei delith,
 And most unkynde [be] to the commune, that most catel weldith^f,
Que perfecisti destruxerunt, justus autem &c.
 Harlotis for her harlotrie, may have of here goodes,
 And japers, and jogelers^g, and jangleris of gestis;
 And he that hath holy wrytt ay in his mouthe,
 And can telle of Thobie, and of the twelve apostles,
 Or prechen of [the] penaunce, that Pilat falsely wroughtte
 To Jesu the gentil, that Jewes to drowe,
 Ful litel is he loved, that suche a lesson shewith,
 Or daunteth or drawith forth, I do hit on [god] hym silve³³.
 But thei^h that feynen hem fooles, and with faytyngⁱ libbeth,
 Ayen the lawe of our lord, and liyen on hem silve,
 Spitten and spewen, and speken foule wordes,
 Drynken and dryvelen, and do men for to iape,
 Lykne men, and liyen on hem, that leneth hem no gestes,
 Thei kennen^k no more mynstracy ne musik men to glade
 Than Mundy the muller, of multa fecit deus.
 Ne were hire vile harlotrie, have God my trowthe,
 Sholde never kyng ne knyghtte, ne chanon of seynt Poulis,
 Yeve hem to hire yeres-yeve, the yifte of a grote!
 Ac myrthe and mynstracie amongis men is naught,
 But lecherie, and losyngerie^l, and losellis talis,
 Glotonye and grete othes, this myrthe thei loveth;
 Ac if thei carpen^m of Christ, thise clarkis and thise lewid,
 At the mete in myrthes, whan mynstrelis ben stille,
 Thanne telle thei of the trinyte, a tale other tweyne,
 And bryngen forth a ballid reson, and taken Bernardⁿ to witnesse,
 And putten forth a presumption to preve the sothe;
 Thus thei dryvelen at hire deys^o, the deyte to knowe,
 And gnawen God wit the gorge^p, whanne hire guttis ben fulle.
 Ac the careful^q may crye, and carpen at the gate,

^f commands.^h they.^k know.^g jugglers.ⁱ deceiving.^l lying.^m speak.^o their table.^q poor.ⁿ St. Bernard^p throat.³² shrewes.

³³ The Harl. MS. reads, with manifest improvement of the sense,
 "Or dauntid or drawe forth these discours wite the sothe."

Bothe [a-fingred¹] and a [furste²], and for chele^r quake,
 Is there noon to nymen hem nere, his noye^a to amend,
 But houlen on hym as on an hound, and hoten hym go thennes.
 Litel loveth he that lord, that lente hym al that blisse,
 That thus parteth withe the pore, a percelle whan hym nedith;
 Ne were mercy in mene men, more than in riche,
 Mendynauntis meteles^t, myghtten go to bedde.
 God is moche in the gorge of thise gret maistres,
 And amonges mene men, his mercy and his werkes;
 And so seith the sauter, I have seiye hit ofte,
 Ecce audivimus eam in Efrata, et invenimus eam in campis silve.
 Clerkis and other kynnes men, carpen of God faste,
 And haven hym mochil in mouthe, ac mene men in herte,
 Freris and faytours, han founden such questions
 To plesse wyth proud men, sithen the pestilence tyme,
 And prechen at S. Poulis, for pure envye of clerkes,
 That folke is nat fermed in the feith, ne free of hire goodes,
 Ne sory for hire synnes; so is pryde woxen
 In religion, and in al the reume, among riche and pore,
 That praieris have no power, the pestilence to lette.
 And yut the wretches of this worlde, are non yware by other,
 Ne for drede of the deth, withdrawe naughte of hire pride,
 Ne beth plentous to the pore, as pure charite wolde,
 But in gaynesse and glotenye, [forglote³⁴] hire good hem silve,
 And breken naughte to the beggere, as the book techeth,
 Frange esurienti panem tuum &c.
 And the more he wynneth and weldeth, welthis and richesces,
 And lord of leedis and londis, the lasse good he delith.
 Thobie tellith you nat so, taketh hede ye riche,
 Howe the book of the bible, of hem berith witnesse,
 Si tibi sit copia, habundanter tribue,
 Si autem exiguum, illud impartiri stude libenter.
 Who so hath moche, [spend manly, so meaneth³⁵] Thobie,
 [And] who so litil weldith, reule hym thereafter,
 For we have no lettre of our lyf, hou long hit shal endure.
 Suche lessons lordis sholde love to huyre,
 And how thei myghtten most meyne, manliche fynde,
 And how noȝt to fare as a [fideler³⁶] or a frere for to seke festes,
 Homlich at other men houses, and haten hire owen;
 Elynge^u is that halle eche day in the wyke,
 Ther the lorde [ne³⁷] the lady liketh nat to sitte.

¹ cold.^a trouble.letter to Anne Bullen, speaks of his *El-*^t beggars supperless.*lengness* since her departure. Hearne's^u strange, deserted. Henry VIII. in a

Avesb. p. 360.

¹ an hungred.² a thurste.³⁴ forgotten.²⁵ dispens moche semeth Thobie.³⁶ vitelere.³⁷ and.

Nowe hath eche ryche a reule^w, to eten by hym silve,
 In a privey parlour, for pore mennys sake,
 Or in a chaumbre wyth a chymney, and leve the cheef halle,
 That was mad for melis, men to eten inne.—
 And whanne that Wytt was yware, what dame Studie tolde,
 He [became³⁸] so [confuse³⁹], he couthe nat loke,
 And as dombe as [death⁴⁰] he drou; him [arere^{x 41}].
 And for no carpyng [I cold⁴²] aftir, ne knelyng to the grounde,
 I myghtte no greyn get, of his grete wittis,
 But al laughynge he loutid, and loked upon Studie,
 In signe that I shold biseche hire of grace.
 [And when I was war of his wil, to his wife I loutid],
 And seide mercy, madame, your man shal I worthe,
 As long as I lyve, bothe late and rathe,
 [For⁴³] to worchen your wille, the while my lyf dureth,
 With [this] that ye kenne me kyndely, to know what is DOWEL?
 For thi meknesse man, coth she, and for thi mylde speche,
 I shal kenne the to my cosyn, that Clergie is hoten^y;
 He hath weddid a wyf, withynne thise sexe monthes,
 That is sibbe^x to the sevene ars, Scripture is hire name;
 Thei two as I hope, after my techyng,
 Shullen wisse the to Dowel, I dare hit undirtake.
 Thanne was I al so fayn^a, as foul^b on fair morwe,
 And gladder thanne the gleman^c, that golde hath to yifte;
 And axid hire the hiye weye wher that Clergie^d dwelte;
 And telle me some tokene, coth I, for tyme is that I wende.
 Axe the hiye weie, coth Studie, hennes to Suffre,
 Bothe wel and woo, if that thou wole lerne,
 And ride forth by Richesse, and rest nat therynne;
 For if thou couplest the therwith, to Clergie comest thou never;
 And also the likerous launde that Lecherie hatteth,
 Leve hit on thi lift half, a large myle or more;
 Til thou come to a court, kepe wel thi tonge
 Fro lesynges and lither^e speche, and likerous drynkes,
 Thanne shalt thou see Sobrete, and Sympilte of speche,
 That eche wyghtte be in wille, his witte to shewe,
 And thus shalt thou come to Clergie, that can many thynges.
 [Saye hym thys signe⁴⁴,] that I sette hym to scole,
 And that I grete wel his wyf, for I wrot hire many bokes,
 And sette hire [to] Sapience, and [to] the Sauter I glosid,
 Logik I lernyd hire, and many other lawes,

^w custom.^y named.^a cheerful.^x back.^x mother [allied].^b bird.^c harper.^e wanton.^d learning.³⁸ was.⁴² he couthe.³⁹ ysconfited.⁴³ for I.⁴⁰ deaf.⁴¹ al ayere.⁴⁴ telle hym this tokene.

And alle the musones to musik, I mad hire to knowe ;
 Plato the poite, I put him [firste] to book,
 Aristotil and other moe, to argue I hem taughtte ;
 Granmer for girles, I gart first wryte,
 And bet hem with a balays, but if thei wolde lerne ;
 Of alle kyn craftes, I counturfetid tolis,
 Of carpentrie, of kervers, and compassid masons,
 And lernyd hem leevel and lyne, though I loke dymme.
 [Ac⁴⁵] Theologie hath tened me, ten score tymys ;
 The more I muse therynne, the mystier hit semyth,
 And the depper I dyvyne, the derker me hit thyneketh.

The artifices and persuasions of the monks to procure donations to their convents, are thus humourously ridiculed, in a strain which seems to have given rise to Chaucer's *SOMPNOUR'S TALE*.

Thanne he asoyled hire sone, and sythen he sayde,
 We haven a wyndow in a working, wole sitten us ful hiye,
 Woldest thu glase that gable, and grave therynne thi name,
 Ful siker sholde thi soule be hevene to have, &c.^f

COVETISE or Covetousness, is thus drawn in the true colours of satirical painting.

And thanne cam COVETISE, kan I hym nat discrive,
 So hungerly and holwe sire hervy him loked ;
 He was [bittle⁴⁶] browed and baburlipped bothe,
 With two blerid eiyen as a blynde hagge,
 And as a letherne pors lollid his chekes,
 Well sidder than his chynne thei cheverid for elde,
 And as a bond man of his bacon his berd was bydrivelid ;

^f fol. xii. a. b. These, and the following lines, are plainly copied by Chaucer, viz.

And I shall cover your kyrke, and your cloisture do maken.

Chaucer, *Sompn. T.* p. 93. v. 835. edit. Urr. But with new strokes of humour.

Yeve me then of thy golde to make our cloyster,

Quod he, for many a muscle and many an oyster,

Whan othir men have been full well at ease,

Have ben our fode our cloyster for to reyse.

And yet, god wote, unnethe the fundament Parfourmid is, ne of our pavement

Thar is not yet a tile within our wones, Bigod, we owe fourtie pound for stones.

So also in the *Ploughman's Crede*, hereafter mentioned. Sign. B. iii. a friar says,

So that thou mow amende our house with money other els

With som catal, other corn or cuppes of sylvere.

And again, Sign. A. iii. *ibid.*

And mightest on amenden as with money of thine own,

Thou sholdest knely bifore Christ in compas of gold,

In the wide wyndowe westward, wel nigh in the midel.

That is, " your figure shall be painted in glass, in the middle of the west window," &c. But of this passage hereafter. [See *infra*, p. 96, note ^o.]

⁴⁵ Taken from Dr. Whitaker's edition.—Crowley reads " And," which by him appears constantly to have been substituted for " Ac."

⁴⁶ betir.

With an hood on his hede, [and] a lowsy hatte above,
 And in a taunie tabard^c of twelve wynter age,
 Alto toryn and boudy, and full of luyz crepyng;
 But yf a louse couth have lopen the bettre,
 She shold not have walkid [on⁴⁷ the welte,] so was hit thredbar.
 I have be Covetyse, coth this caitef, I knewe hit never,
 For summetime I servyd Symme at style,
 And was his prentis yplyght, his profyte to wayte.
 First I lerned to lye, a leef other tweyne
 Wickedlich to weye, was my furst lesson.
 To Wy* and to Winchester^b I went to the faire,

^c tabard. A coat.

* [Wy is probably Weyhill in Hampshire, where a famous fair still subsists.—
 ADDITIONS.]

^b Antiently, before many flourishing towns were established, and the necessaries or ornaments of life, from the convenience of communication and the increase of provincial civility, could be procured in various places, goods and commodities of every kind were chiefly sold at fairs; to which, as to one universal mart, the people resorted periodically, and supplied most of their wants for the ensuing year. The display of merchandise, and the conflux of customers, at these principal and almost only emporia of domestic commerce, was prodigious: and they were therefore often held on open and extensive plains. One of the chief of them seems to have been that of St. Giles's hill or down near Winchester, to which our poet here refers. It was instituted and given as a kind of revenue to the bishop of Winchester, by William the Conqueror; who by his charter permitted it to continue for three days. But in consequence of new royal grants, Henry the Third prolonged its continuance to sixteen days. Its jurisdiction extended seven miles round, and comprehended even Southampton, then a capital trading town: and all merchants who sold wares within that circuit, forfeited them to the bishop. Officers were placed at a considerable distance, at bridges and other avenues of access to the fair, to exact toll of all merchandise passing that way. In the mean time, all shops in the city of Winchester were shut. In the fair was a court called the pavilion, at which the bishop's justiciaries and other officers assisted, with power to try causes of various sorts for seven miles round: nor among other singular claims could any lord of a manor hold a court-baron within the said circuit,

without licence from the pavilion. During this time, the bishop was empowered to take toll of every load or parcel of goods passing through the gates of the city. On Saint Giles's eve, the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of the city of Winchester delivered the keys of the four city gates to the bishop's officers; who, during the said sixteen days, appointed a mayor and bailiff of their own to govern the city, and also a coroner to act within the said city. Tenants of the bishop, who held lands by doing service at the pavilion, attended the same with horses and armour, not only to do suit at the court there, but to be ready to assist the bishop's officers in the execution of writs and other services. But I cannot here enumerate the many extraordinary privileges granted to the bishop on this occasion; all tending to obstruct trade, and to oppress the people. Numerous foreign merchants frequented this fair; and it appears, that the justiciaries of the pavilion, and the treasurer of the bishop's palace of Wolvesey, received annually for a fee, according to ancient custom, four basons and ewers, of those foreign merchants who sold brazen vessels in the fair, and were called *mercatores diaunteres*. In the fair several streets were formed, assigned to the sale of different commodities; and called the *Drapery*, the *Pottery*, the *Spicery*, &c. Many monasteries, in and about Winchester, had shops, or houses, in these streets, used only at the fair, which they held under the bishop, and often let by lease for a term of years. One place in the fair was called *Speciarium Sancti Swythini*, or the *Spicery of Saint Swithin's monastery*. In the revenue rolls of the antient bishops of Winchester, this fair makes a grand and separate article of reception, under this title. *FERIA. Computus Ferie sancti Egidii*. But in the revenue-roll of bishop Will. of Waynflete, [an. 1471.] it appears

⁴⁷ there.

With many maner marchaundises, as my maister me hightte.—
Than drewe I me among drapers my donet¹ to [lerne,⁴⁹]

to have greatly decayed: in which, among other proofs, I find mention made of a district in the fair being unoccupied, "*Ubi homines Cornubiæ stare solebant.*" From whence it likewise appears that different counties had their different stations. The whole reception to the bishop this year from the fair, amounted only to 45*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.* Yet this sum, small as it may seem, was worth upwards of 400*l.* Edward the First sent a precept to the sheriff of Hampshire, to restore to the bishop this fair; which his escheator Malcolm de Harlegh had seized into the king's hands, without command of the treasurer and barons of the exchequer, in the year 1292. Registr. Joh. de Pontissara, Episc. Wint. fol. 195. After the charter of Henry the Third, many kings by charter confirmed this fair, with all its privileges, to the bishops of Winchester. The last charter was of Henry the Eighth to bishop Richard Fox and his successors, in the year 1511. But it was followed by the usual confirmation-charter of Charles the Second. In the year 1144, when Brian Fitz-count, lord of Wallingford in Berkshire, maintained Wallingford castle, one of the strongest garrisons belonging to Maud the empress, and consequently sent out numerous parties for contributions and provisions, Henry de Blois bishop of Winchester enjoined him not to molest any passengers that were coming to his fair at Winchester, under pain of excommunication. *Omnibus ad FERIAM MEAM venientibus*, &c. MSS. Dodsworth. vol. 89. f. 76. Bibl. Bodl. This was in king Stephen's reign. In that of Richard the First, in the year 1194, the king grants to Portsmouth a fair lasting for fifteen days, with all the privileges of Saint Giles's fair at Winchester. Anders. Hist. Com. i. 197. In the year 1234, the eighteenth of Henry the Third, the fermier of the city of Winchester paid twenty pounds to Ailward chamberlain of Winchester castle, to buy a robe at this fair for the king's son, and divers silver implements for a chapel in the castle. Madox, Exch. p. 251. It appears from a curious record now remaining, containing *The Establishment and Expences of the household* of Henry Percy, fifth earl of Northumberland, in the year 1512, and printed by Dr. Percy, that the stores of his lordship's house at Wresille, for the whole year, were laid in from fairs. "He that standes charged with my lordes house

for the houll yeir, if he may possible, *shall be at all FAIRES* where the groyce emptions shall be boughte for the house for the houle yeire, as wine, wax, beiffes, multons, wheite, and maltie." p. 407. This last quotation is a proof, that fairs still continued to be the principal marts for purchasing necessities in large quantities, which are now supplied by frequent trading towns: and the mention of *beiffes* and *multons*, which were salted oxen and sheep, shows that at so late a period they knew but little of breeding cattle. Their ignorance of so important an article of husbandry, is also an evidence, that in the reign of Henry the Eighth the state of population was much lower among us than we may imagine.

In the statutes of Saint Mary Ottery's college in Devonshire, given by bishop Grandison the founder, the stewards and sacrist are ordered to purchase annually two hundred pounds of wax for the choir of the college, at this fair. "Cap. lxvii. —Pro luminaribus vero omnibus supradictis inveniendis, etiam statuiimus, quod senescalli scaccarii per visum et auxilium sacriste, omni anno, in NUNDINIS WYN-
TON, vel alibi apud Tornyngton et in partibus Barnstepol, ceram sufficientem, quam ad ducentas libras æstimamus pro uno anno ad minus, faciant provideri." These statutes were granted in the year 1338. MS. apud Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. In Archiv. Wolves. In the Accompts of the Priors of Maxtoke in Warwickshire, and of Bicester in Oxfordshire, under the reign of Henry the Sixth, the monks appear to have laid in yearly stores of various yet common necessities, at the fair of Sturbridge in Cambridgeshire, at least one hundred miles distant from either monastery. It may seem surprising, that their own neighbourhood, including the cities of Oxford and Coventry, could not supply them with commodities neither rare nor costly, which they thus fetched at a considerable expence of carriage. It is a rubric in some of the monastic rules, *De Euntibus ad Nundinas*. See Dugd. Mon. Angl. ii. p. 746. It is hoped the reader will excuse this tedious note, which at least develops antient manners and customs.

¹ Lesson. Properly a *Grammar*, from *Ælius Donatus* the grammarian. Chaucer, Testam. L. p. 504. b. edit. Urr. "No passe I to vertues of this Margarete, but therin al my donet can I lerne." In the statutes

⁴⁹ lere. These words are frequently confounded, though their distinction is equally great with that of cause of effect—Leran A. S. to teach; Leornan A. S. to earn.

To draw the lyser along, the lenger hit semyd,
Among the rich raiyes, &c.*

Our author, who probably could not get preferment, thus inveighs against the luxury and diversions of the prelates of his age.

And now is religion a ridere, a romere bi streetis,
A ledar of love-daiyes¹ and a loud^m bigere;
A prikere on a palfray from maner to maner,
An hep of houndes at his ars, as he a lord wereⁿ.
And but his knave knele, that shall hym hys cuppe brynge,
He loureth on hym, and axeth who taughtte hym curtesie^o.

of Winchester-college, [written about 1386,] grammar is called "Antiquus donatus," i. e. the *old donat*, or the name of a system of grammar at that time in vogue, and long before. The French have a book entitled "*LE DONNET, traité de grammaire, baillé a feu roi Charles viii.*" Among Rawlinson's manuscripts at Oxford, I have seen *Donatus optimus noviter compilatus*, a manuscript on vellum, given to Saint Alban's, by John Stoke, abbot, in 1450. In the introduction, or *lytell Proheme*, to Dean Colet's *Grammatices Rudimenta*, we find mention made of "certayne introductorys into latyn speche called *Donates*," &c. Among the books written by Bishop Pecock, there is the *DONAT into christian religion*, and the *Follower to the DONAT*. Lewis's Pecock, p. 317. I think I have before observed, that John of Basing, who flourished in the year 1240, calls his Greek Grammar *DONATUS GRÆCORUM*. Pegge's Weseham, p. 51. Wynkyn de Worde printed *DONATUS ad Anglicanarum scholarum usum*. Cotgrave (in V.) quotes an old French proverb, "*Les diables estoient encores a leur DONAT, The Devils were but yet in their grammar.*"

* fol. xxiii. a. b.

¹ levadies. ladies. [vid. supra p. 50, Note *.]

^m lewd. [importunate.]

ⁿ Walter de Suffield, bishop of Norwich, bequeathes by will his pack of hounds to the king, in 1256. Blomefield's Norf. ii. 347. See Chaucer's *Monke*, Prol. v. 165. This was a common topic of satire. It occurs again, fol. xxvii. a. See Chaucer's *Testament of Love*, p. 492. col. ii. Urr. The archdeacon of Richmond, on his visitation, comes to the priory of Bridlington in Yorkshire, in 1216, with ninety-seven horses, twenty-one dogs, and three hawks, Dugd. Mon. ii. 65.

^o Fol. l. a. The following prediction, although a probable conclusion, concerning a king, who after a time would suppress the religious houses, is remarkable. I imagined it was foisted into the copies,

in the reign of king Henry the Eighth. But it is in manuscripts of this poem older than the year 1400. fol. 1. a. b.

And *THER SHALL COME A KING*, and confesse your religions,

And bete you as the bible telleth, for breking of your rule:

And amende moniales, monkes and chanoines.—

And then friers in her freytor shall synd a key

Of Constantynes coffers, in which is the catal

That Gregories godchyl dren had it dispended;

And than shall the abot of Abingdon, and all his issue for ever,

HAVE a KNOCKE OF A KING, and INCURABLE THE WOUND.

Again, fol. lxxv. a. where he alludes to the knights-templars, lately suppressed.

——Men of holie kirke

Shall turne as templars did, *the tyme approacheth nere.*

This, I suppose, was a favourite doctrine in Wickliffe's discourses. I cannot help taking notice of a passage in *Piers Plowman*, which shows how the reigning passion for chivalry infected the ideas and expressions of the writers of this period. The poet is describing the crucifixion, and speaking of the person who pierced our Saviour's side with a spear. This person our author calls a *knight*, and says that he came forth "*with his spere in hand, and justed with Jesus.*" Afterwards for doing so base an act as that of wounding a dead body, he is pronounced a disgrace to *knighthood*: and our "*Champion chevaler chyese knyght*" is ordered to *yield himself recreant*. fol. lxxxviii. b. This knight's name is Longias, and he is blind; but receives his sight from the blood which springs from our Saviour's side. This miracle is recorded in the *Golden Legende*. He is called Longias, "*A blinde knight men ycallid Longias,*" in Chaucer, *Laus. Mar. Magd.* v. 177.

There is great picturesque humour in the following lines.

HUNGER in haste than hent Wastour by the mawe,
And he wrong hym so by the wombe that bothe his eiyen wattred ;
He buffetid the brytoner aboute the chekes,
That he loked lik a lanterne al his lifetyme.^p

And in the following, where the Vices are represented as converted and coming to confession, among which is the figure of Envy.

Of a freris frocke weren the fore sleves,
And as a leeke [that] hadde yleye longe in the sonne,
So loked he with lene chekis, lourynge foule.^q

It would be tedious to transcribe other strokes of humour with which this poem abounds. Before one of the Visions the poet falls asleep while he is bidding his beads. In another he describes Antichrist, whose banner is borne by Pride, as welcomed into a monastery with ringing of bells, and a solemn congratulatory procession of all the monks marching out to meet and receive him.^r

These images of Mercy and Truth are in a different strain.

Out of the west coost, a wenche as me thoughtte,
Come wandrynge in the weie, to helleward she loked ;
Mercy hyghtte that mayde, a meke thyng withalle,
A ful benyng berd, and buxom of speche.
Hire soster, as hit semyd, come softly walkyng,
Evene out of the este, and westward she lokid,
A ful [comely⁴⁹] creature, [Truth⁵⁰] she hightte,
For the vertu that hire folwid aferd was she never.
Whanne thise maydens metten, Mercy and Treuthe,
Eyther axid other of this grete wondir,
Of the dene and of the derknesse, &c.^s

The imagery of Nature, or KYNDE, sending forth his diseases from the planets, at the command of CONSCIENCE, and of his attendants AGE and DEATH, is conceived with sublimity.

KYNDE CONSCIENCE tho herde, and cam out of the planetts,
And sent forth his forreours Feveris, and Fluxes,
Coughes, and Cardyacles, Crampes, and Tothe-aches,
Reumes, and Redegoundes, and roynous Skalles,
Buyles, and Botches, and brennyng Agwes,
Frennesyes and foule Evelis, forageris of KYNDE.
There was "Harrow! and Helpe! here cometh KYNDE!
With Deeth that is dredful, to undon us alle!"
The lord that lyved aftir lust tho lowde criede.—

^p fol. xxiii. b.

^q fol. xlii. a.

^r fol. cxii. a.

^s fol. lxxxviii. b.

⁴⁹ manly.

⁵⁰ treuly.

[*Age the hoore, he was in the vaw-ward,
And bare the banner before Death: by ryght he it claimed.*]
 KYNDE cam aftir, with many kene soris,
 As Pockes and Pestilences, and moch peple shente;
 So KYNDE thorgh corruptions, killid ful manye.
 DEETH cam dryvyng aftir, and al to dust [*pashed*⁵¹]
 Kyngs and knyghttes, kaysours, and popis.—
 Many a lovely lady, and lemmanys of knyghttes,
 Swowed and sweltid for sorwe of DETHE's dentes.
 CONSCIENCE, of his curtesye, to KYNDE he besoughtte
 To [*cease*⁵²] and sofre, and see whether thei wolde
 Leve Pryde prively, and be parfyte Christene;
 And KYNDE cecyd tho, to see the peple amende.[†]

These lines at least put us in mind of Milton's *Lazarhouse*.^u

..... Immediately a place
 Before his eyes appear'd, sad, noisome, dark :
 A lazarus-house it seem'd, wherein were laid
 Numbers of all diseased: all maladies
 Of gastly spasm, or racking torture, qualms
 Of heart-sick agony, all feverous kinds,
 Convulsions, epilepsies, fierce catarrhs,
 Intestine stone, and ulcer, cholic pangs,
 Demoniac phrenzy, moping melancholy,
 And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,
 Marasmus, and wide-wasting Pestilence :
 Dropsies and asthma, and joint-racking rheum.
 Dire was the tossing! Deep the groans! DESPAIR
 Tended the sick, busy from couch to couch ;
 And over them triumphant DEATH his dart
 Shook, but delay'd to strike, &c.

At length FORTUNE or PRIDE sends forth a numerous army led by
 LUST, to attack CONSCIENCE.

And gadrid a grete oste, alle agayn CONSCIENCE :
 This LECHERIE leyde on, with a laughyng chere,
 And with prive speche, and peynted wordes,
 Armed hym in idilnesse and in hiegh berynge.
 He bare a bowe in his hand, and many bloody arwes,
 Weren fetherid with faire byheste, and many a false treuthe^v.

Afterwards CONSCIENCE is besieged by Antichrist, and seven great
 giants, who are the seven capital or deadly sins: and the assault is
 made by SLOTH, who conducts an army of more than a thousand pre-
 lates.

[†] fol. cxliii. a.

^u Par. L. ii. 475.

^v fol. cxliii. a.

⁵¹ passid.

⁵² sec.

It is not improbable, that Longland here had his eye on the old French ROMAN D'ANTECHRIST, a poem written by Huon de Mery, about the year 1228. The author of this piece supposes that Antichrist is on earth, that he visits every profession and order of life, and finds numerous partisans. The VICES arrange themselves under the banner of ANTICHRIST, and the VIRTUES under that of CHRIST. These two armies at length come to an engagement, and the battle ends to the honour of the Virtues, and the total defeat of the Vices. The BANNER OF ANTICHRIST has before occurred in our quotations from Longland. The title of Huon de Mery's poem deserves notice. 'It is [LE] TURNOYEMENT DE L'ANTECHRIST. These are the concluding lines.

Par son droit nom a peau cet livre
 Qui tresbien s' avorde a l' escrit
 Le *Tournoiement de l'Antechrist*.

The author appears to have been a monk of St. Germain des Pres, near Paris. This allegory is much like that which we find in the old dramatic MORALITIES. The theology of the middle ages abounded with conjectures and controversies concerning Antichrist, who at a very early period was commonly believed to be the Roman pontiff*.

NOTE ON THE VISION OF PIERCE PLOWMAN,

BY MR. PRICE.

NOTE A.—(*Referred to in page 44 of this volume, note *.*)

THIS conjecture of Mr. Tyrwhitt is supported by the title of Dr. Whitaker's manuscript: "Hic incipit visio Will' de Peirs Plouhman." Mr. Ritson was rather disposed to reject it, from a belief that this rubric had originated in a mistake; and was founded on an erroneous interpretation of the following, and other similar passages:

Than *Thought* in that time sayde these wordes,
 Whether *Dowel*, *Dobet*, and *Dobest*, beene in lande,
 Here is WYL wolde witte, if *Witte* could teche hym.

Yet he speaks with considerable hesitation: "Now unless the word WILLE be, as there is some reason to believe, no more than a personification of the mental faculty, and have consequently been *misapprehended by the writer of that title*, it would follow that the author's name is WILLIAM, and that his surname and quality are totally unknown." On a first perusal of the poem, there are few perhaps who have not been inclined to unite with Mr. Ritson, in this opinion of the Dreamer's

* See this topic discussed with singular penetration and perspicuity, by Dr. Hurd, in Twelve Sermons Introductory

to the Study of the Prophecies. Lond. 1772. p. 206. seq.

character. His constant association with persons confessedly allegorical, the promptitude with which he recognises their several appellations and attributes, the familiarity of his address, at what otherwise must have been a first encounter, and the common interest these airy phantoms appear to take in the spiritual welfare of the wanderer,—seem to speak for a community of origin, and something like an identity of family. And perhaps there is no passage in the Visions more strongly corroborative of such a belief than this :

A much man, me thouhte, *lyke to my selve*,
 Cam and callede me by my ryhte name :
 What ert thou, quath ich, that my name knowest ?
 That wost thou Wille, quath he, and no wight betere :
 Wot ich ? quath ich,—ho ert thou ? Thouhte, seide he thenne ;
 Ich have the sewed this seve yer, seih thou me no rather ?

It will however be recollected that Wil (or as it is termed by Mr. Ritson, “a personification of the mental faculty,”) has been introduced on another occasion, and that in no very exalted capacity. It is a name given to the horse of Reason.

And sette my sadell uppon SOFFRE, till ich see my tyme ;
 Let worrok hym wel with a vyse before ;
 For it is the won of WIL to wynse and to kyke.

In a subsequent part of the poem, Free Will, or *Liberum Arbitrium*, is exhibited as the collective idea of the “mental faculty,” or (to speak with Dr. Whitaker,) is used in a sense which seems “coextensive with all the faculties of the soul :” and in the catalogue of its attributes we find the modern acceptation of Will distinctly specified.

And the wyle ich quyke the cours, cald am ich Anima ;
 And wenne ich wilne other wolde, Animus ich hyhte ;
 And for that ich can and knowe, cald ich am mannys thouht ;
 And whan ich make mone to God, Memoria ich hatte ;
 And when ich deme domes, and do as treuthe techeth
 Then is Racio my ryhte name, Reson in English ;
 And wenne ich fele that folke telleth, my furste name is Sensus,
 And that is wine and wisdom, the welle of alle craftes ;
 And when i chalange other nat chalange, chesse or refuse ;
 Thanne am ich Conscientia cald, Godes clerk and hus notarie ;
 And when ich wol do other nat do goode dedes other ille,
 Then am ich *Liberum Arbitrium*, as lettred men tellen ;
 And when ich love leely oure Lord and alle othere,
 Then is Leel Love my name, in Latyn that is Amor ;
 And when ich flee fro the body, and feye leve the caroygne,
 Then am ich a spirit specheles, and Spiritus thenne ich hote.

But the objection most conclusive against Mr. Ritson's doctrine will be found in the circumstance, that with one or two exceptions, (such

as the colloquy between Will and Reason, Passus 6) all the imaginary beings of the poem are avowedly the creatures of a dreamer's fancy, the visions of his sleeping moments; while to mark the distinction between the narrator's person, and the fictitious creations with which he has peopled his allegory, he expressly alludes in his waking intervals to his residence on Cornhill, and to his wife and daughter, Kitty and Kalot. Whatever diversity of opinion may have been excited by the ambiguous appellation bestowed upon the dreamer, there can be no doubt of the substantial character intended to be conveyed of his family; and there is too much propriety observed in the allegorical combinations detailed in the poem, to suppose for a moment that the author would have united his imaginary wanderer with a consort "of middle-earth." To complete the proof, it may be observed, that in a manuscript noticed hereafter (Harl. No. 875) we find: "That made *William* to wepe." Where the present text reads: "That made *Wille* to wepe."—Whether this be the author's name, as inferred by Mr. Tyrwhitt, it is now impossible to decide. The same motives which might induce him to avoid any mention of his character, parentage, or occupation, would be sufficient to account for the assumption of a feigned Christian name.—In the subsequent pages the name of Langland has been retained, to avoid a tedious circumlocution.

[I am fortunately enabled to throw some additional light on the disputed question of the authorship of *Piers Plouhman*, which will prove, at least, that Tyrwhitt and Price were right in their assumption. On the fly leaf of a copy of the poem, preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, of the fifteenth century, appears this curious and valuable note: "Memorandum, quod Stacy de Rokayle, pater *Willielmi de Langlond*, qui Stacius fuit generosus, et morabatur in Schiptone vnder Whicwode, tenens Dni. Le Spenser in comitatu Oxon. *qui predictus Willielmus fecit librum qui vocatur Perys Ploughman*." I shall not indulge at present in any further comment on this note, since I have no doubt, that, if the memorandum is to be depended on, it will not be difficult to trace the individual thus at length so positively identified.—M.]

APPENDIX TO SECT. VIII.

[See page 45 of this volume, note c.]

THE following extracts from Dr. Whitaker's edition of the "Visions of Peirs Plouhman" have been collated with two manuscripts in the British Museum: Vespasian B. xvi. and Harleian MS. No. 2376. Both these manuscripts are said to have been written in the fourteenth century; and they only vary from Dr. Whitaker's text, in their occasional use of a different orthography, and a few verbal discrepancies common to most copies of the same work. The Cotton manuscript, from its an-

tiquity, its strict observance of the alliteration, and the general correctness of its language, may be placed in the same rank of excellence with Dr. Whitaker's manuscript. Though equally provincial in its language—assuming Chaucer's poems as a standard of polished English,—it is written in a different dialect, and may have been transcribed in some western county, since it does not materially vary from the style of Robert of Gloucester. The Harleian manuscript, apparently some years younger, is not so conspicuous for its fidelity in minor particulars, though in the general outline of the narrative, and even in the tenor of almost every line, it may be said to accord with Dr. Whitaker's text and the Cotton copy. Its chief defects are a general neglect of the alliteration, and the repeated introduction of new glosses without a due attention to the context. Hence the sense is not unfrequently obscure, and occasionally both contradictory and absurd. But this is in some degree compensated for, by the retention of many Anglo-Saxon archaisms and several valuable examples of early grammatical inflection; and it will always prove a useful assistant in forming a future text of these "VISIONS."

It is among the remarks contained in Dr. Whitaker's preface, that the variations between his own manuscript and Crowley's text are so material, as to warrant a belief that the original writer had at some time chosen to remould his work, and that both versions have come down to us. This conclusion is strongly borne out by the amplifications of the Oxford manuscript, which, while they support the integrity of the early printed copies, clearly show that these variations are too important to have been the result of a common transcriber's caprice, or to have emanated, as Mr. Tyrwhitt believed, from the ignorance, negligence, or wilful interpolation of Crowley. But the inference which Dr. Whitaker has coupled with this remark,—that his own manuscript exhibits the poem in its original state, and that Crowley's text affords a specimen of the more recent *rifacimento*,—is not to be admitted without considerable hesitation. Among the Harley MSS. there is a fragment of this poem written upon vellum, (No. 875.) of an equally early date with Vespasian B. xvi. and in a character nearly resembling it. Unhappily this fragment only extends to the 151st line of the 8th passus, nor is it free from lacunæ even thus far. Our loss is however in some measure repaired—perhaps wholly so—by the preservation of a transcript on paper, in the same collection (No. 6041), which, though considerably younger, and somewhat modernized in its orthography, exhibits a much more correct and intelligible text. From this manuscript it is evident, that another and a third version was once in circulation; and if the first draught of the poem be still in existence, it is here perhaps that we must look for it. For in this the narrative is considerably shortened; many passages of a decidedly episodic cast—such as the tale of the cat and the ratons, and the character of Wrath—are wholly omitted; others, which in the later versions are given with con-

siderable detail of circumstance, are here but slightly sketched; and though evidently the text book of Dr. Whitaker's and Crowley's versions, it may be said to agree with neither, but to alternate between the ancient and modern printed copies. Of this the reader will be best able to form his own opinion, on learning that the first passus agrees rather closely with Crowley to this line,

To synghe there for Symony for Silver is swete.—

(See *Whitaker*, p. 5.)

and then continues in the following manner to the end :

Ther hovyd an hundred, in houves of selke
 Serjauntes it semed, that serven at barre¹
 Pleten for penyes, and poundes the lawe
 And naugt for loue of oure Lord, unlose here lippes ones
 Thow mygthest betere mete the myst, on Malverne hilles
 Than gete a mum of here mouth, but moné be schewyd.
 I say byschopes bolde, and bacheleres of devyn
 Be come clérkes of acontes, the kyng for to serve.
 Erchedekenes and dekenes, that dignetes haven
 To preche the peple, and the pore men to fede
 Ben lopen to Londen, by leve of here byschopes
 And ben clerke of the kynges benche, the contre to schende.
 Barouns and burgeys, and bondage² also
 I say in that semblé, as ye schal here after
 Bakers and bochers, and brewsters many³
 Wollene websters, and wevers of linen
 Taylors and towkers, and tollers bothe
 Masons and minours, and many other craftes ;
 And dykers and delvers, that don here dedes ille,
 And dryven forth the longe daye, with duke save⁴ dame Emme :
 Cokes and here knaves crien, hote pies hote,
 Gode gees and grys, go we dyne, go we
 And taverners to hem, tolde hem the same⁵
 With wyne of Oseye, and wyn of Gascoyne⁶
 Of the Ryn and the Rochel, the rost to defye
 Al this I saug slepyng, and sevene sithes more⁷.

It was the discovery of this manuscript, combined with other considerations, which it would be now superfluous to enumerate, that con-

Variations from the Harleian Fragment, No. 875.

¹ to serve at the barre. ² bondemen.
³ This and the following lines are omitted by No. 875.

⁴ deus save.—But a later hand has corrected No. 6041, by expunging the k in "duke" and inserting "vous" above: i. e. "due vous save," &c.

⁵ Taverners hem tolde thilke same tale.
⁶ good wyne of Gaskyne, and the wyne of Osee.—The same hand already noticed, has corrected "wyn" to "weyte (wheat) of Gascoyne;"—an obvious improvement.

⁷ omitted.

firm'd a resolution already entertained of adhering to an early manuscript copy of Crowley's text, in the body of the History. But as some objections might be made to the propriety of such a measure, and a difference of opinion might arise as to the value and importance of the respective texts, it was thought advisable to meet the difficulty in the shape of compromise, by giving the corresponding passages from Dr. Whitaker's edition in an Appendix. To have reprinted these with all their errors would have been an easy, though no very laudable undertaking. Dr. Whitaker's manuscript contains as pure a text as any single copy is likely to supply. But it is neither free from verbal inaccuracies, omissions, and other faults of a similar nature common to every relic of the age in which it was written, nor has it always been correctly read. The Museum copies offered a remedy for these defects^a, and in resorting to their varied readings for an illustration of the difficulties noticed by Dr. Whitaker, a hope has been encouraged that even the present slight notice of their value may point to the means by which we may one day obtain an authentic text of our earliest English satirist. —The corrections introduced in the following pages are all supported by the joint authority of these documents. To have recorded every variation of orthography would have extended the notes to an immoderate length without increasing their value; for it is only in words of doubtful import or ambiguous enunciation, that such particulars can be important to the philologist. Where the sense has materially differed, the corresponding passage has been preserved below.

And merveyulously me mette, as ich may yow telle
 Al the welthe of this worlde, and the woo bothe
 Wynkyng as it were, wyterly ich saw hyt
 Of truyth and of tricherye, of tresoun and of gyle
 Al ich saw slepyng, as ich shal yow telle
 Esteward ich behulde, after the sonne
 And sawe a tour as ich trowede, truthe was ther ynne
 Westwarde ich wattede¹, in a wyle after
 And sawe a deep dale, deth as ich lyvede

^a By the aid of these manuscripts I found all the obscurities noticed by Dr. Whitaker in his first ten passus to be satisfactorily removed. I did not pursue the collation further.

¹ The Cotton MS. reads "bihulde;" the Harley "awaytede;" which inclines me to believe, that Dr. Whitaker in rendering "wattede," *wandered*, from the Anglo-Saxon "wath," has confounded it with another term of nearly similar sound.

For muche woo was hym marked, that
 wade shal with the lewede. p. 236.

The orthography of the text is peculiar to

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Dr. Whitaker's MS.; but in the following extracts, the context shows "wattede" to be identical with a verb, which is elsewhere written "waytede."

Ich dar nought for is felaweshepe, in faith
 Pees saide,
 Bere sikerlich eny selver, to Seint Gyles
 doune;
 He *watteth* ful wel, wan ich sulfere take,
 Wat wey ich wende, wel yerne he aspleth,
 To robbe me, and to ryde me, yf ich ride
 softe. p. 66.

Here it is equivalent to our modern *watch*; though Dr. Whitaker, by interpreting it

Woned in tho wones and wyckede [spirites²]
 A fair feld fol of folke, fonde ich ther bytwyne
 [Of] all manere of men, the mene and the ryche
 Worchynge and wandrynge, as the worlde asketh
 Somme pute hem to plow, and pleiden fol seyld
 In setting and in sawyng, swonken ful harde
 And wonne [that³] thuse wasters, wit glotenye distryeth
 Somme pute hem to pruyde, &c. (See *Whitaker*, p. 1.)

Thus robed in russett, ich romede a boutē
 Al a somer seson, for to seke Dowel
 [And] frainede fol ofte, of folke that ich mette
 Yf eny whit wist, wer Dowel was at ynne
 And what man he myghte be, of meny man ich askede
 Was nevere wiht in this worlde, that wisse me couthe
 Wher that he longede, lasse ne more
 Til hit by-ful on a Frydaye, two freres ich mette
 Maisteres of menours, men of grete witte
 Ich hailsede⁴ hem hendelyche, as ich hadde ylernede
 And prayede pur charite, [or⁵] thei passede forthere

"he knows it well," has confounded it with "wat," the past tense of "wite."

Throgh here wordes ich a wook, and *wat-tede* aboute

And *seih* the sonne in the south, sitte that tyme. p. 162.

Here as in the present text it means "gazed."

And ich *loked* in hus lappe, a Lazar lay ther ynne—

What *waytest* thou quath Faith, and what woldest thou have,

Ich wolde wyte quath ich tho, what is in thy lappe. p. 319.

Whith muche noyse that nyght, ner fren-tik ich awakede

In inwit and in alle whittes after liberum arbitrium

Ich *waitede* wyterly, ac ne wiste weder heo wente. p. 314.

Dr. Whitaker has paraphrased these expressions by: "What waitest thou for," "I waited earnestly;" which if intended for *literal* versions are correct enough. For the primary signification of *look*, *see*, and *wait*, appears to have been the sense in which we still use the two first. Their secondary meaning was, to look upon with a view to defence or protection; though "wait" was used to imply close observation for either offensive or defensive purposes; and hence its twofold sense, to attend or watch.

² spirit'. W.

³ ther. W. Dr. Whitaker glosses the passage; "some destroying themselves by gluttony and excess;" but this line is evidently connected with the preceding one, and the obvious meaning, "that the industrious laboured to attain (wonne) those things, which the prodigal destroyed by their gluttonous excesses."

⁴ Dr. Whitaker in his Glossary interprets "halse," to salute; and remarks, that "halsian" means rather, to implore. This I conceive *not* to have been its primary import. The verb is clearly derived from the substantive "hals," *the neck*; and expresses that peculiar action which constituted the ancient mode of salutation. The French *accoller* has been formed on a similar principle. But even its secondary meaning is founded on a practice of high antiquity:

Και ῥα παροῖθ' αὐτοῖο καθέζετο, καὶ
 λαβε γυνῶν
 Σκαίψ' δεξιτερῇ δ' ἀρ' ὑπ' ἀνθερωνας
 ἐλουσα,
 Λισσομένη προσεειπε, κ. τ. λ. IL A. 500.

In the following line of Chaucer,

And said, O dere child, I halse thee.
 v. 13575.

Mr. Tyrwhitt ought to have accepted the gloss presented by the Askew MS.: "I conjure thee." It does not mean here, as in his second example, "I salute thee."

⁵ as. W.

Yf thei knew eny contreie, other costes aboute
 Wher that Dowel dwelleth, dere frendes telleth me
 For ye aren men of thys molde, that most wide walken
 And knowen contries and courtes, and menye kynne places
 Bothe princes paleis, and poure menne cotes
 And Dowel and Do-uele, wher thei dwellen bothe
 Sothliche seide the frere, he sojorneth with ous freres
 And ay hath as ich hope, and wol her after
 Contra quath ich as a clerke, and comsede to dispute
 And seide sothliche, Septies in die cadit justus
 Fallynge fro joye, Jesus wot the sothe
 Sevene sythe seith the bok, syngeth⁶ day by day
 The alther ryghtfulleste reuk, that regneth upon eerthe
 And ho so syngeth ich seide, certys doth nat wel
 For ho so syngeth, sykerliche doth uele
 And Dowel and Do-uele, may nat dwelle to gederes
 Ergo he ys nat alway, at hom among yow freres,
 He is som while elles wher, to wisse the puple
 Ich shal sei the my sone, seide the frere thenne
 How seven sithes the sadde man, syngeth on the day⁷
 By a forbusene⁸ quath the frere, ich shal the faire shewe
 Let brynge a man in a bot, in myddes a brode water
 The wynde and the water, and waggynge of the bote⁹
 Maketh the man meny tyme, to stomble yf he stande
 Stonde he nevere so styfliche, thorgh sterynge of the bote
 He bendeth and boweth, the body his unstable
 Ac yut he is saf and sounde, so fareth hit by the ryghtful
 Thauh he falle he falleth nat; bote as ho fulle in a bote
 That ay is saf and sounde, that suteth with ynne the borde

⁶ The Cotton and Harleian MSS. read "synneth." Dr. Whitaker's MS. gives the earlier orthography from "singian, *pec-care*." The Museum MSS. read:

And whose synneth i seide certes doth
 nout wel,

For whose synneth sikerli doth evele.

CORR.

And who synneth y seide certes doth noxt
 welle,

And who so synneth sykerly mot nede do
 uele.

HARL.

⁷ MS. Harl. reads, "in one day"; which I conceive to be only a gloss.

⁸ Dr. Whitaker has remarked: This word appears to mean an example—a conjecture perfectly correct. It is the Anglo-Saxon *fore-bysen*, *exemplum*. It occurs again in the Cotton and Harley MS8., where Dr. Whitaker's reads "a forbusur"; page 300.

He is a forbusur (forbusun) to alle bus-shopes and a brygthe myrour.

Dr. Whitaker's gloss—"a furbisher to all bishops"—is quite out of the question.

⁹ Dr. Whitaker glosses this passage thus: "The motion of the boat will cause him many times to stumble, though he may not fall; and though he stand ever so steadily without change of place, yet through the motion of the boat," &c. I would rather interpret it: If the man stand, the motion of the boat will cause him to stumble (or fall) however stiffly he may stand. Through the motion (stirring) of the boat he bendeth and boweth; his body is unstable, but still (in person) he is safe and sound. Thus fares it with the righteous. Though he fall, he only falls like the man who fell in a boat, that aye is safe, &c. It is clear from the context that the man in the example was understood to fall; he fell, but he sank not.

So hit fareth quath the frere, by ryghtful mannes fallynge
 Thawe he thorghe fondinge¹⁰ falle, he falleth nat out of charite
 So dedliche synne doth he nat, for Dowel hym helpeth
 The water ys lyknede to the worlde, that waneth and wexeth
 The godes of [this¹¹] ground, aren lyke to the grete wawes
 [That] as wyndes and wederes [aren] walwen aboute
 The bot ys lyckenede to our body, that brotel ys of kynde
 That thorgh the fende and oure flesch, and this frele worlde
 Senegeth sevene sithe, the saddest man on erthe
 And lyfholiest of lyf, that lyveth under the sonne.
 Ac free will and free wit, folweth a man evere
 To repenten and ryse, and rowen out of synne
 To contrition to confession, til he come to hus ende
 Rather have we no reste, til we restitue
 Our lyf to oure Lord God, for our lycames gultes
 Ich have no kynde knowing quath ich, to conceyve al thy speche
 Ac yf ich may lyve and loke¹², ich shal go lerne bettere
 Ich bykenne the to Christ¹³ quath he, that on the croice deide
 And ich seide the same, save yow fro meschaunce

¹⁰ Dr. Whitaker interprets the text, "though he sin through folly;" but *fondinge* means *temptation*; and the declaration implies: though the righteous man fall by means of temptation, &c. It occurs again, p. 270.

And frende in alle fondynges, and of foule reveles leche.

¹¹ I have substituted "*this*" for "*the*" on the authority of the Cotton MS. Vesp. B. xvi. and another in the same collection used in the body of the History. The same MS. (Caligula, A. xi.) gives the following reading of the succeeding line:

That as wind and weder is wawen about.

See p. 46 of this volume. The corrections in the text were therefore too obvious not to be adopted.

¹² Did Langland combine these terms for the sake of their alliteration, or may we regard them as perpetuating one of those primitive figures which are common to the poetry of every country?

Οὐτως, ἐμὲ ζωῶντος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένου,
 Σοὶ κοίλῃς παρὰ νηυσὶ βαρείας χειρὸς ἐποιεῖ.
 Il. A. 88.

Langland is frequent in his use of this figure. It has no reference to reading; and ought not to have been interpreted: if I have space to live and look in the book.

¹³ The Harleian MS. reads: Y bytake the Crist; the Cotton nearly agrees with the present text. Dr. Whitaker from his

paraphrase "I teach unto thee Christ," appears to have given "bykenne," the power of the simple verb *kennen*, to instruct. I know of no example in Anglo-Saxon, which will afford us the verb "*bekennan*"; or in fact of any proof that such a verb existed, except the authority of Langland. But as "*kennan*" was synonymous with "*tæcan*," I would wish to assume, that the same affinity existed between their compounds "*betæcan*" (*prodere*, *committere*) and "*bekennan*"; and that we have here the counterpart of a phrase of very common occurrence in our early poetry—"I commit thee to Christ."

Horn, Crist I the beteche
 Mid mourninde speche
 Crist the yeve god endyng
 And sound ageyn the brynge. v. 580.

Langland has used this expression once before, and I believe only once.

For ich bykenne the Crist, quath hue and
 hus clene Moder—
 Thus left me that Lady. p. 26.

Here Dr. Whitaker explains it "For I warn thee (by) Christ and his Virgin Mother"—a gloss entirely without authority. Kenne occurs below:

Ich shall the kenne to clergie my cousin
 that knoweth.

where the Harleian MS. as usual supplies a gloss at the expense of the alliteration: Y shall teche the to clergie.

And gyve me grace on this grounde, with good ende to deye.
 Ich wente forth wyde where walkynge myn one
 In a wylde wyldernesse, by a wode syde
 Blisse of [the] briddes, abyde me made
 And under [a] lynde in a launde, lenede ich a stounde
 To lithen here laies, and here loveliche notes
 Murthe of here murye mouthes, made me to slepe
 And merveilousliche me mette, a myddes al that blisse
 A muche man¹⁴ me thouhte, lyke to my selve
 Cam and callede me, by my ryhte name
 What ert thou quath ich, that my name knowest
 That wost thou Wille quath he, and no wight betere
 Wot ich quath ich ho ert thou. Thouhte seide he thenne
 Ich have the sewed this seve yer, seih you me no rather
 Ert thou Thouhte quath ich tho, thow couthest me wisse
 Where that Dowel dwelleth, and do¹⁵ me to knowe
 Dowel and Dobet quath he, and Dobest the thiridde
 Beth thre fayre vertues, and beeth nauht ferr to fynde
 Who so his trywe of ys tonge, and of hus to handes
 And thorwe leel labour lyveth, and loveth his emcristine
 And therto trywe of hus tail, and halt well his handes
 Nouht dronkelewe ne deynous, Dowel hym folweth
 Dobet doth al this, ac yut he doth more
 He is lowe as a lombe, and loveliche of speche
 And helpeth herteliche, alle men of that he may aspare
 The bagges and the by gurdeles¹⁶, he hath to-broke hem alle

¹⁴ Dr. Whitaker interprets this "a meek man." The Harleian MS. reads "a moche man;" the Cotton, "a mekel man;" which may serve as the genuine gloss. It occurs in the Chronicle of England.

A moche mon com with him also,
 Corineus yclepud wes tho. v. 14.

¹⁵ Mr. Ellis conceived "the transitive use of the verb *do*, so frequent in our early writers, to be an imitation of a well-known French idiom introduced at the Conquest." This elegant critic was not aware, that it had been current in England long anterior to the Norman invasion, and that it is still heard on the banks of the Elbe among the descendants of our common Saxon ancestors. In France it is supposed a relic of the Burgundian or Francic conquest, events to which it is customary to refer every corruption of the Roman grammar. But would it not be more rational to conclude, that many of these Teutonic idioms had found their way into Gaul before the Roman eagles passed the Arar (Saône)?

¹⁶ Dr. Whitaker interprets this word "private girdles;" an explanation manifestly founded upon the vulgar acceptation of a by-law. We meet with it in the Anglo-Saxon Gospel of St. Matthew: *Næbbe ge gold, ne seolfer, ne feoh, on eowrum bigyrdlum*: where the received version of the same passages reads "purses:" Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your *purses*. c. x. v. 9. The origin of the term—as an appendage to the girdle—will be best understood, by the following illustrations taken from Chaucer:

And at hire girdel hung a purse of lether
 Tasseled with silk and perled with latoun.

An anelace and a gipciere (purse) all of
 silk

Heng at his girdel white as morwe milk.

This illustration is certainly at variance with the declaration of a learned antiquary (Ed. Rev.) who has recently maintained that a by-law means a town-law. But it may be questioned how far such a definition can be borne out by authority;

That the Eorl¹⁷ Averous, heeld and hus eires
 And of mammonaes money, mad hym meny frendes
 And is ronne in to religion, and rendreth hus byble
 And precheth to the puple, Seynt Poules wordes
 Libenter suffertis insipientes, cum sitis ipsi sapientes
 Ye worldliche wyse, unwyse that ye suffre
 Lene hem and love hem, this Latin ys to mene
 Dobest here sholde, the bisshopes croce
 And halye with hoked ende, ille men to goode
 And with the pyk putte down, prevaricatores legis¹⁸,
 Lordes that lyven as hem luste, and no lawe acounten.
 Fore here mok and for here meeble, suche men thynken
 That no bisshop, sholde here byddinge withsitte
 Ac Dobest sholde nat dreden hym, bote do as Gode hihte

and there can be little difficulty in showing that it is contrary to analogy. A by-law is not a solecism. We have a by-path, a by-name, a by-room, a by-word, a by-design, &c. not one of which is remotely connected with the idea of a town or has any relation to civic duties. In the cognate tongues their synonyms will be found compounded of the simple substantive and a preposition corresponding to our English *by*. In German there is a fluctuation between the use of "bei" and "neben," both implying by, in conjunction with, or in addition to. Thus a Neben-gesetz, a by-law, means a law in addition to other laws, a municipal (it may be) or conventional law in addition to the regular statutes of the country, or the acknowledged ordinances of an institution. And so of the rest. The Anglo-Saxons (who translated the Greek *εὐαγγέλιον* by *gód-spell*) gave as near an approach to the original as the affinity of the two languages would admit, when they rendered *παράβολη*, *big-spell*, the bey-spiel or example of modern German. The idea of *privacy* being originally connected with such compounds is equally unfounded. A by-name will entirely fail of its object unless publicity be given it, and no man can become a by-word among friends or foes but by attaining a certain degree of general notoriety.

¹⁷ The Brut of Tysilio gives a varied form of this word (*iarl*) which Mr. Roberts declares to be originally Welsh, and that it means "a governor of a district, from the preposition *iar*, over." Without professing to be in any way acquainted with the mysteries of Cymric lore, I will venture to suggest, that the Welsh "*iar*" is nothing more than a cognate root with the Teutonic "*ar*, *cr*, *arc*, *ere*, *ier*, *iara*,"

all implying priority or superiority, and in no way connected with our English title of honour. This latter will be found in its simplest form, in the Low-German Paraphrase of the Gospels, known by the name of Canute's Book; where it is constantly used as a synonym for *man*. In this sense we also find it in the Anglo-Saxon "*ceorl*," our modern *churl*—the chorle of old English poetry;—and where the substitution of *ch* for *c*, shows the aspirate in some provinces to have been modulated. With the full aspirate it still exists in the Scottish *carle*, and the "*girl*" of every day discourse, "an appellative," as Mr. Tyrwhitt observes, "formerly common to both sexes." Nor can we with any propriety translate "*ceorl*" otherwise than "*man*" in many passages of Anglo-Saxon poetry: while the analogous terms, —baron and knight,—both of similar import, prove all these titles to have originated in very simple notions of distinction; and that at first they marked those alone, whose personal prowess had gained for them the consideration of *men*, or *youths* *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. Their roots will therefore be found in verbs expressive of power or procreation; and they are not to be derived from prepositions,—a rather exploded system of etymology.

¹⁸ I have removed the full point at the close of this line, that it may be connected with the succeeding one; which in fact is merely a gloss of "*prevaricatores legis*." On the authority of the Harleian and Cotton MSS. I have also expunged the conjunction beginning the third line (And fore. &c.) With these corrections the passage is free from obscurity. Dr. Whittaker has totally misconceived its meaning.

Nolite timere eos qui possunt occidere corpus
Thus Dowel and Dobet, [devynede¹⁹] and Dobest
And crowned on to be kyng, to culle withoute synne

¹⁹ Both the Museum MSS. unite in this reading; and it is clear that Dr. Whitaker, by a very excusable oversight, has read "dimnede" instead of "divynede," (the orthography of his MSS.) both here and below. The same mistake occurs again, p. 163, where Dr. Whitaker also reads "dimnede:"

Ac for the bok Bible, bereth good wit-
nesse
How Daniel dyvynede, and undude the
dremeles
Of king Nabugodonosor.

This species of inaccuracy, which every transcriber of early MSS. is more or less exposed to, has been productive of endless error in the text of our early poetry. I will throw together a few examples which have occurred to me while seeking for illustrations of the present extracts.

In a passage from Layamon's version of the Brut, Mr. Ellis reads *drinen* for *driven*.

(Ther heo gunnen driven)

and interprets it "urge" from the Dutch *dringen*. In the same writer, Mr. Turner reads *nalle* for *valle*.

(And Walwain gon to valle
And feoll a there eorthe)

and interprets it "headlong." In a subsequent passage, the same valuable historian reads *vlode* for *vlode* (flood, water):

(And the Leo ithan vlode
Iwende inid me scolve)

and interprets it "howled." This mistake has engendered another, and caused him to interpret the second line "thinking with myself" instead of "went with me." Mr. Ritson, in King Horn, reads *londe* for *loude*;

Horn hath loude sounes,
Thurhout uch a tounes, v. 217.

And again in the same romance a similar mistake has disturbed the sense twice, within the space of two lines.

The ship bygan to croude,
The wynd blew wel loude. v. 1301.

Mr. Ritson reads *croude* and *londe*; leaving the former unexplained, as well he might. This term is the modern verb "to crowd" in its primitive sense. A *crowd*, a crush (rush, with the aspirate), a press, (a re-importation of our old En-

glish "res" with the labial prefix like rim and brim,) or a throng of people, had no reference originally, to the multitude collected, but to the action in which this assembly was engaged,—an earnest endeavour to move forwards. Chaucer gives the verb the same power as the minstrel poet:

O first moving cruel firmament,
With thy diurnal swegh that *croudest* ay
And hurtlest all from Est til Occident,
That naturally wold hold another way;
Thy *crouding* set the heven in swiche
array.

At the beginning, &c. v. 1715.

And again,

But in the same ship as he hire fond,
Hire and hire yonge sone and all hire gere,
He shulde put, and *croude* hire from the
lond. v. 3175.

My friend Mr. R. Taylor informs me that in Norfolk, to "*crowd* a barrow" is a common expression, and that a wheelbarrow is called a *crowding*-barrow.

The past tense of an Anglo-Saxon verb, rather varying in orthography but precisely the same in import, occurs in the *epinicion* upon Athelstan's victory; where the several attempts to twist it into meaning, from the days of old Huntingdon downwards, afford an instructive specimen of that elegant figure "confusion worse confounded."

Cread cneor on-flot,
Ship crouded (drove) afloat.

Our Saxon vocabularies record no infinitive to which this word may be referred. But to return: In The Lay of Dame Sirith, Mr. Conybeare has printed *ansine* for *ansine*.

Not no man so muchel of pyne
As poure wif that falleth in ansine.

This is the Anglo-Saxon "*ansyne*," of which in its primitive meaning—appearance—I know but this example. In the modern languages of Europe descended from the great Teutonic stock, I believe it is almost exclusively confined to the sense adopted by our early minstrel. "Not" which is rendered "has not" is the common contraction of "ne wot," no man knows, &c. In the same singular production we have *inon* for *inow* and *won* for *wou*.

That wolde nat don as Dobest, [dyvynede] and tauhte
 Thus Dowel and Dobet, and Dobest the thridde
 Crounede on to be kyng, and kepen ous alle
 And reulen alle reaumes, by here thre wittes
 Bote otherwise [and³⁰] elles nat, bote as thei three assented

Ich habbe mi loved that is my spouse
 That maiden brougte me to house
 Mid menske inou.
 He loveth me and ich him wel
 Our love is al so trewe as stel
 With outen wou.

Mr. Conybeare's gloss of the third line :
 "against decency will I nought" destroys
 the sense : the present correction can have
 no obscurity. Wou, which is rendered
 "fail, warning," is the Anglo-Saxon "woh
 or woge," injustice, wrong, either in a
 physical or moral sense ; and is both the
 language and orthography of Robert of
 Gloucester.

For wanne man may do wat he wole and
 unrygt ynou,
 Ofte he bryngth vor covettyse, to ryghte
 pur wou. p. 314.

In the form of *woghe* or *wough* this term
 is common enough ; but Hickes has so
 disguised it in his transcript of the Land
 of Cockayne, as to make it obscure both
 to himself and a later editor.

The pinnes beth fat puddings,
 Rich meat to princes and kings.
 Men may there of *eat* enog
 All with rigt and nought with wog.

(All with *right* and not with *wrong*.)
 Hickes, who reads "woy," seeks for its
 origin in "the Cimbric vog, pondus;"
 and Mr. Ellis observes : "the meaning
 of this line seems to be, that meat was
 not *weighed* out but in abundance, and
 at the disposal of all who chose to seize
 it. *Eat*, meat. Sax. *ette*, *cibus*." The
 quotation from Robert of Gloucester will
 remove every difficulty ; or even the
 French fabliau which preserves nearly
 the same idea in rather different lan-
 guage.

Si peut l'en et boire et mangier
 Tut cel qui veulent sanz dangier
 Sanz contredit, et sanz deffence
 Prent chascuns quant son cuer pense.
 Barbazan, vol. iv. 177.

To resume.—I would also wish to con-
 sider, that we are indebted to a similar
 mistake for the word "onen" in the fol-
 lowing extracts ; and without which, I
 leave the solution of their present ob-
 scurities to the happier powers of some
 more experienced glossarist.

Onen o the sherte
 Hue gurdun huem with suerde.
 King Horn, v. 1485.

Take we the bailiffs bi twenty ant by
 tene,
 Clappen we of the hevedes an onen o the
 grene
 Aud caste we y the fen.

Ant. Songs, 19.

Mr. Ritson in his glossary interprets "an
 onen, anon, forthwith," which the mere
 solution of the phrase into its constituent
 parts, shows to be clearly impossible,—an
 on en. The Anglo-Saxon preposition ap-
 proaching nearest to what I conceive to
 be the genuine orthography of the text
 (oven), at least of those registered in our
 vocabularies, is "ufan;" whose compound
 "abufan," was the immediate source of
 the old English "aboven." But as the
 positive "ufa" or "ufan," (imp. and
 infin.) produced a comparative "ufer" or
 "ufera," it will require no extraordinary
 knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon language
 to infer, that "ofer" and "ofera" (re-
 corded in Lye) must have been formed
 from "ofa" or "ofan," and that our mo-
 dern "above," the "aboven" of earlier
 writers, has also been derived from a com-
 pound "abofan." The Danish "oven"
 and the Icelandic "ofana," both meaning
above, may be cited as collateral testi-
 mony. The Geste of King Horn is not
 remarkable for a rigid observance of me-
 trical quantities, or we might supply its
 present deficiencies by reading, *an* or *on*
oven o the sherte. "On ufan" will be
 found in any Anglo-Saxon book *centies et*
iterum.

³⁰ "ne elles" W. The double negation
 is both out of place and unsupported. I
 will not stop to dispute Mr. Tooke's ety-
 mology of "elles." It shall be reserved
 for some more fit occasion, when I may
 be called upon to examine "whiles,"
 "amonges," "amidde," "needes," "al-
 gates," "anights," "adayes," all of
 which, like "once, twice, thrice, hence,
 thence," &c. have taken that form which
 the grammarians call the genitive abso-
 lute. This law of the Anglo-Saxon lan-
 guage, and in fact of every scion from the
 great Teutonic stock, has been wholly
 overlooked by Mr. Tooke. Nor is it men-
 tioned here with a view to disparage the
 great and important services of this distin-

Ich thonked Thouht tho, that he me so tauhte
 Yut savereth me nat thi sawe quath ich, so me Crist spede
 A more kynde knowyng, coveite ich to huyre
 Of Dowel and of Dobet, and ho Dobest²¹ of alle
 Bote Wit wolle the wisse quath Thouht, wer tho thre dwellen
 Elles know ich non that can, in none kynriche
 Thouth and ich thus thre daies, togederes we yeoden^a

guished scholar, but as a collateral proof, if such be wanting, of his veracity in declaring, that all his conclusions were the result of reasoning *a priori*, and that they were formed long before he could read a line of Gothic or Anglo-Saxon. To those who will be at the trouble of examining Mr. Tooke's theory and his own peculiar illustration of it, it will soon be evident that though no objections can be offered to his general results, yet his details, more especially those contained in his first volume, may be contested nearly as often as they are admitted. The cause of this will be found in what Mr. Tooke has himself related, of the manner in which those results were obtained, combined with another circumstance which he did not think it of importance to communicate, but which as he certainly did not feel its consequences he could have no improper motive for concealing. The simple truth is, that Mr. Tooke, with whom, like every man of an active mind, idleness,—in his case perhaps the idleness of a busy political life,—ranked as an enjoyment, only investigated his system at its two extremes,—the root and summit,—the Anglo-Saxon, and English from the thirteenth century downwards; and having satisfied himself, on a review of its condition in these two stages, that his previous convictions were on the whole correct, he abandoned all further examination of the subject. The former I should feel disposed to believe he chiefly studied in Lye's vocabulary; of the latter he certainly had ample experience. But in passing over the intervening space, and we might say for want of a due knowledge of those numerous laws which govern the Anglo-Saxon grammar,—and no language can be familiar to us without a similar knowledge—a variety of the fainter lines and minor features all contributing to give both form and expression to our language, entirely escaped him; and hence the facilities with which his system has been made the subject of attack, though in fact it is not the system which has been vulnerable, but Mr. Tooke's occasionally loose application of it. This note might have been spared; but it has been so much the fashion of late to feed upon what

Leisewitz would call "the corse of Mr. Tooke's reputation," that I may stand excused for seeking this opportunity of offering a counter statement to some opinions of rather general currency, of which the proof shall speedily follow.

²¹ The Cotton MS. reads "and Dobest of alle;" the Harleian, "and who doth best of alle;" which, supported as it appears to be, by Dr. Whitaker's MS., may be the genuine reading.

^a This word, which is also written "yode, yede, eode, ede," and occasionally printed "gede," is usually derived from the Anglo-Saxon "ge-eode." Unhappily for the truth of this conjecture, "ge-eode" and "yeode" are as distinct in meaning as "seem" and "beseem," or "speak" and "bespeak," the one being the past tense of the compound verb "ge-gan," and the other of its simple primitive "gan." The cause of this mistake it will not be difficult to explain. The general analogy of our language shows, that the letters l and y in early English writers are the usual representatives of the Anglo-Saxon prefix ge, and occasionally of g. On this principle it was natural to infer that "yeode" could not be derived from "eode" the past tense of "gan;" and as an etymon presented itself in "ge-eode," which appeared to account for the initial consonant, the corresponding Saxon term was supposed to be found. But every Saxon scholar knows, that "eode" and "ge-eode," though having a common root, are essentially different in their import; and it is equally clear, that the former strictly corresponds with "yeode" through all its varied forms of orthography. The certainty of this fact will lead us to the knowledge of a peculiar law in the enunciation of certain Saxon words, which hitherto has been entirely overlooked, or at least misunderstood. It has been observed by Dr. Jamieson in his Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish language (sub lit. y.) "That in the south of Scotland y consonant is prefixed to a variety of words which are elsewhere pronounced without it; as yaik for ache, yaiker, an ear of corn, yield, age, for eild, yill for ale, yesk, hiccup, for cisk." Dr. Jamieson is disposed to consider this

Disputyng up Dowel, daye after othere
 And er we were ywar, with Wit gan we mete
 He was long and lene, lyke to non other
 Was no pruyde in hus aparail, ne poverte nother
 Sad of hus semblant, with a softe speche
 Ich thurste mene no matere, to maken hym to jangle
 Bote as ich bad Thouth tho, be mene by twene
 And putte forth som purpos, to prooven hus wittes
 What Dowel was fro Dobet, and Dobest fro hem bothé
 Thenne Thouth in than²² tyme, seede theese wordes
 War Dowel and Dobet, and Dobest ben in londe
 Her is on wolde wite, yf Wit couthe teche

a relic of the Saxon *ge* or *g*. However, in Saxon—at least as far back as our knowledge of the language extends,—these words had no prefix, and they will be found invariably to begin with a *vowel*. But the practice is not confined to Scotland. It will be heard more or less in all the provincial dialects of England, and its general use is still manifested in some expressions neither obsolete nor provincial. The words “you, your, yew (a tree), yean, York,” are the Anglo-Saxon “*eow, eower* (in the Northumbrian dialect *iu, iurre*), *eow, eanian, Eoferwic*.” The “*yerle, yede, yerde*” (earth, a distinct word from *yard*) of early writers, and the *yowe*, (a female sheep) of our husbandmen, are the Anglo-Saxon “*eorl* or *earl, eode, eard, eow*.” Every one from his own recollection will be able to swell this catalogue. I have not leisure to pursue this investigation further. In a future publication the subject will be again referred to, when illustrating the power of what is usually termed *y* consonant.

²² This is the only example in these extracts, where the article when used in an oblique case has retained its ancient inflection. Dr. Whitaker's MS. affords but few instances of this practice, though the Harleian copy, as it has been already stated, is rather abundant in the observance than the omission of it: By Layamon, as far as our specimens go, it is almost constantly used; but Mr. Ellis in defining it to be “the accusative of *the Sax.*” has been misled by its resemblance to “*thone* or *thene*,” a case which never follows the preposition “*to*.”

To than kinge com tha biscope.

Layamon is strict in his attention to this law of Anglo-Saxon syntax. It also occurs in the “*Lay of Dame Sirith*”—a production fully worthy of the illustrations which it has received from Mr. Co-

nybeare; but where I think this distinguished Anglo-Saxon scholar has unadvisedly conceived it to be a corruption of *tham*. *Than* is frequently found as the dative case singular of *that* (the neuter of *se*); nor is it very improbable that in some kingdoms of the Heptarchy, it might also have been equivalent to the dative of *se*. It is thus applied in the passage quoted from Layamon, who uses it indiscriminately with substantives of either gender. Mr. Ritson found it in the *Geste of King Horn*; where not perceiving its power, we may suppose him to have uttered a surly pish! and having duly execrated the transcriber's negligence, to have proceeded to the amendment of his apparently vitiated text. He has accordingly with great adroitness subjoined it to the preceding word; and though by this alliance the sense be somewhat marred, he may still be said to have made of it, “a soldier-like word, and a word of exceeding good command.”

Gret men that me kenne,
 Gret wel the gode
 Quene Godeld my moder,
 And seythene hethene king. v. 150.

In the glossary “*seythene*” is classed with “*sithen*,” and partakes of the same interpretation. It will be almost superfluous to add, that we should read: And sey thene hethene king; Tell the heathen king. “*Then*” occurring a few lines below, is the accusative already mentioned.

And say that he shal fonde
 Then deth of myne honde. v. 158.

From inattention to this obsolete form of the prepositive article,—coupled with a custom equally ancient, but which has rarely been a source of difficulty,—an obscurity has arisen in the language of our early writers, which baffled the ingenuity of Mr. Tyrwhitt, and has been a cause of equal perplexity to Dr. Jamieson. The

And what lyves thei lyven, and what lawe thei usen
 What thei drede and douhten, dere syre telleth-[me]
 Syre Dowel dwelleth quath Wit, nat a daye hennes
 In a castle that Kynde made, of foure kyne thynges
 Of erthe [and] of aier²³ yt is made, medled to gederes

phrase I allude to is one in the recollection of every reader of early English poetry, and of which one example will serve as efficiently as ten thousand.

And cled him sethin in gude scarlet,
 Forord wele and with gold fret.
 A girdel ful riche for the nanes,
 Of perry and of precious stanes.

Ywayne and Gawin. v. 1106.

Mr. Tyrwhitt conceived "nanes" to be a corruption of "nunc;" and the full phrase, a substitute for the Latin "pro nunc" of the monkish writers. Dr. Jamieson,—on a principle whose application I confess myself at a loss to comprehend,—believes it to be allied to the Suio-Gothic "nenna" or "nennas," *a se impetrare, posse*. To me it appears nothing more than a slight variation of the Anglo-Saxon "for than ænes," literally *for the once*, or as it has been correctly rendered without a knowledge of the etymon, "for the occasion." This we have already seen might have been written, "for then ænes," and by analogy, "for then anis," "for then ones," or "for then once." Its progress to the form in which it is found in the example cited, will be best illustrated, by producing similar instances of orthographic disguise. And they were inly glad to fille his purse
 And maken him gret festes *at the nale*.

Chaucer, v. 6931.

And than satten some and songe *at the nale*.
 Piers Plowman.

Thai hadde woundes ille,

At the nende.

Sir Tristram. p. 186.

Mr. Tyrwhitt united with Skinner in supposing *nale* to be a corruption of "innale;" but it is clear that "at the nale" and "at the nende" have been transformed from "at than ale" and "at than ende." This transference of the final consonant to the initial vowel of the succeeding word, is frequent with the indefinite article; where its forsaken fellow having undergone no change by the operation, there was little difficulty in perceiving the original phraseology. But a similar dismemberment of the indefinite neuter, which produced (as may have been the case in the preceding examples) what the German grammarians call the

umlaut or a change of the vowel letter, has been an equally fertile source of vexation to our philological antiquaries. I will offer an illustration of this practice in a couplet transcribed from the fly-leaf of a MS. in the British Museum (but whose number I omitted to note), and which formerly belonged to a countess of Oxford (as I believe).

Thys boke is one and Godes kors ys
 anoder,

They that *the ton* take, God gifte them
the toder.

Dr. Jamieson, sub voc. "tothlr," has observed of this expression, that "notwithstanding its resemblance to *deuteros*, the second, this seems to be merely other with t, or as some think *the* prefixed after a vowel, like ta for a :

Thus-gat throw dowbil undyrstandyng,
 That bargane come til sic endyng
 That the ta past dissawyt was.

"where t is used after *the*, to avoid the concurrence of two vowels." But in either of these cases I shall have no hesitation in declaring that we have simply *that on*, *that oder*, *that a*. In Dr. Jamieson's second example "ta" has clearly the power of *two*; but whether it be a corruption or a varied orthography of that word I leave to his own decision.

The Quene herself fast by the altare
 standis

Haldand the melder in hyr devote handis,
 Hyr ta fute bar.

After this explanation, I may stand excused for suggesting, that in some future edition of Sir Tristram, it would be as well to correct these lines of the Supplement :

*That tone schule be blake,
 That tother white so snewe.* p. 195.

²³ Dr. Whitaker has observed upon this passage : "In this reading all the MSS. and the printed copies agree. Yet as in the enumeration of the elements, air and wind make one, and fire is not mentioned, I can have no doubt that 'fuyer,' the original reading, has been misread by the first transcriber, 'aier' or 'ayer.'" This emendation would only make the alliteration more defective than it is at present; and we may suspect Langland to have

With wynd and [with] water, wittilyche enjoynede
 Kynde hath closed ther ynne, craftilyche with alle
 A lemman that he loveth wel, lyke to hymselfe
 Anima hue hatte, to hure hath envye²⁴
 A prout prikyre of Fraunce, princeps hujus mundi
 And wolde wynne hure away, with whiles yf he myghte
 And Kynde knoweth this wel, and kepeth hure the betere
 And dooth hure with Syre Dowel, Duk of thes Marches
 Dobet is here damesele, Syre Doweles douhter
 To serve that lady leely, bothe late and rathe
 Dobest ys above bothe, a bisshopes peer
 And by hus lernynge is ladde, that ilke lady Anima
 The constable of that castel, that kepeth hem alle
 Is a wys knyght with alle, Syre Inwit he hatte
 And hath fyve faire sones, by hus furste wyf
 Syre Seewel Syre Seiwel, Syre Huyrewel the hende
 Syre Worchewel with thyn hand, a wight man of strengthe
 And Syre Godfaith Gowel, grete lordes alle
 Theese fyve ben ysett, for to savye Anima
 Til kynde com other seynde, and kepe hure hymself
 What lyves thyng is Kynde quath ich, [kanst²⁵] thow me telle
 Kynde is creature quath Wit, of alle kyne thynges.
 Fader and formour, of al that forth groweth
 The wiche is God grettest, that gynnynge hadde nevere²⁶
 Lord of lyf and of lyght, of lysse* and of payne
 Angeles and alle thyng, aren at hus wil
 Man²⁷ is hym most lyk, of membres and of face
 And semblable [most] in soule to God, bote yf synne hit make

been more concerned for the observance of this law, than the rigid propriety of his chemical nomenclature. If we read "fuyer" in the present instance, we ought on the same principle to read "erthe" in the following passage, though the alliteration be sadly crippled by the operation.

That is with and water, wynd and fuyer
 the furthe. p. 150.

²⁴ The Museum MSS. support the present text. Caligula A. xi. reads

Anima she hatte, ac Envy hure hateth
 A proud prikiere of Fraunce, &c.—

which I take to be a later correction. The reader will not consider the idiom of the text to be a literal version of a modern Gallicism, *à lui a envie*; for in early English poetry this term is never applied except in *malam partem*. Another instance of the same idiom occurs at p. 124.

Be war thenne of Wratthe that wickede
 shrewe,
 For he hath envy to hym that in thin
 herte sytteth.

Dr. Whitaker paraphrases the passage in the text: "With her is an enemy;" which is manifestly erroneous. To prevent this association, Kind committed Anima to the guardianship of Sir Dowell.

²⁵ can. W.

²⁶ The Harleian MS. destroys the alliteration by reading, "that synne dude nevere."

* The Harleian MS. in common with Crowley's text, and Caligula A. xi. reads "blysse." The Cotton MS. agrees with Dr. Whitaker.

²⁷ Dr. Whitaker observes on this passage: "This expression strongly illustrates the tendency of image-worship to anthropomorphism." But with every deference to Dr. Whitaker's authority, upon a subject where he and his order may

And as thow suxt the sonne, som tyme for cloudes
 May nat shyne ne shewe, on shawes on erthe
 Right so letteth lecherie, and other luther synnes
 That God seweth nat synful men, and suffreth hem mysfare
 As some hongen hem self, and other while adrencheth
 God wol nat of hem wite, bote leteth hem yworthe
 As the Sauter seith, by such synful shrewes
 Et demisi eos secundum desiderium eorum
 Loke suche luther men, lome²⁸ ben ryche
 Of gold and of other good, bote Godes grace hem faileth²⁹
 Ac for thei loveth and byleyveth, al here lyf tyme
 More in catel than in Kynde, that alle kyne thynges wroghte
 The wiche is bothe love and lyf, and lasteth withouten ende
 Inwitt and alle whittes, closed ben therynne
 By love and by leaute, ther by lyveth Anima
 And lyf lyveth by Inwitt, and lerynge of Kynde³⁰
 Inwitt is in the hefd, [and] ³¹ Anima [in] the herte
 And mucche wo worth hym, that Inwitt mysspeyneth
 For that is Godes owen good, hus grace and hus tresour, &c.

(Whitaker, p. 166—175.)

Thenne hadde Wit a wif, was hote Dame Studie
 That ful lene lokede, and lif holy semede
 Hue was wonderliche wroth, that Wit so me tauhte
 Al staryenge Dame Studie, sturneliche seide

claim a right to speak decisively, I should rather conceive this image-worship to be an effect and not the cause of anthropomorphism. Every pious and enlightened Catholic indignantly repels the charge of image-worship; and justifies those offensive creations of the painter's pencil, and the sculptor's chisel, which shock the morbid sensibilities of a rigid Protestant, by the following text of Scripture: "So God created man in his own image; in the image of God created he him." Gen. chap. i. ver. 27.

²⁸ The Cotton MS. reads *ilome*; the Harleian glosses it by reading "comenly ben." Dr. Whitaker interprets the passage, "they are rich in furniture;" and in his glossary gives "*loma supellex*; so an heir-loom." I have already explained this term, p. 5. note², of this volume. I will take this opportunity of observing, that the transcriber of the English Chronicle there quoted, has rather corrupted the text by an omission, than by an interpolation. We ought either to read,
 And yet the Englesche ofte and ilome,
 or (what would save the metre)

And yet the Englesche ofte and lome.

The common practice of Anglo-Saxon poetry countenances the former version; nor is it very likely, that a transcriber of sufficient intelligence to supply the prefix, would have left the passage in its present corrupt state. A production nearly coeval with the Chronicle has furnished me with the latter conjecture:

Parvink he might be,
 And that for thinges thre,
 He ussid oft and lome.

Ritson's Ancient Songs, p. 40.

²⁹ This line and the correction following it, have been inserted on the joint authority of the Museum MSS. To avoid the dissonance occasioned by the repetition of "ac," the Harleian reading "bote" has been adopted in the first line. But perhaps we should read:
 "And for thei loveth," &c.

³⁰ Dr. Whitaker glosses this passage, "and the knowledge of God;"—it should be, "and the instruction of Kind" (Nature).

³¹ as. W.

Wel art thou wys quath hue to Wit, suche wisdom [to] shewe
 To eny fol other flatore, other to frentik puple
 And seide Nolite mittere, men margerie perles
 A monge hogges that haven, hawes at wille
 Thei don bote drevelyn theron, draf were hem levere
 Than al the preciose perreye, that eny prince weldeth
 Ich segge hit by suche quath Studie, that shewen by here werkus
 [Thei³²] loveth lond and lordshup, and lykyng of [heore] body more
 Than holynesse other hendenesse, other al that seintes techeth
 Wysdom and Wit now, is nat worth a carse
 Bote hit be carded with covetyse, as clothers kemberen wolle
 Ho that can contreeve and caste, to deceyve the puple
 And lette with a loveday, Treuthe and bygyle hym
 That can coveyty an caste thus, aren cleped into counsail
 Qui sapiunt nugas et crimina lege vocantur
 Qui recte sapiunt lex jubet ire foras.
 He is reverenced and robed, that can robbe the puple
 Thorwe fallas and false questes, and thorw fykel speche
 Job the gentil and wys, in hus gestes wytnesseth
 What shal worthe of suche, wenne thei lyf leten
 Ducunt in bonis dies suos et in fine descendunt ad infernum
 The Sauter seith the same, of alle suche ryche
 Ibunt in progenie patrū suorum & usq; in eternū non videbūt lumen
 Et alibi—Ecce ipsi peccatores & cet.
 So holy lettrure [seith swiche³³] lordes been thees shrewes
 Tho that [God] most good gyveth, most greve Ryght and Treuthe
 Que perfecisti destruxerunt justitiam
 And harlotes for [heore] harlotrie, aren holpen er nudy poure
 And that is no ryght ne reson, for rather men sholde
 Help hem that hath nouht, than tho that han no neede.
 Ac he that hath holy writ, aye in hus mouthe
 And can telle of Treuthe, and of the twelve apostels
 Other of the passion of Crist, other of purgatorie peynes
 Lytel is he alowed there fore, among lordes of festes
 Nowe is the manere [at³⁴] the mete, when mynstralles ben styll
 The lewede ayens the lered, the holy lore to dispute
 And tellen of [the] Trinite, how two slowe the thridde
 And brynge forth ballede resones, and taken Bernarde³⁵ to wittenesse

³² that. W.

³³ Withe W. Though I suspect the Doctor's MS. reads *wiche*. It is frequently difficult to decide between the claims of these two letters, *c* and *t*, and the context must be our only guide. The reader may therefore make his election between *wiche* and *swiche*, remembering that one is a contraction of "hwa ilc" and the other of "swa ilc."

³⁴ The Museum MSS. unite in this reading. Dr. Whitaker reads "atte the," which is an unauthorized pleonasm. See Note ²⁷.

³⁵ The initial letter of Bernard's name probably secured for him this distinction. We can hardly have an allusion here to those riming sermons delivered at the close of his life; and it is well known that the Abbot of Clairvaux was a zealous oppo-

And putteth forth presompcions, to preoven the sothe
 Thus³⁶ thei drevelen atte³⁷ deyes, the Deyte to knowe
 And gnawen God with gorge, when here guttes fullen
 Ac the carful mai crie, and quaken atte³⁷ gate
 Bothe a fynghred and a furst³⁸, and for defaute spille
 Ys non so hende to have hym yn, bote hote hym go ther God is
 Thenne semeth hit to my syght, [bi swiche³⁹] as so biddeth
 God is nat in that hom, ne hus help neither
 Lytel loveth he that lorde, that lente him that bliasse
 That so parteth with the poure, a parcel wenne hym nudeth

nent of the scholastic subtleties satirized in the text. I perceive, Warton enumerates among the contents of the Digby MS. "Le diz de Seinte Bernarde;" which may by possibility throw some light on the subject. The British Museum contains a variety of these doctrinal "ballede resones," which are usually attributed to the Lollards.

³⁶ The Harleian MS. reads:

Thus tho drevenforth the day the dep-
 pere forto knowe,
 And gnaweth God with goude ale whan
 her gottes fullen.

Crowley and Calig. A. xi. also support the present text, by reading "whanne her guttes ben fulle." But I should prefer the more expressive language of Vespas. B. xvi.

And knawen God with gorge "while thei heore" guttes fullen.

³⁷ I have already had occasion to notice some of the changes to which the prepositive article was subjected, previous to the general reception of its present indeclinable substitute. The passage before us affords another illustration of its many disguises and corruptions. "Atte deyes," and "atte gate" below (at the deyes, at the gate), are the diminished forms of "at then deyes—at then gate." They did not, however, at once "jump to this conclusion;" there was an intermediate step in the process.

Ich am occupied eche day, halyday and
 other,
 With ydel tales *atten* ale, and other wyle
 in churches.

P. Plouhman, p. 111.

For hit beth bote boyes, lolleres *atten* ale.
 Ib. p. 157.

Vor hys poer was lute worth, vor he gef
 hem *atten* ende
 Four thousand pound of sterlynges hem
 agen to wende.

R. of Gloucester, p. 294.

This phrase in its full form, "at the nende," has been already given in an extract from Sir Tristram. For the reference to Ro-

bert of Gloucester, I am indebted to Mr. Tyrwhitt, who, in saying "atte or perhaps atten," has been frequently corrupted into "at the," affirms the converse of the fact. He evidently understood both these expressions to be the antiquated orthography of "at;" for, in a note on verse 1537,

Now shineth it, and now it shineth fast,

he observes: "Perhaps Now itte, &c. Itte may have been a dissyllable formerly as well as atte." Dr. Whitaker's MS. is not altogether free from pleonastic errors in the use of *atte*. Above we have seen "atte the mete;" at p. 8. we have "atte the barre," and in pages 72, 210, 350, 360, 409, we have "atte the laste." These are all the examples which have occurred to me; but "atte barre," &c. is frequent, and "atte last" or "at the laste" will be found without end.

³⁸ The Harleian MS. reads "an hongred and aferst:" the Cotton, "of hongret and athrest;" and Dr. Whitaker interprets the passage, both pinched in his *fingers* and *frost-bitten*; an exposition which would have enraptured the late Mr. Henshall. I will venture to suggest, that the terms in the text, which the alliteration decides to be the genuine reading, are derived from af-hingrian, *esurire*, and af-thyrstan, *sitire*. These words are wanting in Lye; but with the prefix "of" instead of "af" they are to be found in every Anglo-Saxon vocabulary. At pp. 289, 372, the context is so decisive, that Dr. Whitaker was compelled on both occasions to abandon his own gloss. *Afurste* is the language of King Horn:

Thou shench us with the vurste,

The beggares bueth afurste. v. 1120.

Where Mr. Ritson explains it "at first." Had Warton been guilty of this very excusable error, should we not have heard? "Your gross and unaccountable stupidity, Mr. Warton, shall for once save you. This is too bad." (See Obs. on the H. E. P.)

³⁹ to suche. W.

Ne were mercy in mene men, more than in ryght ryche
 Meny time mendynans, myghte gon a fynghed
 And so seith the Sauter, ich sauh⁴⁰ hit in memento
 Ecce audivimus eam caritatem in effrata
 Invenimus eam in campis silvæ
 Clerkus and knyghtes, carpen of God ofte
 And haveth hym muche in hure mouthe, ac mene men in herte
 Freres and faitours, han founde up suche questiones
 To plesse withe proute men, sithe the pestelences
 [And prechen at sente Poules, in pure envye of clerkes⁴¹]
 That folk is noubt ferm in the feith, ne free of here goodes
 Ne sory for here synnes, so is pryude en hansed
 In religion and [in] al the reame, among ryche and poure
 That preyerer han no power, thees pestelences to lette
 For God is def now a dayes, and deyneth nouht ous to huyre
 And good men for oure gultes, he al to grynt to dythe
 Yut thees wrechis of thys worlde, is non whar by other
 Ne for drede of eny deth, with draweth hem fro pruyde
 Ne parteth with the poure, as pure charite wolde
 Bote in gayenesse and in glotenye, forglotten here goodes
 And breketh nat here bred to the poure, as the book hoteth
 Ac the more he hath and wynneth, the world at hus wille
 And lordeth in leedes⁴², the lasse good he [deleth⁴³]
 Tobie tauhte nat so, taketh hede ye ryche
 How he tolde in a tyme, and tauhte hus sone dele
 Si tibi sit copia, abundanter tribue
 Si autem exiguum, illud impertiri libenter stude
 And this is no more to mene, bote ho so muche goode weldeth
 Be large therof while hit laste, to leedes that ben needy
 Yf yow have lytel [leve⁴⁴] sone, loke by thy lyve
 Get the love ther with [here,] thauh thou fare the werse

⁴⁰ The Harleian MS. reads "y say"; the Cotton "i sai," which is but a varied form of the same word. Langland is not constant in his orthography of the past tense of "to see;" he writes it indiscriminately *sauh*, *seih*, and *say*, though Dr. Whitaker's MS. (on the whole) inclines to the first as the favourite standard:

Ac ich shul seye as ich *seih*, slepyng as it were. p. 81.

The kyng from consail cam and callyd after Mede,
 And sent for to *see* hure, ac ich *say* nat hym that ladde hure. p. 44.

Dr. Whitaker renders the last passage: "Now the king came from council and called for Mede: *I do not say who led her.*" And

by what Mr. Todd would call "a pleasant misapprehension" takes occasion to observe: "This evidently points at some corrupt minister of Edward III." But as Langland or his hero could not *see* whether Mede's conductor were man, woman or child, we may venture to call the Doctor's inference, a *non sequitur*, as Partridge hath it.

⁴¹ This line from Vesp. B. xvi. also occurs in the Harleian MS. and is authorized by Caligula A. xi. and Crowley.

⁴² The Harleian MS. reads, "And lordes and ledes;" the Cotton, "And lord is in ledes," which I take to be the genuine text.

⁴³ nedeth. W.

⁴⁴ love. W.

Ac lust no lord ne lewed man, of suche lore [nou⁴⁵] to hure
 Bote lythen how they myghte lerne lest good to spene
 And so lyven lordes now, and leten hit a Dowel
 For is no Wit worth now, bote hit of wynnynge sounne
 Forthi quath hue to Wit be war, holy writ to shewe
 Amonges hem that haven, hawes at wille
 The wiche is a lykyng and a loust⁴⁶, and love of the worlde
 An wanne Wit was whar, what Studie menede
 Ich myghte gete no greyn, of Wittes grete wittes
 Bote al lauhwynge he lotede, and loked up on Studie
 Semyng that ich sholde, by sechen hure of grace
 When ich was war of hus wille, to that womman ich loutede
 And seide mercy ma dame, youre man shal ich worthe
 As longe as ich lyve, bothe late and rathe
 And for to worche youre wil, the while my lyf duyreth
 With that ye kenne me kyndeliche, to knowe what is Dowel
 For thi meeknesse quath hue, and for thi mylde speche
 Ich shal the kenne to Clergie, my cosyn that knoweth
 Alle kyne konnynges, and conisynge of Dowel
 Of Dobet and Dobest, for doctor he is yknowe
 And of scripture the [scilfulest⁴⁷,] and scryvaynes were trywe
 For hue is syb to the seven ars, and also my soster
 And Cleregies wedded wif, as wys as hym selve
 Of [lore⁴⁸] and of letterure, of lawe and of reson
 So with that Clergie can, and counsail of scripture
 Thou shalt conne and knowe, kendeliche Dowel

⁴⁵ non. W. But now is frequently thus misprinted :

The culor of this cas kepe ich nat to
 shewe,
 An aunter hit nuyede me, now ende
 will ich make.

P. Plowman, p. 61.

Where Dr. Whitaker by reading "non," is forced to offer the following ambiguous paraphrase: "I care not to show the colour of this case lest it do me harm, and therefore I will make no ende of it." In the following passage :

Nou ship by the fode,
 Haue dayes gode. King Horn, v. 143.

Mr. Ritson reads "non." And again,

To day hath sire Fykenild,
 Yweddeth the wif Rimenild,
 White the nou this while,
 He haveth do the gyle.

Mr. Ritson reads "non," and interprets the line "Do not torment thyself"; instead of, "Know now that during this time."

VOL. II.

The editor of Sir Tristram has reversed the mistake by substituting *nou* for *non*.

Swiche castel fond he thare,
 Was maked of ston and tre,
 Ganhardin wist nou [non] are. p. 171.

The Glossary explains "nou are," now erst or first; but the context shows the genuine reading to be: *non are*, none before.

⁴⁶ The Cotton MS. reads, "A lykyng in lust," which I should prefer.

⁴⁷ skilful. W. There is some obscurity in the construction of this passage, which will account for Dr. Whitaker's *literal* interpretation of "Scripture," and his consequent variation from the strict import of the text. We ought in this line to repeat the auxiliary verb of the preceding clause: "for doctor he is yknowe, and (*is*) of Scripture the scilfulest." It is clear from the context that Langland has personified the sacred writings; and, with that propriety which marks all his allegorical combinations, wedded this imaginary being to Clergy or Theological Learning.

⁴⁸ love. W.

Thenne was ich al so fayn, as foul of fair morwenyng
 Gladder than gleoman, that gold hath to [gyfte⁴⁹]
 And askede of hure the heye way, wher that Cleregie dwelte
 And tel me some tokne quath ich, for tyme is that ich wende
 Aske the heye wey quath hure, hennes to Suffre⁵⁰
 Bothe wele and moche woe, yf thou wolt lerne
 And ryd forth by richesse, and reste nouht ther ynne
 Yf thou coveity to be riche, to cleregie comst thou nevere
 Bothe wommon and wyn, wratthe yre and slewthe
 Yf thou hit use other haunte, have God my treuthe⁵¹
 To Clergie shult thou nevere come, ne know what ys Dowel
 Ac yf thou⁵² happe quath hure, that thou hitte on Clergie
 And hast understondyng, what he wolde mene
 Sey to hym thy self, oveer see my bokes
 And seye ich grette wel hus wif, ich wrot hure a byble
 And sette hure to sapience, and to the Sauter glosede
 Logyk ich lerede hure, and al the lawe after
 Alle the musons [unisons?] in musyk, ich made hure to knowe
 Plato the poete, ich putte hym ferst to booke
 Aristotle and other, to arguen ich tauhte
 Grammere for gurlis, ich gart furst [to] wryte
 And bet hem with a baleyse⁵³, hote yf thei wolde lerne
 Of alle kyne craftes, ich contreveved here tooles
 Of carpentrie of kerveres⁵⁴, and contreveved the compas

⁴⁹ gyfte. W. gyfte. H.

⁵⁰ Instead of following Dr. Whitaker's paraphrase, "Inquire the way which leads to Suffer, and to pass through both weal and woe;" we ought to read, "Inquire the way, &c. to Suffer both weal and woe."

⁵¹ This line is omitted in the Cotton MS.; the Harleian reads, "So God have my truhte."

⁵² "Bote yf it." Harl. MS.

⁵³ Dr. Whitaker interprets "baleyse" a *strap*. The following extract from Matthew Paris will supply us with a more correct interpretation, and, except in the page of Langland, is the only record of the word I have been able to discover. "Vestibus igitur spoliatus cum suis militibus, similiter indumentis spoliatus, ferens in manu virgam quam vulgariter *Baleis* appellamus, intravit Capitulum, et confitens culpam suam, . . . a singulis fratribus disciplinas nuda carne suscepit", p. 848. In the Glossary, Watt has thus illustrated this expression. "*Baleis*, Virgam quam vulgariter *Baleis* appellamus a Gallico *Balay* scopa. Ita enim et adhuc Norfolcienses mei vocant virgam majorem et ex pluribus longioribusque viminibus; quali utuntur pædagogi severiores in scholis." From the substantive,

a verb was formed, which is also used by Langland.

Yut am ich chalenged in chapitel hous as ich a child were,
 And *baleysed* in the bar ers and no breche by twyne. p. 95.

The original French term is usually written *Balai* or *Bayale*; but the form it acquired in English would induce a belief that the earlier orthography, or perhaps that of Normandy, was *Balais*. In the same manner it might be conjectured that our obsolete "monies" was taken from *monnois* or *monnais* (though these words do not occur in the French vocabularies); for it yet remains to be proved that the former ever had a plural signification in contradistinction to "money." Thus too we have made (in more recent times) a noun plural of riches (*richesses*), and nothing is more common than to connect the "eaves" of a house with a verb in the plural number, though derived from the Anglo-Saxon *efese*, *margo*. In Somersetshire this last word is enounced "office."

⁵⁴ This reading is supported by Crowley's text, and all the MSS. except the Cotton (Vespasian, B. xvi.), which reads,

And cast out by squire, both lyne and levell
 Thus thorw my lore both men ylered, thauh ich loke dymne,
 Ac Theologie hath teened me, ten score tymes
 The more ich muse ther on, the mystiloker hit semeth
 And the deppere ich devine, the deerker me thynketh hit.
 (*Whitaker*, p. 183—190.)

And he soiled hure sone, and setthen he seide we have
 A wyndow a worcheng, wol stonden ous ful hye
 Wolde ye glase the gable, and grave ther youre name
 In masse and in matyns, for Mede we shulleth synge
 Solenliche and [softeliche⁵⁵,] as for a sustre of oure order.
 (*Ib.* p. 40.)

Thenne cam Covetyse, ich can nat hym discryve
 So hungerliche and so holwe, herry⁵⁶ hym self lokede
 He was bytellbrowede and baberlupped, whit two blery eyen
 And as a letherene pors, lolled his chekus
 Al sydder than ys chyn, ychiveled for elde
 As bondemenne⁵⁷ bacon, hus berd was yshave
 Whit hus hod on his heved, and hus hatte bothe
 In a toren tabard, of twelve wynter age
 [But yif a lous coude lepe, i leve as I trowe

"Of carpentrie and of corvyng i contrevede the compass"—a manifest improvement.

⁵⁵ sothliche. W.

⁵⁶ The Cotton MS. reads, "So hongri and holwe, herry was his name;" which coupled with the printed text, "So hungerly and holwe, sire herry him lokede," gives a strong corroboration to Dr Whitaker's conjecture,—that we have here a personal allusion, which in Langland's day had obtained a general currency. The Harleian fragment, No. 3954, reads,

So hungry he lokede, syre herry and holwe.

⁵⁷ Dr. Whitaker approves the reading given in his MSS. B. and C. and these agree with Crowley's text, and Caligula A. xi.

And as a bond-man of his bacon his berd was bydrivelid.

But in these later versions the image has undergone a revision. The Cotton MS. reads: "As a bedemonnes baken his berd was ishave," giving the substantiv bedeman in the genitive singular, for the genitive plural of the present text. Had Dr. Whitaker been aware of this peculiarity, he would not have thought it ne-

cessary to justify his paraphrase, or to declare his inability to give any other meaning to the passage than "his beard was no better shaven than the ill-dressed bacon of slaves." This Anglo-Saxon form—*menne* (manna. S.)—where we now use *men's*,—is frequent in Dr. Whitaker's MS.; the nominative plural being always *men*:

In the old lawe as lettre telleth, *menne*
 sonen men cald ous. p. 207.

With the remenant of the good that other
 men byswonke. 407.

And maken him myrre with other *menne*
 goodes. 406.

As barons and burgeis and bonde men of
 throupes. 11.

And sith bondemenne sonen han be made
 bisshopes. 79.

Examples of this genitive plural will also be found in pages 43, 70, 76, 102, 129, 158, 212, 217, 219, 282, 361, 395, 401. Dr. Whitaker's MS. however is not constant in the observance of this form. An approximation to the modern genitive plural will be found in pages 11, 92, 122, 154, 157, 238, 350, 386.

The croft hatte covyete nat *mennes* cattel
 ne here wyves. 122.

He scholde nought walke on that welth thredbare⁵⁸.]
 Ich have be coveitous quath this caityf, ich by know hit here
 For some tyme ich served, Symme at the style⁵⁹
 And was is prentys yplyght⁶⁰, hus profyt to waite
 Furst ich lerned to lye, a lesyng other tweye
 Wickedliche to weye⁶¹, was my furst lesson
 To Wy and to Winchestre, ich wente to the faire
 With many merchandises, as my maistres heghte
 Ne hadde the grace of Gyle, gon among my ware
 Hit had been unsold this seven yer, so me God helpe
 Ich drow me among drapers, my donet to lerne
 To drawe the lisure a longe, the lenger it semed
 Among the riche rayes, ich rendered a lesson, &c.
 Ac meny day men telleth, bothe monkes and chanouns
 Han ride out of a ray, hure ruel uvel holde
 [Lederes of loveddies, and landes purchased⁶²]
 And priked aboute on palfrais, fro places [to⁶³] maners
 An hepe of houndes at his ers, as he a lord were
 And bit his knave knele, that shall his coppe holde
 He loketh alle louring, and lorden⁶⁴ hym calleth.

(Whitaker, p. 97.)

⁵⁸ These lines are inserted on the authority of the Cotton MS.; the Harleian MS. reads,

Bote a lous couthe lepe yleve it as y trowe
 He schold nogt wander on that velte it was so dredbare.

⁵⁹ atte style. Harleian MS.

⁶⁰ It is to this source we must trace a word of frequent occurrence in early English poetry "Aplih" or "Aplight", which Mr. Ritson interprets—*complete—perfect*—and of which he has declared, "the etymology of this word cannot be ascertained." That its etymology could not be ascertained by Mr. Ritson will not be matter of surprise, when we remember that Dr. Jamieson has left it with the same vague and unsatisfactory definition. The obscurity I conceive can only lie in a common disguise—such as we find in the words *away, asleep, a hunting*—while the full form would be "an plih", and the phrase itself synonymous with *in soth* or *in troth*.

He com yn at newegate, y telle yt ou aplyht

A gerland of leves on ys hed y dyht of grene. Anc. Songs, p. 10.

Lybeaus answered aplyght.

Met. Rom. vol. ii. p. 34.

So laste the turnament apliht
 Fro the morwe to the night. p. 178.

The only passage which would appear to militate against this explanation is the following from the king of Tars:

He lokede as a wyldy lyon—
 So he ferde forsothe a plih,
 Al a day and al a niht. p. 161.

But those who are best acquainted with our early poetry will not be surprised at such a pleonasm, when the advantage of a rhyme is concerned; and the same volume affords us an example of this careless practice strictly parallel.

Jentle and jolef forsothe ywis,
 No man among hem ther nys. p. 260.

In this passage "ywis" is not a verb, but the Anglo-Saxon adverb "ge-wis," *certainly*, and ought never to be printed—as I fear has been the case more than once in these volumes through inadvertency—without the hyphen or as two words: Y wis or I wis.

Ure feder that in hevene is,
 That is al sothful I wis (read i-wis.)
 See vol. i. p. 21.

⁶¹ Wikkedly to wrye as my ferst lesson.
 MS. Harl.

⁶² This line is inserted on the authority of the Museum MSS. and is supported by Caligula A. xi. and Crowley.

⁶³ into. W.

⁶⁴ Dr. Whitaker's MS. fluctuates in its orthography of this word between lorden and lordayne. The context will always

Honger hent in haste, Wastour by the mawe
 And wrang hym by the wombe, that al watered hus eyen
 He buffated the Brutener, aboute the chekes
 That he loked lyk a lanterne, al hus lyf after.

(Whitaker, p. 137.)

Out of the west as it were, a weynche as me thouhte
 Cam walkynge in the way, to helleward he lokede
 Mercy hihte⁶⁵ that mayde, a mylde thyng with alle
 And a ful benygne burde, and buxom of speche
 Heore sustre as hit semede, cam softly walkynge
 Evene out of the est, and westwarde he thouhte
 A comely creature, and clene Treuthe sheo hihte
 For the vertue that here folwede, asered was he nevere
 Whan theos maydenes⁶⁶ metten, Mercy and Treuthe
 Ayther axed of other, of this grete wonder
 Of the deone and deorknesse, &c.

(Ib. p. 345-6.)

prevent its being confounded with "lordene," the genitive case plural of "lord."

⁶⁵ The use of this word in Chaucer, for which at present we have no adequate synonym, induced Mr. Tyrwhitt to consider it as a species of anomalous verb, of which I believe no language will afford a parallel.

Of whiche two Arcite highte that on,
 And he that other highte Palamon.
 v. 1016.

"It is difficult," he observes, "to determine what part of speech 'highte' is; but upon the whole I am inclined to consider it a word of very singular form, a verb active with a passive signification. See v. 1560.

For I dare not be knowe min owen shame,
 But ther as I was wont to highte Arcite.
 Now highte I Philostrate not worth a mite.

Where 'I highte' must signify *I am called*; as in the verse preceding, 'to highte' signifies *to be called*. According to this hypothesis, in the present instance, and in ver. 618, 862, where 'highte' signifies *was called*, it is put for 'highted'—and in v. 3097,

(Betwixen hem was maked anon the
 bond,
 That highte Matrimonie or Mariage)

where it signifies *is called*, for 'highteth.' It should be observed, that the Saxon 'hatan, vocare, promittere,' from whence 'highte' is derived, is a verb active of the common form, and so is 'highte' itself when it means to promise." In this,

Mr. Tyrwhitt has been partly misled by our Saxon vocabularies. "Hatan" ought not to be rendered by a Latin verb active; for that language, like our own, can only translate it by a verb passive, or an unwieldy paraphrase. Perhaps it would be better in our glossaries, to adopt the latter course; and interpret "hatan" *to have for a name*—as it would prevent the unavoidable confusion of the two conjugations, and save the verb from being regarded as "a verb active with a passive signification."—I leave to some future editor of Chaucer, the solution of this anomaly in Mr. Tyrwhitt's text—a verb whose present and past tenses are *literally* the same. Langland's present tense is "hatte:"

Is a wys knyght with alle, Syre Inwitt he
 hatte.

Mr. Ritson, who entertained a very salutary dread of what he terms "guesswork in glossaries," but who when called upon to exercise this faculty himself, seems to have thought no guess like a round guess, gives us: "hyght, called, or named, or am, is, or was, so."

⁶⁶ Langland uses "mayden" for an unmarried female, and "maidone" for a bachelor. Dr. Whitaker has said of these terms: *Maeg* is a maid of either sex; and *Maidone* is from *Dominus* and *Maiden* from *Domina*: an etymology which would have done honour to the genius of *Ménage*. The Anglo-Saxon *mægd* (our *maid*) had a diminutive *mægd-en* (*mayden, maiden*) formed upon the same principle that we have *chicken* from *chik*, *kitten* from either *cat* or *kit*; and Langland's

Kynde huyrde tho conscience, and cam out of the planetes
 And sente forth his [foreynours⁶⁷] fevers and fluxes
 Couhs and cardiacles [crampes⁶⁸,] and toth-aches
 Reumes and Radegoundes, and roynouse scabbes
 Bules and botches, and brennyng aguwes
 Frenesyas and foule uveles, these foragers of Kynde
 Hadden prykede and preyede⁶⁹, polles of [the] people
 Largeliche a legion, lees the lyf sone
 Ther was harow and help, her cometh Kynde
 With deth that is dredful, to undo ous alle
 The lord that lyvede after louste, tho aloud criede
 After Comfort a knyght, to come and bere hus baner
 Alarme, alarme, quath that lorde, eche lyf kepe [his⁷⁰] owene
 Thenne mette thes men, er mynstrales myghte pipe
 And er heraudes of armes, hadden descruyede lordes
 Elde the hore, was in the [avauntwarde⁷¹]
 And bar a baner byfore deth, by right he hit claymede
 Kynde cam after hym, with menyne kynne sores
 As pockes and pestilences, and muche people shente
 So Kynde thorgh corruptions, culde ful menyne
 Deth cam [dryvyng⁷²] after, and al to dust paihste
 Kynges and knyghtes, cayzers and popes
 Lered ne lewede, he leste no man stand
 That he hitte evene, sterede nevere after
 Many a loffy lady, and here lemmanes knyghtes
 Sounede and swelte, for sorwe of dythes dyntes
 Conscience of hus cortesie, tho Kynde he by souhte
 To cessen and to suffren, and seo wher thei wolde
 Leve pruyde pryveliche, and beo perfit cristene
 And Kynde cessede tho, to seon the people amende.
 (Whitaker, p. 396-7.)

And gaderide a great ost, al ageyn Conscience
 Thees lecherie leyden on, with lauhynge chire
 And with pryvey speche, and peyntede wordes
 And armede hym with ydelnesse, and in hy beryng
 He bar a bowe in hus honde, and manye brode arwes
 Where fetherede with faire by heste, and many a fals treuthe.
 (Ib. p. 398.)

ratton from rat. The Germans have their *Magd* and *Mädchen*, which in the *Nibelungen Lied* is written *Magedin*. In some provinces these terms are nearly synonymous; in others *Magd* is a word of rather indifferent odour, and corresponds to our English *wench*.

⁶⁷ fereours. W.

⁶⁸ clauupes. W.

⁶⁹ The Cotton MS. reads "ipeynede," which, as the most intelligible, I should prefer. The Harleian, "parveyde." I do not perceive the force of the present text.

⁷⁰ ous. W.

⁷¹ vauntwærde. W. The text is authorized by both the Museum MSS. and is supported by the alliteration.

⁷² dremend. W.

SECTION IX.

Pierce the Plowman's Crede. Constitution and Character of the four orders of Mendicant Friars. Wickliffe.

TO the VISION OF PIERCE PLOWMAN has been commonly annexed a poem called PIERCE THE PLOWMAN'S CREDE, and which may properly be considered as its appendage^a. It is professedly written in imitation of our VISION, but by a different hand. The author, in the character of a plain uninformed person, pretends to be ignorant of his creed; to be instructed in the articles of which, he applies by turns to the four orders of Mendicant friars. This circumstance affords an obvious occasion of exposing in lively colours the tricks of those societies. After so unexpected a disappointment, he meets one Pierce, or Peter, a plowman, who resolves his doubts, and teaches him the principles of true religion. In a copy of the CREDE lately presented to me by the bishop of Gloucester, and once belonging to Mr. Pope, the latter in his own hand has inserted the following abstract of its plan. "An ignorant plain man having learned his Pater-noster and Ave-mary, wants to learn his creed. He asks several religious men of the several orders to teach it him. First of a friar Minor, who bids him beware of the Carmelites, and assures him they can teach him nothing, describing their faults, &c. But that the friars Minors shall save him, whether he learns his creed or not. He goes next to the friars Preachers, whose magnificent monastery he describes: there he meets a fat friar, who declaims against the Augustines. He is shocked at his pride, and goes to the Augustines. They rail at the Minorites. He goes to the Carmes; they abuse the Dominicans, but promise him salvation, without the creed, for money. He leaves them with indignation, and finds an honest poor PLOWMAN in the field, and tells him how he was disappointed by the four orders. The plowman answers with a long invective against them."

The language of the CREDE is less embarrassed and obscure than that of the VISION. But before I proceed to a specimen, it may not be perhaps improper to prepare the reader, by giving an outline of the constitution and character of the four orders of Mendicant friars, the object of our poet's satire: an inquiry in many respects connected

^a The first edition is by R. Wolfe, London, 1553. 4to. In four sheets. It was reprinted, and added to Rogers's, or the fourth edition of the *Vision*, 1561. It was evidently written after the year 1384. Wickliffe died in that year, and he is mentioned as no longer living in Signat.

C. ii. edit. 1561. Walter Britte or Brithe, a follower of Wickliffe, is also mentioned, Signat. C. iii. Britte is placed by Bale in 1390. Cent. vi. 94. See also Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 8. *Wales*. The reader will pardon this small anticipation for the sake of connection.

with the general purport of this History, and which, in this place at least, cannot be deemed a digression, as it will illustrate the main subject, and explain many particular passages, of the *PLOWMAN'S CREDE*^b.

Long before the thirteenth century, the monastic orders, as we have partly seen in the preceding poem, in consequence of their ample revenues, had degenerated from their primitive austerity, and were totally given up to luxury and indolence. Hence they became both unwilling and unable to execute the purposes of their establishment: to instruct the people, to check the growth of heresies, or to promote in any respect the true interests of the church. They forsook all their religious obligations, despised the authority of their superiors, and were abandoned without shame or remorse to every species of dissipation and licentiousness. About the beginning therefore of the thirteenth century, the condition and circumstances of the church rendered it absolutely necessary to remedy these evils, by introducing a new order of religious, who being destitute of fixed possessions, by the severity of their manners, a professed contempt of riches, and an unwearied perseverance in the duties of preaching and prayer, might restore respect to the monastic institution, and recover the honours of the church. These were the four orders of mendicant or begging friars, commonly denominated the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, and the Augustines^d.

These societies soon surpassed all the rest, not only in the purity of their lives, but in the number of their privileges, and the multitude of their members. Not to mention the success which attends all novelties, their reputation arose quickly to an amazing height. The popes, among other uncommon immunities, allowed them the liberty of travelling wherever they pleased, of conversing with persons of all ranks, of instructing the youth and the people in general, and of hearing confessions, without reserve or restriction: and as on these occasions, which gave them opportunities of appearing in public and conspicuous situations, they exhibited more striking marks of gravity and sanctity than were observable in the deportment and conduct of the members of other monasteries, they were regarded with the highest esteem and veneration throughout all the countries of Europe.

In the mean time they gained still greater respect, by cultivating the literature then in vogue with the greatest assiduity and success. Gianoni says, that most of the theological professors in the university of Naples, newly founded in the year 1220, were chosen from the Mendicants^c. They were the principal teachers of theology at Paris, the school where

^b And of some perhaps quoted above from the Vision.

^d The Franciscans were often styled friars-minors, or minorites, and grey-friars; the Dominicans, friars-preachers, and sometimes black-friars; the Carmelites, white-friars; and the Austins, grey-friars. The first establishment of the Do-

minicans in England was at Oxford in 1221. Of the Franciscans, at Canterbury. These two were the most eminent of the four orders. The Dominican friary at Oxford stood in an island on the south of the city, south-west of the Franciscan friary, the site of which is hereafter described.

^c Hist. Nap. xvi. 3.

this science had received its origin^f. At Oxford and Cambridge respectively, all the four orders had flourishing monasteries. The most learned scholars in the university of Oxford, at the close of the thirteenth century, were Franciscan friars: and long after this period, the Franciscans appear to have been the sole support and ornament of that university^g. Hence it was that bishop Hugh de Balsham, founder of Peter-house at Cambridge, orders in his statutes given about the year 1280, that some of his scholars should annually repair to Oxford for improvement in the sciences^h. That is, to study under the Franciscan readers. Such was the eminence of the Franciscan friary at Oxford, that the learned bishop Grosthead, in the year 1253, bequeathed all his books to that celebrated seminaryⁱ. This was the house in which the renowned Roger Bacon was educated; who revived, in the midst of barbarism, and brought to a considerable degree of perfection, the knowledge of mathematics in England, and greatly facilitated many modern discoveries in experimental philosophy^k. The same fraternity is likewise said to have stored their valuable library with a multitude of Hebrew manuscripts, which they purchased of the Jews on their banishment from England^l. Richard de Bury, bishop of Durham, author of *PHILOBIBLON*, and the founder of a library at Oxford, is prolix in his praises of the Mendicants for their extraordinary diligence in collecting books^m. Indeed it became difficult in the beginning of the four-

^f See Boul. Hist. Academ. Paris. iii. p. 138. 240. 244. 248, &c.

^g This circumstance in some degree roused the monks from their indolence, and induced the greater monasteries to procure the foundation of small colleges in the universities for the education of their novices. At Oxford the monks had also schools which bore the name of their respective orders; and there were schools in that university which were appropriated to particular monasteries. Kennet's Paroch. Ant. p. 214. Wood, Hist. Ant. Univ. Oxon. i. 119. Leland says, that even in his time, at Stamford, a temporary university, the names of halls inhabited by the novices of Peterborough, Sempringham, and Vauldrey abbies, were remaining. Itin. vi. p. 21. And it appears, that the greater part of the proceeders in theology at Oxford and Cambridge, just before the Reformation, were monks. But we do not find, that in consequence of all these efforts, the monks made a much greater figure in literature.—In this rivalry which subsisted between the Mendicants and the monks, the latter sometimes availed themselves of their riches; and with a view to attract popularity, and to eclipse the growing lustre of the former, proceeded to their degrees in the universities with prodigious parade. In the year 1298, William de

Brooke, a Benedictine of Saint Peter's abbey at Gloucester, took the degree of doctor in divinity at Oxford. He was attended on this important occasion by the abbot and whole convent of Gloucester, the abbots of Westminster, Reading, Abingdon, Evesham, and Malmesbury, with one hundred noblemen and esquires, on horses richly caparisoned. These were entertained at a sumptuous feast in the refectory of Gloucester college. But it should be observed, that he was the first of the Benedictine order that attained this dignity. Wood, Hist. Ant. Univ. Oxon. i. 25. col. 1. See also Stevens, Mon. 1. 70.

^h "De scholaribus emittendis ad universitatem Oxonie pro doctrina." Cap. xviii.

ⁱ Leland. Script. Brit. p. 283. This house stood just without the city walls, near Little-gate. The garden called *Paradise* was their grove or orchard.

^k It is probable, that the treatises of many of Bacon's scholars and followers, collected by Thomas Allen in the reign of James the First, still remain among the manuscripts of Sir Kenelm Digby in the Bodleian library.

^l Wood, ubi sup. 1. 77. col. 2.

^m Philobibl. cap. v. This book was written 1344.

teenth century to find any treatise in the arts, theology, or canon law, commonly exposed to sale: they were all universally bought up by the friars^a. This is mentioned by Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Armagh, in his discourse before the pope at Avignon in 1357, their bitter and professed antagonist; who adds, without any intention of paying them a compliment, that all the Mendicant convents were furnished with a "grandis et nobilis libraria^o." Sir Richard Whittington built the library of the Grey Friars in London, which was one hundred and twenty-nine feet long, and twelve broad, with twenty-eight desks^b. About the year 1430, one hundred marks were paid for transcribing the profound Nicholas de Lyra, in two volumes, to be chained in this library^c. Leland relates, that Thomas Wallden, a learned Carmelite, bequeathed to the same library as many manuscripts of approved authors, written in capital Roman characters, as were then estimated at more than two thousand pieces of gold^d. He adds, that this library, even in his time, exceeded all others in London for multitude of books and antiquity of copies^e. Among many other instances which might be given of the learning of the Mendicants, there is one which greatly contributed to establish their literary character. In the eleventh century, Aristotle's philosophy had been condemned in the university of Paris as heretical. About a hundred years afterwards, these prejudices began to subside; and new translations of Aristotle's writings were published in Latin by our countryman Michael Scotus, and others, with more attention to the original Greek, at least without the pompous and perplexed circumlocutions which appeared in the Arabic versions hitherto used. In the mean time the Mendicant orders sprung up; who happily availing themselves of these new translations, and making them the constant subject of their scholastic lectures, were the first who revived the doctrines of this philosopher, and acquired the merit of having opened a new system of science^f. The Dominicans of Spain were accomplished adepts in the learning and language of the Arabians; and

^a Yet I find a decree made at Oxford, where these orders of friars flourished so greatly, in the year 1373, to check the *excessive multitude* of persons selling books in the university without licence. Vet. Stat. Univ. Oxon. D. fol. 75. Archiv. Bodl.

^b MSS. Bibl. Eodl. *Propositio coram papa*, &c. And MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 182. *Propositio coram*, &c. See a translation of this Sermon by Trevisa, MSS. Harl. 1900. fol. Pergam. 2. See f. 11. See also Browne's append. Fascic. Rer. expetend. fugiend. ii. p. 466. I believe this discourse has been printed twice or thrice at Paris. In which, says the archbishop, there were thirty thousand scholars at Oxford in my youth, but now (1357) scarce six thousand. At Bennet in Cambridge, there is a curious manuscript of one of

Fitzrauf's Sermons, in the first leaf of which there is a drawing of four devils, hugging four mendicant friars, one of each of the four orders, with great familiarity and affection. MSS. L. 16. This book belonged to Adam Eston, a very learned Benedictine of Norwich, and a witness against Wickliffe at Rome, where he lived the greatest part of his life, in 1370.

^c Stowe's Surv. Lond. p. 255. edit. 1599.

^d Stowe, *ibid.* p. 256. Stevens, Monast. i. 112.

^e Aurel.

^f Script. Brit. p. 441. And Collectan. iii. p. 52.

^g See Joann. Laun. de varia Aristotel. Fortun. in Acad. Paris. p. 78. edit. Paris. 1662.

were employed by the kings of Spain in the instruction and conversion of the numerous Jews and Saracens who resided in their dominions^u.

The buildings of the Mendicant monasteries, especially in England, were remarkably magnificent, and commonly much exceeded those of the endowed convents of the second magnitude. As these fraternities were professedly poor, and could not from their original institution receive estates, the munificence of their benefactors was employed in adorning their houses with stately refectories and churches: and for these and other purposes they did not want address to procure multitudes of patrons, which was facilitated by the notion of their superior sanctity. It was fashionable for persons of the highest rank to bequeath their bodies to be buried in the friary churches, which were consequently filled with sumptuous shrines and superb monuments^v. In the noble church of the Grey friars in London, finished in the year 1325, but long since destroyed, four queens, besides upwards of six hundred persons of quality, were buried, whose beautiful tombs remained till the Dissolution^w. These interments imported considerable sums of money into the Mendicant societies. It is probable that they derived more benefit from casual charity than they would have gained from a regular endowment. The Franciscans indeed enjoyed from the popes the privilege of distributing indulgences, a valuable indemnification for their voluntary poverty^x.

On the whole, two of these Mendicant institutions, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, for the space of near three centuries, appear to have governed the European church and state with an absolute and universal sway: they filled, during that period, the most eminent eccle-

^u R. Simon's Lett. Chois. tom. iii. p. 112. They studied the arts of popular entertainment. The Mendicants, I believe, were the only religious in England who acted plays. The Creation of the World, annually performed by the Grey friars at Coventry, is still extant. See supr. vol. i. p. 83. and vol. ii. p. 25. And they seem to have been famous abroad for these exhibitions. Gualvanei de la Flamma, who flourished about the year 1340, has the following curious passage in his chronicle of the VICECOMITES of Milan, published by Muratori. In the year 1336, says he, on the feast of Epiphany, the first feast of the three kings was celebrated at Milan, by the convent of the friars Preachers. The three kings appeared crowned on three great horses, richly habited, surrounded by pages, body-guards, and an innumerable retinue. A golden star was exhibited in the sky, going before them. They proceeded to the pillars of St. Lawrence, where king Herod was represented with his scribes and wise-men. The three kings ask Herod where Christ should be

born; and his wise-men, having consulted their books, answer him at Bethlehem. On which, the three kings with their golden crowns, having in their hands golden cups filled with frankincense, myrrh, and gold, the star still going before, marched to the church of St. Eustorgius, with all their attendants; preceded by trumpets and horns, apes, baboons, and a great variety of animals. In the church, on one side of the high altar, there was a manger with an ox and an ass, and in it the infant Christ in the arms of his mother. Here the three kings offer their gifts, &c. The concourse of the people, of knights, ladies, and ecclesiastics, was such as never before was beheld, &c. *Rer. Italic. Scriptor.* tom. xii. col. 1017. *D. fol. Mediolan.* 1728. Compare p. 31. supr. This feast in the ritual is called *The feast of the Star.* Joann. Episcop. *Abrinc. de Offic. Eccl.* p. 30.

^v Their churches were esteemed more sacred than others.

^w Weav. *Fun. Mon.* p. 388.

^x See Baluz. *Miscellan.* tom. iv. 490. vii. 392.

siastical and civil stations, taught in the universities with an authority which silenced all opposition, and maintained the disputed prerogative of the Roman pontiff against the united influence of prelates and kings, with a vigour only to be paralleled by its success. The Dominicans and Franciscans were, before the Reformation, exactly what the Jesuits have been since. They disregarded their monastic character and profession, and were employed, not only in spiritual matters, but in temporal affairs of the greatest consequence; in composing the differences of princes, concluding treaties of peace, and concerting alliances: they presided in cabinet councils, levied national subsidies, influenced courts, and managed the machines of every important operation and event, both in the religious and political world.

From what has been here said, it is natural to suppose that the Mendicants at length became universally odious. The high esteem in which they were held, and the transcendent degree of authority which they had assumed, only served to render them obnoxious to the clergy of every rank, to the monasteries of other orders, and to the universities. It was not from ignorance, but from a knowledge of mankind, that they were active in propagating superstitious notions, which they knew were calculated to captivate the multitude, and to strengthen the papal interest; yet at the same time, from the vanity of displaying an uncommon sagacity of thought, and a superior skill in theology, they affected novelties in doctrine, which introduced dangerous errors, and tended to shake the pillars of orthodoxy. Their ambition was unbounded, and their arrogance intolerable. Their increasing numbers became, in many states, an enormous and unwieldy burthen to the commonwealth. They had abused the powers and privileges which had been entrusted to them; and the common sense of mankind could not long be blinded or deluded by the palpable frauds and artifices which these rapacious zealots so notoriously practised for enriching their convents. In England, the university of Oxford resolutely resisted the perpetual encroachments of the Dominicans*; and many of our theologists attacked all the four orders with great vehemence and severity. Exclusive of the jealousies and animosities which naturally subsisted between four rival institutions, their visionary refinements, and love of disputation, introduced among them the most violent dissensions. The Dominicans aimed at popularity by an obstinate denial of the immaculate conception. Their pretended sanctity became at length a term of reproach, and their learning fell into discredit. As polite letters and general knowledge increased, their speculative and pedantic divinity gave way to a more liberal turn of thinking, and a more perspicuous mode of writing. Bale, who was himself a Carmelite friar, says, that his order, which was eminently distinguished for scholastic erudition, began to lose their estimation about the year 1460. Some of them were imprudent enough

* Wood, ut supr. l. 150. 154. 196.

to engage openly in political controversy; and the Augustines destroyed all their repute and authority in England by seditious sermons, in which they laboured to supplant the progeny of Edward the Fourth, and to establish the title of the usurper Richard^a. About the year 1530, Leland visited the Franciscan friary at Oxford, big with the hopes of finding, in their celebrated library, if not many valuable books, at least those which had been bequeathed by the learned bishop Grossthead. The delays and difficulties with which he procured admittance into this venerable repository heightened his curiosity and expectations. At length, after much ceremony, being permitted to enter, instead of an inestimable treasure, he saw little more than empty shelves covered with cobwebs and dust^b.

After so prolix an introduction, I cannot but give a large quotation from our CREDE, the humour and tendency of which will now be easily understood; and especially as this poem is not only extremely scarce, and has almost the rarity of a manuscript; but as it is so curious and lively a picture of an order of men who once made so conspicuous a figure in the world.*

For first I frayned^c the freres, and they me full tolden,
That al the fruyt of the fayth, was in her foure orders,
And the cofres of Christendom, and the keie bothen
And the lock of byleve^d, lyeth locken in her hondes.

Then wennede^e I to Wytte, and with a whight I mette
A Minoure in amorwetide, and to this man I saide,
Sir for greate godes love, the graith^f thou me tell,
Of what myddel erde man myght I best lerne
My crede, for I can it nought, my care is the more,
And therfore for Christes love, thy counseyl I preie,
A Carme^g me hath ycovenant, [the crede^h] me to teche.
But for thou knowest Carmes wel, thy counsaile I aske.

This Minour looked on me, and lauhying he sayde

^a Newcourt, Repert. i. 289.

^b Leland describes this adventure with some humour. "Contigit ut copiam peterem videndi bibliothecam Franciscanorum, ad quod obstreperunt asini aliquot, rudentes nulli prorsus mortalium tam sanctos aditus et recessus adire, nisi Gardiano et sacris sui collegii baccalariis. Sed ego urgebam, et principis diplomate munitus, tantum non coegi ut sacraria illa aperirent. Tum unus e majoribus asinis multa subrudens tandem fores ægre reseveravit. Summe Jupiter, quid ego illic inveni? Pulverem autem inveni, telas araneorum, tineas, blattas, situm denique et squalorem. Inveni etiam et libros, sed

quos tribus obolis non emerem." Script. Brit. p. 286.

* [The British Museum contains but one manuscript (King's MSS. 18. B. xvi.) of the Crede, and that of no early date. It agrees closely in orthography and matter with the printed copy, and is perhaps not much older. A few of its variations have been inserted in the text, and others of less importance given in the notes below. The rejected readings of the black-letter copy are distinguished by the letter P.—A reprint of Rogers's edition of 1553, appeared in 1814.—PRICE.]

^c asked.

^d belief.

^e thought.

^f truth.

^g Carmelite.

^h ye nede. P.

Leve Christen man, I leve^b that thou madde.
 Whough^a shuld thei teche the god³, that con non hemselfe?
 They ben but jugulers, and japers of kynde,
 Lorels and lechures, and lemans holden,
 Neyther in order ne out but unneth lybbeth¹,
 And byjapeth the folk with gestes^k of Rome.
 It is but a faynt folke, yfounded up on japes,
 They maketh hem Maries men^l, and so thei men tellen.
 And leieth on our lady many a long tale.
 And that wicked folk wymmen betraieth,
 And begileth hem of her good with glavering wordes.
 And ther with holden her^m hous in harlotes warkes.
 And so save me God I hold it great synne,
 To gyven hem any good, swiche glotones to fynde
 To maintaine swiche maner men the michel good destruieth
 Yet seynⁿ they in her sultitie, to sottes in townes
 Thei comen out of Carmeli, Christ for to folwen.
 And feyneth hem with holynesse, the yvele hem bisemeth.
 Thei lyven more in lecherie, and lieth in her tales,
 Than ^{suen}^o any good liif, but lurken in her selles,
 But wynnen werdliche^p good, and wasten it in synne,
 And gif^q thei couthen^r her crede other on Christ leveden
 Thei weren nought so hardy, swyche harlotri usen,
 Sikerli I can nought fynden who hem first founded,
 But the foles foundeden hem self freres of the pye,
 And maken hem mendyans, and marre the [people^s]
 But what glut of the gomes may any good kachen,
 He wil kepen it hem selfe, and cofrene⁶ it faste.
 And though his felawes fayle good, for [him⁷] he mai sterve
 Her monei mai bi quest, and testament maken
 And none obedience here, but don as hym luste.
 And right as Robartes men raken aboute
 At feyres and at full ales, and fyllen the cuppe^a
 And precheth al of pardon, to plesen the puple,

^a believe.^l deceiveth [liveth].^k legends.

¹ The Carmelites, sometimes called the brethren of the Blessed Virgin, were fond of boasting their familiar intercourse with the Virgin Mary. Among other things, they pretended that the Virgin assumed the Carmelite habit and profession; and that she appeared to Simon Sturckius, general of their order, in the thirteenth century, and gave him a solemn promise, that the souls of those christians who died with

the Carmelite scapulary upon their shoulders should infallibly escape damnation.

^m their. ⁿ say. ^o follow.^p worldly. ^q if. ^r knew.

^s [Robartes men, or Roberdsamen, were a set of lawless vagabonds, notorious for their outrages when Pierce Plowman was written, that is, about the year 1350 [1362]. The statute of Edward the Third (an. reg. 5. c. xiv.) specifies "divers manslaughters, felonies, and robberies, done by people that be called *Roberdsamen*, Was-tours, and drawlatches." And the statute

² how.³ God. P.⁴ shewin.⁵ pule. P.⁶ coferen.⁷ he. P.

But patience is al [passyd]⁸ and put out to ferme
 And pride is in her povertie, that litell is to preisen
 And at the lullyng of our lady⁹, the wymmen to lyken
 And miracles of mydwylves, and maken wymmen to wenen
 That the lace of our lady smok lighteth hem of children.
 Thei ne prechen nought of Powel¹⁰, ne penaunce for synne,
 But al of merci and ⁹mensk¹¹, that Marie may helpen.
 With sterne staves and stronge, thei overlond straketh,
 Thider as here lemans liggeth, and lurketh in townes.
 Grey grete heded quenes, with gold by the eighen,
 And seyne that her susterne thei ben that sojourneth aboute,
 And thus abouten the gon and godes¹⁰ folke betrayeth,
 It is the puple that Powel preched of in his tyme.
 He seyde of swiche folke that so aboute wente
 Wepying, I warne you of walkers aboute,
 It beth enemyes of the cros that Christ upon tholed.
 Swiche slomreers^{*} in slepe slaughte⁷ is her end.
 And glotonye is her god, with glopping of drink^{*}
 And gladnesse in glee, and grete joye ymaked
 In the shending^{*} of swiche shal mychel folk lauwlhe.
 Therfore frend for thy feith fond to don beter,
 Leve nought on tho losels, but let hem forth pasen,
 For thei ben fals in her faith, and feeble mo other.

Alas frere, quath I tho, my purpos is yfailed,
 Now is my comfort a cast, canstou no bote,
 Wher I might meten with a man that might me wysse
 For to conne my crede, Christ for to folwen.

Certeyn felawe, quath the frere, withouten any fayle
 Of al men upon mold^{*} we Minorites most sheweth
 The pure aposteles lif¹¹, with penance on erthe,
 And suen^b hem in sanctite, and sufferen wel harde.

of Richard the Second (an. reg. 7. c. v.) ordains, that the statute of king Edward concerning *Roberdsmen* and *Drawlacches* shall be rigorously observed. Sir Edward Coke (Instit. iii. 197.) supposes them to have been originally the followers of Robin Hood in the reign of Richard the First. See Blackstone's Comm. B. iv. ch. 17. Bishop Latimer says, that in a town where he intended to preach, he could not collect a congregation, because it was *Robinhoodes daye*. "I thought my rochet would have been regarded, though I were not: but it would not serve, it was faine to give place to *Robinhoodes men*." Sermons, fol. 74. b. This expression is not without an allusion to the *bad* sense of *Roberdsmen*.—ADDITIONS.]

⁶ The Carmelites pretended that their order was originally founded on Mount Carmel where Elias lived; and that their first convent was placed there, within an antient church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, in the year 1121.

⁷ St. Paul.

⁸ mercy [humanity].

⁹ slumberers.

¹⁰ sloth.

¹¹ [In the Liber Pœnitentialis there is this injunction, "Si monachus per EBRIETATEM vomitum fecerit, triginta dies paniteat." MSS. Jam. V. 237. Bibl. Bodl.—ADDITIONS.]

^{*} destroying.

^{*} earth.

^b follow.

⁸ passed. P.

⁹ mary and melk.

¹⁰ gode.

¹¹ leif. P.

We haunten not tavernes, ne hobelen^c abouten
 At marketes and miracles we medeley us never^d.
 We houlden^e no moneye, but [menelich¹²] faren^f
 And haven hunger at the mete, at ich a mel ones¹³.
 We haven forsaken the world, and in wo libbeth^g
 In penaunce and poverte, and prechethe the puple^h
 By ensample of our liif, soules to helpen
 And in poverte preien, for al oure parteneres
 That gyveth us any good, God to honouren
 Other bel other book, or bred to our foode,
 Other catel other cloth, to coveren [with¹⁴] oure bonesⁱ.
 Money, other money worth, here mede is in hevene
 For we buildeth a burugh^k, a brod and a large,
 A chirch and a chapitle^l, with chaumbers a lofte.
 With wide wyndowes ywrought, and walles wel heye
 That mote ben portreid, [paynted¹⁵] and pulched ful clene^m,
 With gay glitering glas, glowing as the sunne,
 And mightestou amenden us with moneyⁿ of thyne owen,
 Thou shouldest knely before Christ in compas of gold,
 In the wyde windowe westward wel neigh in the middell^o,
 And saint Franceis him self, shal folde the in his cope,
 And present the to the trinite, and praye for thy synnes,
 Thy name shal noblich be wryte and wrought for the nones
 And in remembraunce of the, [irade]¹⁶ ther for ever^p,
 And brother be thou nought aferd, bythenkin thyne hert
 Though thou cone^q nought thy crede, care thou no more
 I shal asoilen^r the syr, and setten it on my soule.
 And thou may maken this good, thenke thou non other.
 Sir (I sayde) in certaine I shal gon and asaye,

^c skip, run [*hobble*].

^d See *supr.* p. 20.

^e collect, hide, possess, hoard.

^f live like monks, like men dedicated to religion. Or rather, moneyless, poor.

^g live.

^h people.

ⁱ Either bells, or books, or bread, or cattle, &c.

^k a house.

^l A chapter-house; *Capitulum*.

^m Must be painted and beautifully adorned. [*Mote* is often used in Chaucer for must.—ADDITIONS.]

ⁿ If you would help us with your money.

^o Your figure kneeling to Christ shall be painted in the great west window. This

was the way of representing benefactors in painted glass. See *supr.* p. 54.

^p Your name shall be written in our table of benefactors for whose souls we pray. This was usually hung up in the church. Or else he means, Written in the windows, in which manner benefactors were frequently recorded.

[Most of the printed copies read *praid*. Hearne, in a quotation of this passage, reads *grad*. Gul. Newbrig. p. 770. He quotes an edition of 1553. "Your name shall be richly written in the windows of the church of the monastery, which men will READ there for ever." This seems to be the true reading.—ADDITIONS.]

^q know.

^r absolve.

¹² moneliche. P.

¹³ ilche a mele onys. ¹⁴ The context requires the suppression of this word. In the manuscript it appears to have been written and afterwards erased.

¹⁵ and paint. P.

¹⁶ praid. P.

And he set on me his hond, and asoiled me clene,
And there I parted him fro, withouten any peyne,
In covenant that I come agayn, Christ he me be taught.

Than saide I to myself, here semeth litel treuthe,
First to blame his brother, and bakbyten hym foule,
There as curteis Christ clerliche sayde:
Whow might thou in thy brothers eighe a bare mote loke
And in thyne owen eighe nought a beme toten,
See first on thy self, and sithen on a nother,
And clense clene thy sight, and kepe wel thyne eighe,
And for another mannes eighe, ordeyne after
And also I see coveitise, catel to fongen^a,
That Christ hath clerliche forboden^t, and clenliche destruede
And sayde to his sueres^u, for sothe on his wyse:
Nought thy neighbors good coveyte in no tyme.
But charite and chastite, ben chased out clene,
But Christ seide by her fruit, men shal hem ful knowen.
Thanne saide I, certeine syr, thou demest ful trewe.

Than thought I to frayne^w the first of this foure ordrea.
And presed to the Prechoures^x, to proven her wille,
Ich highed to her house^y, to herken of more,
And when I came to that court, I gaped about,
Swich a bild bold ybuld upon erthe heighe,
Say I nought in certeyn syththe a long tyme^z.
I [^ayemyd¹⁷] upon that hous, and yerne^b theron loked,
Whow the pileres weren ypaint and [^cpulched¹⁸] ful clene,
And queyntly ycorven, with curious knottes,
With wyndowes wel ywrought, wyde up alofte,
And than I entred in, and even forthe wente,
And all was walled that wone^d, though it wiid were
With posternes in privite to passen when hem liste.
Orcheyardes, and erberes^e [^{euesed}¹⁹] wel clene,
And a curious cros, craftly entayled^f,
With tabernacles ytight to toten^g al abouten.
The pris of a ploughlond, of penies so rounde,
To aparaille that pyler, were pure litel^h,
Than I munteⁱ me forth, the mynstere^k to knowen,
And awayted^l it [^{anon}²⁰] wonderly wel ybild,

^a take, receive.^t forbidden.^y house, habitation.^u followers.^w to ask.^z arbours.^x I hastened to the friars-preachers.^c carved. See Spenser, ii. 3, 27. 6, 29.^y I went to their monastery.^g to look.^z It is long since I have seen so fine a building.^h The price of a carucate of land would not raise such another building.^a gazed.^b earnestly, [eagerly].ⁱ went.^e polished.^k church.^l I saw.¹⁷ semed. P.¹⁸ poleched.¹⁹ usyd.²⁰ woon. P.

With arches on everich half, and bellyche^m ycorven
 With crochetes on [corneres]²¹, with knottes of gold.
 Wyde wyndowes ywrought ywritten ful thikkeⁿ
 Shynen with shapen sheldes^o, to shewen aboute,
 With merkes of merchauntes^p, ymedeled betwene,
 Mo than twentie and two, twyse ynoumbbred;
 Ther is non heraud that hath half swich a rolle^q
 Right as a rageman hath rekned hem newe
 Tombes upon tabernacles, tylde upon lofte^r,
 Housed^s in hornes harde set abouten^t
 Of armede alabaustre, clad for the nones,

^m beautifully.

ⁿ with texts, or names.

^o That is, coats of arms of benefactors painted in the glass. So in an antient roll in verse, exhibiting the descent of the family of the lords of Clare in Suffolk, preserved in the Austin friary at Clare, and written in the year 1356.

Dame Mault, a lady full honorable.
 Borne of the Ulsters, as sheweth ryfe
 Hir *armes of glasse* in the eastern gable.

—So conjoyned be

Ulstris armes and Glocestris thurgh and thurgh,
 As shewith our *Wyndowes* in houses thre,
 Dortur, chapiter-house, and fraitour,
 which she
 Made out the grounde both plancher and wall.

Dugdale cites this roll, Mon. Angl. i. p. 535. As does Weaver, who dates it in 1460. Fun. Mon. p. 734. But I could prove this fashion to have been of much higher antiquity.

^p [By *Merkes of merchauntes* we are to understand their symbols, cyphers, or badges, drawn or painted in the windows. Of this passage I have received the following curious explication from Mr. Cole, rector of Blechley in Bucks, a learned antiquary in the heraldic art. "*Mixed with the arms of their founders and benefactors stand also the MARKS of tradesmen and merchants, who had no Arms, but used their Marks in a Shield like Arms.* Instances of this sort are very common. In many places in Great Saint Mary's church in Cambridge such a *SHIELD of MARK* occurs: the same that is to be seen in the windows of the great shop opposite the Conduit on the Market-hill, and the corner house of the Petty Curry. No doubt, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, the owner of these houses was a benefactor to the building, or glazing Saint Mary's church.

I have seen like instances in Bristol cathedral; and the churches at Lynn are full of them."—In an antient system of heraldry in the British Museum, I find the following illustration, under a shield of this sort. "They be none armys, bvt a *MARKE* as *MARCHAUNTS* vse, for every mane may take hyme a Marke, but not armys, without an herawde or purcyvaunte." MSS. Harl. 2259. 9. fol. 110. —ADDITIONS.]

^q such a roll.

^r set up on high.

^s [But perhaps we should read *HURNES*, interpreted, in the short Glossary to the Crede, *CAVES*, that is, in the present application, *niches, arches*. See Gloss. Rob. Glouc. p. 660. col. i. *HURN*, is *angle, corner*. From the Saxon *byrn, Angulus*. Chaucer, Frankel. Tale, Urr. p. 110. v. 2677.

Seeking in every halke [nook], and every *herne*.

And again, Chan. Yem. Prol. p. 121. v. 679.

Lurking in *hernis* and in *lanis* blind.

Read the line, thus pointed.

Housed in *HURNES* hard set abouten.

The sense is therefore, "The tombs were within lofty-pinnacled tabernacles, and enclosed in a multiplicity of thick-set arches." *HARD* is *close* or *thick*. This conveys no bad idea of a Gothic sepulchral shrine.—ADDITIONS.]

[Mr. Ellis asks "Why not *harnés, harness*, i. e. *armour*?" which would hardly be characteristic of the *architecture* of a tomb. Warton is doubtless right. The term occurs in the poem of Beowulf:

sele hlifade, } hall rose,
 heah and *horn-geap*, } high and *arched*.
 PRICE.]

^t Placed very close or thick about the church.

²¹ With crochers the corneres.

Maad op on marbel in many manner wyse
 Knyghtes in ther conisante^a clad for the nones
 Alle it semed seyntes, ysacred op on erthe,
 And lovely ladies ywrought, leyn by her sydes
 In many gay garnemens, that weren gold beten,
 Though the tax of ten yere were trewely gadered,
 Nolde it nought maken that hous, half as I trowe.
 Than cam I to that cloystre, and gaped abouten,
 Whough it was pilered and peynt, and portreyd well clene
 Alhyled^w with leed, lowe to the stones,
 And ypaved, with [^{ss}poynttyl^z,] ich point after other
 With cundites of clene tyn closed al aboute^v,
 With lavoures of lattin^z, loveliche ygreithed^a
 I trowe the gaynage of the ground, in a gret shyre
 Nold aparaille that place, oo poynt tyl other ende^b.
 Thane was the chapitre house wrought as a greet chirch
 Corven and covered, ant quentelyche entayled^c
 With semliche selure yseet on lofte^d
 As a parlement hous ypeynted aboute^e.

^a In their proper habiliments. In their *cognisances*, or surcoats of arms. So again, Signat. C. ii. b.

For though a man in her minstre a masse wolde heren,
 His sight shall also byset on sondrye workes,
 The pennons, and the poinells, and pointes of sheldes
 Withdrawen his devotion and dusken his harte.

That is, the banners, achievements, and other armorial ornaments, hanging over the tombs.

^w covered.

^z *Point en point* is a French phrase for *in order*, exactly. This explains the latter part of the line. Or *poyntill* may mean tiles in squares or dies, in chequer-work. See Skinner in *POINT*, and Du Fresne in *PUNCTURA*. And then *ich POINT after other* will be *one SQUARE after another*. So late as the reign of Henry the Eighth, so magnificent a structure as the refectory of Christ-church at Oxford was, at its first building, paved with green and yellow tiles. The whole number was two thousand six hundred, and each hundred cost three shillings and six-pence. MSS. Br. Twyne, Archiv. Oxon. 8. p. 352. Wolsey's great hall at Hampton Court, evidently built in every respect on the model of this at Christ-church, was very probably paved

in the same manner. See *Observat. on Spens.* vol. ii. § p. 232. [pantiles, Ellis.]

^v Spouts. Or channels for conveying the water into the lavatory, which was usually placed in the cloister.

^a laten, a metal so called.

^a prepared, adorned.

^b from one end to the other.

^c The chapter-house was magnificently constructed in the style of church-architecture, finely vaulted, and richly carved.

^d A seemly ceiling, or roof, very lofty.

^e That they painted the walls of rooms, before tapestry became fashionable, I have before given instances, *Observat. on Spens.* vol. ii. § p. 232. I will here add other proofs. In an old French romance on the *Miracles of the Virgin*, liv. i. Carpent. Suppl. Lat. Gl. Du Cang. V. LAMBROIS-SARE.

Lors moustiers tiennent ors et sals,
 Et lor cambres, et lor grans sales,
 Font lambroissier, *paindre*, et *pourtraire*.

Gervasius Dorobernensis, in his account of the burning of Canterbury Cathedral in the year 1174, says, that not only the beam-work was destroyed, but the ceiling underneath it, or concameration called *cælum*, being of wood beautifully painted, was also consumed. "*Cælum inferius egregie depictum*," &c. p. 1289. Dec. Script. Lond. 1652. And Stubbes, *Actus Pontif. Eboracensium*, says, that archbishop Al-

Thanne ferd I into fraytoure^f, and fond there a nother,
 An halle for an hygh kynge, an houshold to holden,
 With brod bordes abouten, ybenched wel clene,
 With wyndowes of glass, wrought as a chirche^g.
 Than walkede I ferrer^h, and went al abouten
 And seighⁱ halles ful heygh, and houses ful noble,
 Chambres with chymneys, and chapels gaye,
 And kychenes for an high kynge, in castels to holden,
 And her dortoure^k ydight, with dores ful stronge
 Fermerye and fraitur^l, with fele mo houses^m
 And al strong ston wal sterne opon heithe
 With gaye garites, and grete, and iche hole glased.
 And other houses ynowe, to hereberwe the queeneⁿ,
 And yet these bilderes wiln beggen a bagge ful of whete
 Of a pure pore man, that may onthe^o paye
 Half his rent in a yere, and half ben byhynde.

Than turned I ayen whan I hadde al ytoted^p
 And fond in a freitoure a frere on a benche,
 A greet chori and a grym, growen as a tonne,
 With a face so fat, as a ful bleddere^r,
 Blowen bretful of breth, and as a bagge honged.

dred, about 1060, built the whole church of York from the Presbytery to the Tower, and "*superius opere pictorio quod Cœlum vocant auro multiformiter intermixto, mirabili arte construxit.*" p. 1704. Dec. Script. ut supr. There are many instances in the pipe-rolls, not yet printed. The roof of the church of Cassino in Italy is ordered to be painted in 1349, like that of St. John Lateran at Rome. Hist. Cassin. tom. ii. p. 545. col. i. Dugdale has printed an antient French record, by which it appears that there was a hall in the castle of Dover called *Arthur's hall*, and a chamber called *Geneura's chamber*. Monast. ii. 2. I suppose, because the walls of these apartments were respectively adorned with paintings of each. Geneura is Arthur's queen. In the pipe-rolls of Henry the Third we have this notice, A. D. 1259. "*Infra portam castri et birbecanam, etc. ab exitu CAMERÆ ROSAMUNDÆ usque capellam sancti Thomæ in Castro Wyn-ton.*" Rot. Pip. Hen. III. an. 43.—This I once supposed to be a chamber in Winchester castle, so called because it was painted with the figure or some history of fair Rosamond. But a ROSAMUND-CHAMBER was a common apartment in the royal castles, perhaps in imitation of her BOWER at Woodstock, literally nothing more than a *chamber*, which yet was curiously constructed and decorated, at least in memory

of it. The old prose paraphrast of the Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester says, "*BOURES* hadde the Rosamonde a bout in Engelonde, which this kynge [Hen. II.] for hir sake made: atte Waltham bi-shope's, in the castelle of Wynchester, atte park of Fremantel, atte Marteleston, atte Woodestoke, and other fele [many] places." Chron. edit. Hearne, 479. This passage indeed seems to imply, that Henry the Second himself provided for his fair concubine a BOWER, or chamber of peculiar construction, not only at Woodstock, but in all the royal palaces: which, as may be concluded from the pipe-roll just cited, was called by her name. Leland says, that in the stately castle of Pickering in Yorkshire, "in the first court be a fourre Toures, of the which one is caullid *Rosamundes Toure*." Itin. fol. 71. Probably because it contained one of these bowers or chambers. Or, perhaps we should read ROSAMUND'S BOWRE. Compare Walspole's Anecd. Paint. i. p. 10. 11.

^f fratri.

^g a series of stately Gothic windows.

^h further.

ⁱ saw.

^k dormitory. ^l infirmary, &c.

^m many other apartments.

ⁿ to lodge the queen.

^o scarcely.

^p observed.

^r bladder.

On bothen his chekes, and his chyn, with a chol lollede
 So greet [as] a gos ey, growen [al²³] of grece.
 That al wagged his fleish, as a quick mire²⁴,
 His cope that biclypped²⁵ him, wel clene was it folden
 Of double worstede ydyght, doun to the hele.
 His kyrtel of clene whiit, clenlyche ysewed
 Hit was good ynow of ground, greyn for to baren.
 I haylsede that [hirdman²⁶] and hendliche I sayde,
 Gode sire for godes love, canstou me graith tellen,
 To any worthely wiight, that wissen me couthe,
 [How²⁷] I shuld conne my crede, Christ for to folwe,
 That [levid²⁸] lelliche²⁹ hym selfe, and lyved ther after,
 That feynede no falskede, but fully Christ suwede,
 For [suche³⁰] a certeyn man syker wold I trosten
 That he wold tell me the trewth, and turn to none other.
 And an Austyn this ender day, egged³¹ me faste
 That he wold techen me wel, he plyght me his treuthe
 And seyde me certeyn [sythyn³²] Christ deyed
 Oure ordre was [evels³³], and erst yfounded.

First felawe quath he, fy on his [pilche³⁴]
 He is but abortiif, eked with cloutes.
 He holdeth his ordinaunce with hores and theves,
 And purchaseth hem privileges, with penyes so rounde.
 It is a pure pardoners craft, prove and asay
 For have they thy money, a moneth thereafter
 Certes theigh thou come agen, he wil ye nought knowen.
 But felawe oure foundement was first of the other
 And we ben founded fulliche, withouten fayntise
 And we ben clerkes renowen, cunning in schole
 Proued in procession by processe of lawe.
 Of oure order ther beth bichopes wel manye,
 Seyntes on sundry stedes, that suffreden harde
 And we ben proved the priis of popes at Rome
 And of grettest degre, as gospelselles telleth.

I must not quit our Ploughman without observing, that some other satirical pieces anterior to the Reformation, bear the adopted name of **PIERS THE PLOWMAN**. Under the character of a plowman the religious are likewise lashed, in a poem written in apparent imitation of Longland's **VISION**, and attributed to Chaucer. I mean the **PLOWMAN'S TALE**³⁵. The measure is different, and it is in rhyme. But it has

²³ quagmire.
²⁴ truly.

²⁵ covered.
²⁶ moved.

²⁷ Perhaps falsely. Unless Chaucer wrote the *Crede*, which I cannot believe. For

²⁸ full.
²⁹ sith. P.

³⁰ thirdman. P.
³¹ sighten. P.

³² Whom. P.
³³ yvellis.

³⁴ lenede. P.
³⁵ pylthe.

Longland's alliteration of initials: as if his example had, as it were, appropriated that mode of versification to the subject, and the supposed character which supports the satire⁷. All these poems were, for the most part, founded on the doctrines newly broached by Wickliffe⁸: who maintained, among other things, that the clergy should not possess estates, that the ecclesiastical ceremonies obstructed true devotion, and that Mendicant friars, the particular object of our *Plowman's CREDE*, were a public and insupportable grievance. But Wickliffe, whom Mr. Hume pronounces to have been an enthusiast, like many other reformers, carried his ideas of purity too far; and, as at least it appears from the two first of these opinions, under the design of destroying superstition, his undistinguishing zeal attacked even the necessary aids of religion. It was certainly a lucky circumstance, that Wickliffe quarrelled with the Pope. His attacks on superstition at first probably proceeded from resentment. Wickliffe, who was professor of divinity at Oxford, finding on many occasions not only his own province invaded, but even the privileges of the university frequently violated by the pretensions of the Mendicants, gratified his warmth of temper by throwing out some slight censures against all the four orders, and the popes their principal patrons and abettors. Soon afterwards he was deprived of

in Chaucer's *Plowman's Tale* this *Crede* is alluded to. v. 3005.

And of *Freres* I have before
Told in a making of a *Crede*;
And yet I could tell worse and more.

This passage at least brings the *Plowman's Tale* below the *Crede* in time. But some have thought, very improbably, that this *Crede* is *Jack Upland*.

⁷ It is extraordinary that we should find in this poem one of the absurd arguments of the puritans against ecclesiastical establishments. v. 2253. Urr. edit.

For Christ made no cathedralls,
Ne with him was no Cardinals.

But see what follows, concerning Wickliffe.

⁸ It is remarkable, that they touch on the very topics which Wickliffe had just published in his *Objections of Freres*, charging them with *fifty heresies*. As in the following: "Also *Freres* buildin many great churches, and costly wast houses and cloisteres, as it wern castels, and that withouten nede," &c. Lewis's *Wickliff*, p. 22. I will here add a passage from Wickliffe's tract entitled *Why poor Priests have no Benefices*. Lewis, App. Num. xix. p. 289. "And yet they [lords] wolen not present a clerk able of kunning of god's law, but a kitchen clerk, or a penny clerk, or *wise in building castles*, or worldly doing, though he kunne not rende well his sauter," &c. Here is a manifest piece of satire on Wyke-

ham, bishop of Winchester, Wickliffe's contemporary; who is supposed to have recommended himself to Edward the Third by rebuilding the castle of Windsor. This was a recent and notorious instance. But in this appointment the king probably paid a compliment to that prelate's singular talents for business, his activity, circumspection, and management, rather than to any scientific and professed skill in architecture which he might have possessed. It seems to me that he was only a supervisor or comptroller on this occasion. It was common to depute churchmen to this department, from an idea of their superior prudence and probity. Thus John, the prior of St. Swithin's at Winchester in 1280, is commissioned by brief from the king, to supervise large repairs done by the sheriff in the castle of Winchester, and the royal manor of Wolmer. MS. Registr. Priorat. Quat. 19. fol. 3. The bishop of St. David's was master of the works at building King's College. Hearne's *Elmh.* p. 353. Alcock, bishop of Ely, was comptroller of the royal buildings under Henry the Seventh. Parker, *Hist. Cambr.* p. 119. He, like Wykeham, was a great builder, but not therefore an architect. Richard Williams, dean of Lichfield and chaplain to Henry the Eighth, bore the same office. MSS. Wood, Lichfield. D. 7. Ashmol. Nicholas Townley clerk, was master of the works at Cardinal College. MS. Twyne, 8. f. 351. See also Walpole, *Anecd. Paint.* i. p. 40.

the wardenship of Canterbury hall, by the archbishop of Canterbury, who substituted a monk in his place. Upon this he appealed to the Pope, who confirmed the archiepiscopal sentence, by way of rebuke for the freedom with which he had treated the monastic profession. Wickliffe, highly exasperated at this usage, immediately gave a loose to his indignation, and without restraint or distinction attacked in numerous sermons and treatises, not only the scandalous enormities of the whole body of monks, but even the usurpations of the pontifical power itself, with other ecclesiastical corruptions. Having exposed these palpable abuses with a just abhorrence, he ventured still farther, and proceeded to examine and refute with great learning and penetration the absurd doctrines which prevailed in the religious system of his age: he not only exhorted the laity to study the Scriptures, but translated the Bible into English for general use and popular inspection. Whatever were his motives, it is certain that these efforts enlarged the notions of mankind, and sowed those seeds of a revolution in religion, which were quickened at length and brought to maturity by a favourable coincidence of circumstances, in an age when the increasing growth of literature and curiosity naturally led the way to innovation and improvement. But a visible diminution of the authority of the ecclesiastics, in England at least, had been long growing from other causes. The disgust which the laity had contracted from the numerous and arbitrary encroachments both of the court of Rome, and of their own clergy, had greatly weaned the kingdom from superstition; and conspicuous symptoms had appeared, on various occasions, of a general desire to shake off the intolerable bondage of papal oppression.

SECTION X.

Various specimens of alliterative poetry. Antient alliterative Hymn to the Virgin Mary.

LONGLAND's peculiarity of style and versification seems to have had many contemporary imitators. One of these is a nameless author on the fashionable history of Alexander the Great: and his poem on this subject is inserted at the end of the beautiful Bodleian copy of the French ROMAN D'ALEXANDRE, before mentioned, with this reference*: "Here fayleth a prossesse of this rommance of Alixander the wheche prossesse that fayleth ye schulle fynde at the ende of this boke ywrete

* See above, vol. i. p. 142. It is in a different hand, yet with Saxon characters. See ad calc. cod. f. 209. It has miniatures in water colours. [This portion of the alliterative Romance of Alexander, which is intended to supply a deficiency, real or supposed, in the French text, is written in

a hand of the reign of Henry the Sixth, and the scribe gives his name *Thomas Smythe*, at the conclusion, in a cypher. It is certainly the same poem as that in MS. Ashmole 44. and its commencement corresponds with the beginning of *passus* 18. in the latter MS.—M.]

in Engelyche ryme." It is imperfect, and begins and proceeds thus^b.

How Alexander partyd thennys.^c

When this weith at his wil weduring hadde,
 The dureful rathe rommede he rydinge;
 To Oridrace with his ost Alixandre wendus;
 There wilde contre was wist, and wondurful peple,
 That weren proved ful proude, and prys of hem helde;
 Of bodi went thei bare withoute any wede,
 And had grave on the ground many grete cavys;
 There here wonnyng was wynturus and somerus.
 No syte nor no sur stede sothli thei ne hadde,
 But holus holwe in the grounde to hide hem inne;
 The proude Genosophistiens^d were the gomus called,
 Now is that name to mene the nakid wise.
 Wan the kiddeste of the cavus, that was kinge holde,
 Hurde tydinge telle and toknyng wiste,
 That Alixaundre with his ost atlede thidirre,
 To beholden of hom hure hiejest prynce,
 Than waies of worshiþe wittie and quainte
 With his lettres he let to the lud sende.
 Thanne southte thei sone the foresaide prynce,
 And to the schamlese schalk schewen hur lettres.
 Than rathe let the rink reden the sonde,
 That newe tythingeit tolde in this wise:
 The gentil Geneosophistians, that gode were of witte,
 To the emperour Alixandre here aunsweris wreten.
 That is worschip of word worthi to have,
 And is conquerer kid in contres manie.
 Us is sertefyed, seg, as we soth heren
 That thou hast ment with thi man amongis us ferre
 But yf thou kyng to us come with caere to fite

^b There is a poem in the Ashmolean Museum, complete in the former part, which I believe is the same. MSS. Ashm. 44. It has twenty-seven paasus, and begins thus:

When folker fastid and fed, fayne walde
 thei here
 Sum farand thinge, &c.

* At the end are these rubrics, with void spaces, intended to be filled.

"How Alexandre remewid to a flood that is called Phison."

"How king Duidimus sente lettres to king Alexandre."

"How Duidimus enditid to Alexaundre of here levying."

"How he spareth not Alexandre to telle hym of hys governance."

"How he telleth Alexandre of his mau-metrie."

"How Alexandre sente aunswere to Duidimus by lettres."

"How Duidimus sendyd an answere to Alexandre by lettre."

"How Alexandre sente Duidimus another lettre."

"How Alexandre pight a pelyr of marbyl ther."

[The last of these rubrics only is followed by a void space in the Bodleian copy; the former being filled up with such versification as is given in Mr. Warton's text, which led Ritson to consider it a much earlier composition than Piers Plowman.—PARK.]

^d Gymnosophists.

Of us getist thou no good, gome, we the warne.
 For what richesse, rink, us might you us bi-reve,
 Whan no wordliche wele is with us founde?
 We ben sengle of us silfe, and semen ful bare,
 Nouht welde we nowe, but naked we wende,
 And that we happili her haven of kynde
 May no man but God maken us tine.
 Thei thou fonde with thi folke to fighte with us alle,
 We schulle us kepe on cauȝt our cavus withinne.
 Nevere werred we with wiȝth upon erthe;
 For we ben hid in oure holis or we harme laache.
 Thus saide sothli the sonde that thei sente hadde,
 And al so cof as the king kende the sawe,
 New lettres he let the ludus bitake,
 And with his sawes of soth he sikerede hem alle,
 That he wolde faire with his folke in a faire wise,
 To b'holden here home, and non harme wurke.
 So hath the king to hem sente, and sithen with his peple,
 Kaïres coffi til hem, to kenne of hure fare.
 But whan thai sieu the seg with so manye ryde,
 Thei war agrisen of his grym, and wende gref tholie;
 Fast heiede thei to holis, and hidden there*,
 And in the cavus hem kept from the king sterne, &c.

Another piece, written in Longland's manner, is entitled, *THE WARRES OF THE JEWES*. This was a favourite subject, as I have before observed, drawn from the Latin historical romance, which passes under the name of *HEGESIPPUS DE EXCIDIO HIERUSALEM*.

In Tyberyus tyme the trewe emperour†
 Syr Sesar hym [self sesed¹] in Rome,
 Why! Pylot was provost under that prynce ryche,
 And [jewes²] justice also in Judeus londis.
 Herode under his empire, as heritage wolde,
 King of Galile was ycallid, whan that Crist deyed,
 They³ Sesar sakles wer, that oft syn hatide,
 Throw Pilet pyned he was, and put on the rode.
 A pyler was down pyȝt⁴ upon the playne erthe,

* [In the Bodleian library, MS. Greaves 60. is a fragment of another alliterative romance on the subject of Alexander, totally different from the former one, and which I have good grounds to believe was composed by the same poet who wrote the English alliterative romance of *Wylliam and the Werwolf*, edited by me for the Roxburgh Club, in 1831.—M.]

† [The present text has been collated with the Cott. MS. Calig. A. ii. The orthographical differences between this and the Laud MS. are numerous though not important. All its readings improving the sense have been adopted; though this perhaps would have been wholly superfluous had the original transcript been correctly made.—PRICE.]

¹ suls sayسد.
though and they.

² sewen.

³ This is the orthography observed for both
though and they. It occurs again below: "they it," though it.

⁴ pyȝt was don.

His body [bowndone⁵] therto beten with scourgis,
 Whippes of [wherebole⁶] bywent his white sides,
 Til he al on rede blode ran as rayn on the strete;
 [Sith⁷] stockyd hym an a stole, with styf menes hondis,
 Blyndfelled hym as a be, and boffetis hym razte;
 3if you be a prophete of pris, prophecie, they sayde,
 Which man her aboute [bolled⁸] the laste.
 A strange thorn crown was thraste on his hed;
 [They⁹] casten [up a gret] cry, [that hym on] cros slowen,
 For al the harme that he had, hasted he noȝt
 On hym the vyleny to venge, that hys venys brosten,
 Bot ay taried on the tyme, 3if they [turne¹⁰] wolde
 Gaf [hem¹¹] space that him spiledre they [hit spedde¹²] lyte,
 [Fourty wynter¹³] as y fynde, and no fewer, &c.^d

Notwithstanding what has been supposed above, it is not quite certain that Longland was the first who led the way in this singular species of versification. His *VISION* was written on a popular subject, and is the only poem, composed in this capricious sort of metre, which has been printed. It is easy to conceive how these circumstances contributed to give him the merit of an inventor on this occasion.

The ingenious Dr. Percy has exhibited specimens of two or three other poems belonging to this class^e. One of these is entitled *DEATH AND LIFE*: it consists of two hundred and twenty-nine lines, and is divided into two parts or *Fitts*. It begins thus:

Christ christen king that on the cross tholed,
 Hadde paines and passyons to defend our soules;

^d Laud... 22. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Ad calc. "Hic tractatur bellum Judaicum apud Jerusalem." f. 19. b. It is also in Brit. Mus. Cot. MSS. Calig. A. ii. fol. 109—123. Gyraldus Cambrensis says, that the Welsh and English use alliteration "in omni sermone exquisito." Descript. Cambr. cap. xi. p. 889. O'Flaherty also says of the Irish, "Non parvæ est apud nos in oratione elegantie schema, quod Parommon, i. e. *Assimile*, dicitur: quoties multæ dictiones, ab eadem litera incipientes, ex ordine collocantur." Ogyg. part. iii. 30. p. 242. See also Dr. Percy's judicious Essay on the Metre of Pierce Plowman's Visions. [And the Introductory Essay to Conybeare's Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, 8vo. 1826.—M.]

[An objection has been taken to the antiquity of the Welsh poetry, from its supposed want of alliteration. But this is not the case. For the alliteration has not been perceived by those ignorant of its construction, which is to make it in the middle of words, and not at the beginning, as in this instance:

Yn	ias	ir	ei	naws	eirian.

This information was imparted to Mr. Douce by the ingenious Edward Williams, the Welsh bard.—PARK.]

^e Essay on the Metr. of P. P. Vis. p. 8. seq.

⁵ bouden.

⁶ quyrbole;—which might have stood, since it only destroys the alliteration to the eye.

⁷ Warton reads "Such;" the Cotton MS. "And sythen sette on a sete;" whence the genuine reading of the Laud MS. was obvious.

⁸ bobette, Cott. MS. ⁹ . . . casten hym with a cry and on a cros slowen.

¹⁰ tone, which if intended for atone (like dure for endure, sperst for dispersed, &c.) might be allowed to stand. The probability is that it is an erroneous transcript for *torne*.

¹¹ he. ¹² he spedde. ¹³ Yf aynt was. Perhaps: xl. wynterit was, &c.

Give us grace on the ground the greatye to serve,
For that royall red blood that rann from thy side.

The subject of this piece is a VISION, containing a contest for superiority between *Our lady Dame LIFE*, and the *ugly fiend Dame DEATH*: who with their several attributes and concomitants are personified in a beautiful vein of allegorical painting. *Dame LIFE* is thus forcibly described.

Shee was brighter of her blee than was the bright sonn ;
Her rud redder than the rose that on the rise hangeth ;
Meekely smiling with her mouth, and merry in her lookes ;
Ever laughing for love, as shee like would.
And as she came by the bankes, the boughes eche one
They lowted to that ladye, and layd forth their branches ;
Blossomes and burgens breathed full sweete,
Flowers flourished in the frith, where she forth stepped,
And the grasse that was gray grened belive.

The figure of DEATH follows, which is equally bold and expressive. Another piece of this kind, also quoted by Dr. Percy, is entitled CHEVELERE ASSIGNE, or DE CIGNE, that is, the *Knight of the Swan*. This is a romance which is extant in a prose translation from the French, among Mr. Garrick's noble collection of old plays^f. We must not forget, that among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum, there is a French metrical romance on this subject, entitled L'YSTOIRE DU CHEVALIER AU SIGNE^g. Our English poem begins thus^h :

All-weldyng god, whenne it is his wylle,
Wele he wereth his werke with his owne honde ;
For ofte harmes were hente that helpe we ne myȝte
Nere the hyȝnes of hym that length in hevене.
For this, &c.

^f K. vol. 10. "Imprinted at London by me Wylliam Copland." There is an edition on parchment by W. de Worde, 1512. "Newly translated out of Frenshe into Englyshe at thinstigacion of the puyssaunt prynce lorde Edward duke of Buckynham." Here I understand French prose.

^g 15 E. vi. 9. fol. And in the Royal library at Paris, MS. 7192. "Le Roman du Chevalier au Cigne, en vers." Montf. Cat. MSS. ii. p. 789.

^h See MSS. Cott. Calig. A. ii. f. 109. 123. [The romance was printed from this MS. by Mr. Utterson, for the Roxburgh Club, 4to. 1820.—M.]

[The celebrated Godfrey of Bullogne was said to have been lineally descended from the Chevalier au Cigne. Melanges d'une Gr. Biblioth. vol. v. c. iii. p. 148. The tradition is still current in the Duchy of Cleves, and forms one of the most in-

teresting pieces in Otmar's Volkssagen. It must have obtained an early and general circulation in Flanders; for Nicolaes de Klerck, who wrote at the commencement of the 14th century (1318), thus refers to it in his Brabandsche Yeesten :

Om dat van Brabant die Hertoghen
Voormaels dicke syn beloghen
Also dat sy quamen metten Swane
Daar by hebbics my genomen ane
Dat ic die waerheit wil out decken
Ende in Duitsche Rime vertrecken.

i. e. because formerly the dukes of Brabant have been much belied, to-wit, that they came with a Swan, I have undertaken to disclose the truth, and to propound it in Dutch Rhyme. See Van Wynut supra, p. 270. The French romance upon this subject, consisting of about 30,000 verses, was begun by one Renax or Renaux, and finished by Gandor de Douay.—PRICE.]

This alliterative measure, unaccompanied with rhyme, and including many peculiar Saxon idioms appropriated to poetry, remained in use so low as the sixteenth century. In Dr. Percy's *Antient Ballads*, there is one of this class called *THE SCOTTISH FEILDE*, containing a very circumstantial narrative of the battle of Flodden fought in the year 1513.

In some of the earliest of our specimens of old English poetry¹, we have long ago seen that alliteration was esteemed a fashionable and favourite ornament of verse. For the sake of throwing the subject into one view, and further illustrating what has been here said concerning it, I chuse to cite in this place a very antient hymn to the Virgin Mary, never printed, where this affectation professedly predominates^k.

I.

Hail beo yow^l Marie, moodur and may,
 Mylde, and meke, and merciab;e;
 Heyl folliche fruit of sothfast fay,
 Agayn vche stryf studefast and stable !
 Heil sothfast soul in vche a say,
 Undur the son is non so able.
 Heil logge that vr lord in lay,
 The formast that never was founden in fable;
 Heil trewe, trouthfull, and tretable,
 Heil cheef ichosen of chastite;
 Heil homely, hende, and amyable,
To preye for us to thi sone so fre ! AVE.

II.

Heil sterre, that never stunteth liht,
 Heil bush, brennyng that never was brent;
 Heil rihtful rulere of everi riht,
 Schadewe to schilde that scholde be schent;
 Heil, blessed be yowe blosme briht,
 To trouthe and trust was thine entent.
 Heil mayden and modur, most of miht,
 Of all mischeves and amendement;
 Heil spice sprong, that never was spent,
 Heil trone of the trinitie;
 Heil soiene^m that God ussone to sent
Yowe preye for us to thi sone so fre ! AVE.

¹ See Sect. i.

^k Among the Cotton manuscripts there is a Norman Saxon alliterative hymn to the Virgin Mary, Ner. A. xiv. f. 240. cod. membran. 8vo. "On god ureisun to ure lefdi." That is, *A good prayer to our lady.*

Criȝter milde moder reynȝe Marie
 Miney huer leonie, mi leoue lȝeȝi.

¹ See some pageant-poetry, full of alliteration, written in the reign of Henry the Seventh, Leland. Coll. iii. App. 180. edit. 1770.

^m F. Seyen. *Scyon.*

III.

Heyl hertely in holinesse,
 Heyl hope of help to heighe and lowe;
 Heil strength and stal of stabylnesse,
 Heyl wyndowe of hevene wowe;
 Heil reson of al rihtwysnesse,
 To vche a caityf comfort to knowe;
 Heyl inocent out of angernesse,
 Vr takel, vr tol, that we on trowe;
 Heyl frend to all that beoth forth flowe,
 Heyl liht of love, and of lewte;
 Heyl brihter then the blod on snowe,
Yowe preye for us to thi sone so fre ! AVE.

IV.

Heil mayden, heil modur, heil martir trewe,
 Heyl kyndly iknowe confessour;
 Heil evenere of old lawe and of newe,
 Heyl buildor bold of Cristes bour;
 Heyl rose hiȝest of hyde and hewe,
 Of all fruytes feirest flour;
 Heyl turtell trustiest and trewe,
 Of all trouthe thou art tresour;
 Heyl puyred princesse of paramour,
 Heyl blosme of brere, brihtest of ble;
 Heyl owner of eorthly honour,
Yowe preye for us to thi sone so fre ! AVE, &c.

V.

Heyl hende, heyl holy emperesse,
 Heyle queene corteois, comely, and kynde;
 Heyl distruyere of everi strisse,
 Heyl mender of everi monnes mynde;
 Heil bodi that we ouht to blesse,
 So feythful frend may never mon fynde;
 Heil levere and love of largenesse,
 Swete and swetest that never may swynde;
 Heil botenere of everie bodi blynde,
 Heil borgun, brihtes of all bounte;
 Heyl trewore then the wode bynde,
Yowe preye for us to thi sone so fre ! AVE.

VI.

Heyl modur, heyl mayden, heyl hevene quene,
 Heyl gatus of paradys;
 Heyl sterre of the se that ever is sene,
 Heyl riche, royall, and ryhtwys;
 Heyl burde, iblessed mote yowe bene !
 Heyl perle of al perey the pris;

Heyl schadewe in vche a schour schene,
 Heil fairer then the flour de lys;
 Heyl cher chosen that never nas chis,
 Heyl chef chamber of charite;
 Heyl in wo that ever was wis,
Yowe preye for us to thi sone so fre ! AVE, &c. &c.^a

These rude stanzas remind us of the Greek hymns ascribed to Orpheus, which entirely consist of a cluster of the appellations appropriated to each divinity.

SECTION XI.

John Barbour's History of Robert Bruce, and Blind Harry's Sir William Wallace. Historical romances of recent events commence about the close of the fourteenth century. Chiefly composed by heralds. Character and business of antient heralds. Narratives written by them. Froissart's History. His life and character. Retrospective views of manners.

ALTHOUGH this work is professedly confined to England, yet I cannot pass over two Scotch poets of this period, who have adorned the English language by a strain of versification, expression, and poetical imagery, far superior to their age; and who consequently deserve to be mentioned in a general review of the progress of our national poetry. They have written two heroic poems. One of them is John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen. He was educated at Oxford; and Rymer has printed an instrument for his safe passage into England, in order to prosecute his studies in that university, in the years 1357 and 1365^b. David Bruce, king of Scotland, gave him a pension for life, as a reward for his poem called the HISTORY OF ROBERT BRUCE, KING OF THE SCOTS^c. It was printed at Glasgow in the year 1671^d. A battle fought by lord Douglas is thus described.

Quhen thir twa bataillis wer
 Assemblyt, as I said yow er,
 The Stewart Waltre that than was,
 And the gud lord als of Douglas,
 In a batail quhen that thai saw
 The erle, for owtyn dred or aw,

^a MS. Vernon. f. 122. In this manuscript are several other pieces of this sort. [The Holy Virgin appears to a priest who often sung to her, and calls him her *joculator*. MSS. James. xxvi. p. 32.—**ADDITIONS.**]

^b Fœd. vi. 31. 478.

^c Tanner, Bibl. p. 73.

^d 12mo. [The present text has been taken from Dr. Jamieson's edition of the Bruce, 4to. Edin. 1821.—PRICE.]

Assebill with his cumpany
On all that folk sa sturdely,
For till help him thai held thair way,
[And their battle with good array,]
Besid the erle a litil by,
And assemblyt sa hardely,
That thair fayis feld thair cummyn wele;
For with wapynnys stalwart of stele,
Thai dang upon with all thair mycht,
Thar fayis resawyt weile, Ik hycht,
With swerdis speris, and with mase,
The batail thar so feloune was,
And swa rycht gret spilling of blud.
That on the erd the floussis stud,
The Scottiamen sa will thaim bar,
And swa gret slauchter maid thai thar,
And fra sa fele the lyvis rewyt,
That all the feld bludy wes lewyt.
That tyme thar thre batailis wer
All syd besid fechtend will ner,
Thar mycht men her many dint,
And wapynnys apon armuris stynt,
And se tumble knychtis and stedis,
And mony rich and reale wedis
Fouilly defoullyt wndre fete,
Sum held on loft, sum tynt the suet.
A lang quhile thus fechtand thai war,
That men na noyis mycht her thar.
Men hard noucht bat granys and dintis
That slew fyr, as men slayis on flyntis.
They faucht ilk ane sa egerly,
That thai maid nother noyis na cry,
Bot dang on othyr at thair mycht,
With wapnys that war burnyst brycht.
The arowys alsua thyk thar flaw,
(That thay mycht say wele, that thaim saw)
That thai a hydways schour gan ma;
For quhar thai fell, Ik wndreta,
Thai left eftir thaim taknyng,
That sall ned, as I trow, leching.
The Inglis archeris schot sa fast,
That mycht thair schot haff ony last,
It had bene hard to Scottismen.
Bot king Robert, that wele gan ken,
That thair archeris war peralouss,
And thair schot rycht hard and grewouss,

Ordanyt forouth the assemble,
 Hys marschel, with a gret menye,
 Fyve hundre armyt in to stele,
 That on lycht horss war horsyt welle,
 For to pryk amang the archeris,
 And swa assaile thaim with thair speris,
 That thai na layser haiff to schute.
 This marschel that Ik of mute,
 That Schyr Robert of Keyth was cauld,
 As Ik befor her has yow tauld.
 Quhen he saw the bataillis sua
 Assembill, and togidder ga,
 And saw the archeris schoyt stoutly,
 With all thaim off his cumpany,
 In hy apon thaim gan he rid,
 And our tuk thaim at a sid,
 And ruschyt amang thaim sa rudly,
 Stekand thaim so dispitously,
 And in sik fusoun berand doun,
 And slayand thaim for owtyr ransoun,
 That thai thaim scalyt euirilkane;
 And, fra that tyme furth, thar was nane
 That assemblyt, schot to ma.
 Quhen Scottis archeris saw that thai sua
 War rebutyt, thai woux hardy,
 And with all thair mycht schot egrely
 Amang the horss men that thar raid,
 And woundis wid to thaim thai maid,
 And slew of thaim a full gret dele.
 Thai bar thaim hardely and wele;
 For fra thair fayis archeris war
 Scalyt, as I said till yow ar,
 That ma na thai war be gret thing,
 Swa that thai dred nocht thair schoting.
 Thai woux sa hardy, that thaim thought,
 Thai suld set all thair fayis at nocht.^d

The following is a specimen of our author's talent at rural description. The verses are extremely soft.

This wes in the moneth of May,
 Quhen byrdis syngis in ilk spray,
 Melland thair notis with seymly soun,
 For softnes of the suet sesoun,
 And levys of the branchys spredis,
 And blomys brycht besid thaim bredis,

^d p. 262.

And feldis ar strowyt with flouris
Well sawerand of ser colouris,
And all thing worthis, blyth and gay.*

The other wrote a poem on the exploits of Sir William Wallace. It was first printed in 1601. And very lately reprinted at Edinburgh in quarto, with the following title, "The acts and deeds of the most famous and valiant champion Sir William Wallace, knight, of Ellerslie. Written by BLIND HARRY in the year 1361. Together with ARNALDI BLAIR RELATIONES. Edinburgh, 1758." No circumstances of the life of our blind bard appear in Dempster^f. This poem, which consists of twelve books, is translated from the Latin of Robert Blare, or Blair, chaplain to Sir William Wallace^g. The following is a description of the morning, and of Wallace arming himself in his tent.^h

In till a waill be a small rywer fayr,
On athir sid quhar wyld der maid repayr,
Set wachis owt that wysly couth thaim kepe,
To souppar went, and tymysly thai slepe,
Off meit and sleip thai cess with suffisiance,
The nycht was myrk, ourdrayff the dyrkfull chance,
The mery day sprang fra the oryent,
With bemys brycht enlumynyt the occident,
Efter Titan, Phebus wp rysyt fayr,
Heich in the sper, the signes maid declayr.
Zepherus began his morow courss,
The swete wapour thus fra the ground resourss;
The humyll breyth down fra the hewyn awaill
In every meide, bathe fyrrh, forrest and daail.
The cler rede amang the rochis rang
Throuch greyn branchis quhar byrdis blythly sang,
With joyus woice in hewynly armony.
Than Wallace thocht it was no tyme to ly:
He croyssit him, syne sodeynli upraiss,
To tak the ayr out off his palyon gais

* p 326. ^f See Dempst. viii. 349. 662.
^g Tit. GESTA WILLELMI WALLAE. See Dempst. ii. 148. He flourished in 1300. He has left another Latin poem, DE LIBERATA TYRANNIDE SCOTIA. Arnald Blair, mentioned in the title page in the text, probably Robert's brother, if not the same, was also chaplain to Wallace, and monk of Dumferling about the year 1327. Relat. ut supr. p. 1. But see p. 9, 10. In the fifth book of the Scotch poem we have this passage, p. 94. v. 533.

Maister JHONE BLAYR was offit in that message,
A worthy clerk, bath wyss and rycht sawage,

Lewyt he was befor in PARYSS town, &c.
He was the man that pryncipall wndirtuk,
That fyrst compilid in dyt the Latyne buk,
Off WALLACE lyff, rycht famous of renowne,
And THOMAS GRAY persone of LIBERTOUNE,
With him thai war and put in story all
Oft ane or bath mekill of his travaill,
&c.

^h P. 229. B. viii. v. 65. The editor seems to have modernised the spelling. [Dr. Jamieson's text has been adopted for this edition.—PRICE.]

Maister Jhon Blar was redy to rawess,
 In gud entent syne bownyt to the mess.
 Quhen it was done, Wallace can him aray,
 In his armour, quhilk gudly was and gay;
 His schenand schoyis that burnyst was full beyn,
 His leg-harnes he clappyt on so clene,
 Pullane greis he braissit on full fast,
 A closs byrny with mony sekyr clasp,
 Breyst-plait, brasaris, that worthy was in wer:
 Besid him furth Jop couth his basnet ber;
 His glytterand glowis grawin on aither sid,
 He semyt weill in battaill till abid.
 His gud gyrdyll, and syne his burly brand,
 A staff off steyll he gryppyt in his hand.
 The ost him blyst, &c.
 Adam Wallaice and Boid furth with him yeid
 By a revir, throu out a floryst meid.
 And as thai walk atour the feyldys greyn,
 Out off the south thai saw quhar at the queyn
 Towart the ost come ridand sobyrly,
 And fyfty ladyes was in hyr cumpany, &c.

The four following lines on the spring are uncommonly terse and elegant.

Gentill Jupiter, with his myld ordinance,
 Bath erb and tre revertis in plesance;
 And fresch Flora hir floury mantill spreid,
 In euery waill bath hop, hycht, hill, and meide.^b

A different season of the year is here strongly painted.

The dyrk regioun apperand wondyr fast,
 In November quhen October was past,
 The day faillit throu rycht courss worthit schort,
 Till banyst men that is no gret comfort:
 With thair power in pethis worthis gang,
 Hewy thai think quhen at the nycht is lang.
 Thus Wallace saw the nychtis messynger;
 Phebus had lost his fyry bemys cler:
 Out of the wood thai durst nocht turn that tyd
 For adversouris that in thair way wald byde.¹

The battle of Black-Ernside shows our author a master in another style of painting.

Kerlé beheld on to the bauld Heroun,
 Upon Fawdoun as he was lukand doune,
 A suttell straik wpwart him tuk that tide
 Wndir the chokkeis the grounden suerd gart glid,

^b Lib. ix. v. 22. ch. i. p. 250.

¹ Lib. v. ch. i. p. 78. v. 1.

By the gude mayle, bathe halss and his crag-bayne
 In sondyr straik; thus endyt that cheftayne,
 To grounde he fell, feile folk about him thrang,
 Tresoune, thai criyt, traytouris was thaim amang.
 Kerlye, with that, fled out sone at a side,
 His falow Stewyn than thocht no tyme to bide.
 The fray was gret, and fast away thai yeid,
 Sawch towart Ern; thus chapyt thai of dreid.
 Butler for woo off wepyng mycht nocht stynt.
 Thus raklesly this gud knyght haiff thai tynt.
 They demyt all that it was Wallace men,
 Or ellis himself, thocht thai couth nocht him ken;
 He is richt ner, we sall him haiff bot faill,
 This febill woode may him littill awaill,
 Fourtie thar past agayne to Sanct Jhonstoun,
 With this dede corss, to berysing maid it boune.
 Partyt thar men, syne diverss wayis raid,
 A gret power at Dipplyn still thar baid.
 To Dalwryoch the Butler past bot let,
 At syndry furdys the gait thai umbeset,
 To kepe the wode quhill it was, day thai thocht.
 As Wallace thus in the thik forrest socht,
 For his twa men in mynd he had gret payne,
 He wist nocht weill, gif thai war tayne or slayne,
 Or chapyt haile be ony jeperte.
 Threttene war left with him, no ma had he;
 In the Gask-hall thair luyng haif thai tayne.
 Fyr gat thai sone, bot meyt than had thai nane;
 Twa scheipe thai tuk besid thaim of a fauld,
 Ordanyt to soupe in to that seemly hauld:
 Graithit in haist sume fude for thaim to dycht:
 So hard thai blaw rude hornys wpon hycght.
 Twa sende he furth to luk quhat it mycht be;
 Thai baid rycht lang, and no tithingis herd he,
 Bot boustouss noyis so brymly blewand fast;
 So othir twa in to the woode furth past.
 Nane come agayne, bot boustously can blaw,
 In to gret ire he send thaim furth on raw.
 Quhen he allayne Wallace was lewynt thar,
 The awfull blast aboundyt mekill mayr;
 Then trowit he weill thai had his ludgyng seyne;
 His suerd he drew of nobill mettall keyne.
 Syn furth he went quhar at he hard the horne.
 With out the dur Fawdoun was him beforne,
 As till his sycht, his awne hed in his hand;
 A croyss he maid quhen he saw him so stand.

At Wallace in the hed he swaket thar,
 And he in haist sone hynt it by the hair,
 Syne out agayn at him he couth it cast,
 In till his hart he was gretlye agast.
 Rycht weill he trowit that was no spreit of man,
 It was sum dewill, at sic malice began.
 He wyst no waill thar langar for to bide.
 Up throuch the hall thus wicht Wallace can glid,
 Till a closs stair, the burdis raiff in twyne,
 Fyftene fute large he lap out of that in.
 Wp the wattir he sodeynelye couth fair,
 Agayne he blent quhat perance he sawe thair,
 Him thoct he saw Fawdoun, that hugly syr,
 That haill hall he had set in a fyr;
 A gret raftre he had intill his hand.
 Wallace as than no langar walde he stand.
 Off his gud men full gret mervail had he,
 How thai war tynt throuch his feyle fantasé.
 Traistis rycht weill all this was suth in deide,
 Suppos that it no poynt be of the creide.
 Power thai had with Lucifer that fell,
 The tyme quhen he partyt fra hewyn to hell.
 Be sic myscheiff giff his men mycht be lost,
 Drownyt or slayne amang the Inglis oet;
 Or quhat it was in likness of Faudoun.
 Quhilk brocht his men to suddand confusioun;
 Or gif the man endyt in ewill entent
 Sum wikkit spreit agayne for him present.
 I can nocht spek of sic divinité,
 To clerkis I will lat all sic matteris be:
 Bot of Wallace, furth I will yow tell.
 Quhen he was went of that perell fell,
 Yeit glad wes he that he had chapyt swa,
 Bot for his men gret murnyng can he ma.
 Flayt by him self to the Maker off buffe
 Quhy he sufferyt he suld sic paynys pruff.
 He wyst nocht weill giff it wes Goddis will;
 Rycht or wrang his fortoun to fullfill,
 Hade he pleid God, he trowit it mycht nocht be
 He suld him thoill in sic perplexité.
 Bot gret curage in his mynd evir draiff,
 Off Inglismen thinkand amendis to haiff.
 As he was thus walkand be him allayne
 Apon Ern side, makand a pytuouse mayne,
 Schyr Jhone Butler, to wache the furdie rycht,
 Out fra his men of Wallace had a sycht;

The myst wes went to the montanys agayne,
Till him he raid, quhar at he maid his mayne.
On loude he sperde, quhat art thow walkis that gait?
A trew man, Schyr, thocht my wiagis be layt;
Erandis I pass fra Doune to my lord,
Schir Jhon Sewart, the rycht for till record,
In Doune is now, new cummyn fra the king.
Than Butler said; this is a selcouth thing,
Thou leid all out, thow has beyne with Wallace,
I sall the knaw, or thow cum of this place,
Till him he stert the courser wondyr wicht,
Drew out a suerd, so maid him for to lycht.
Abown the kne gud Wallace has him tayne,
Throw the and brawn in sondyr straik the bayne.
Derfly to dede the knycht fell on the land.
Wallace the horss sone sesyt in his hand,
Ane awkwart straik syne tuk him in the stede.
His crag in twa; thus was the Butler dede.
Ane Inglissman saw thair chiftayne wes slayn,
A sper in reyst he kest with all his mayne,
On Wallace draiff, fra the horss him to ber;
Warly he wrocht, as worthi man in wer.
The sper he wan with outyn mor abaid,
On horss he lap, and throw a gret rout raid;
To Dawryoch he knew the forss full weil:
Befor him come feyll stuffyt in fyne steill.
He straik the fyrst, but baid, in the blasoune,
Quhill horss and man bathe flet the wattir doune.
Ane othir sone doune fra his horss he bar,
Stampyt to grounde, and drownyt with outyn mar.
The thrid he hyt in his harness of steyll
Throw-out the cost, the sper to brak sum deyll.
The gret power than efftir him can ryd.
He saw na waill no langar thar to byd.
His burnist brand braithly in hand he bar,
Quham he hytt rycht thai folowit him no mar.
To stuff the chass feyll frekis folowit fast,
Bot Wallace maid the gayast ay agast.
The mur he tuk, and throw thair power yeid,
The horss was gud, bot yeit he had gret dreid
For failyeing or he wan to a strenth,
The chass was gret, scalyt our breid and lenth,
Throw strang danger thai had him ay in sycht.
At the Blakfurd thar Wallace down can lycht,
His horss stuffyt, for the way was depe and lang,
A large gret myle wichtly on fute couth gang.

Or he was horst rydaris about him kest,
 He saw full weyll lang swa he mycht nocht lest.
 Sad men in deid wpon him can renew,
 With retorneyng that nycht twenty he slew,
 The forseast ay rudly rabutyt he,
 Kepynt hys horss, and rycht wysly can fle,
 Quhill that he cum the myrckest mur amang.
 His horss gaiff our, and wald no forthyr gang.^m

I will close these specimens with an instance of our author's allegorical invention.

In that slummir cummand him thoct he saw,
 Ane agit man fast towart him couth draw,
 Sone be the hand he hynt him haistele,
 I am, he said, in wiage chargit with the.
 A suerd him gaiff off burly burnist steill,
 Gud sone, he said, this brand thou sall bruk weill.
 Off topas stone him thoct the plumat was,
 Baith hilt and hand all glitterand lik the glas.
 Der sone, he said, we tary her to lang,
 Thow sall go se quhar wrocht is mekill wrang;
 Than he him lad till a montane on hycht,
 The warld him thoct he mycht se with a sicht.
 He left him thar, syne sone fra him he went,
 Tharof Wallace studiit in his entent,
 Till se him mar he had still gret desyr,
 Tharwith he saw begyne a fellounne fyr,
 Quhilk braithly brynt on breid throu all the land,
 Scotland atour, fra Ross to Sulway-sand.
 Than sone till him thar descendyt a qweyne,
 Inlumyt, lycht, schynand full brycht and scheyne;
 In hyr presens apperyt so mekill lycht,
 At all thé fyr scho put out off his sycht,
 Gaiff him a wand off colour reid and greyne,
 With a saffyr sanyt his face and eyne,
 Welcum, scho said, I cheiss the as my luff;
 Thow art grantyt be the gret God abuff,
 Till help pepill that sufferis mekill wrang,
 With the as now I may nocht tary lang,
 Thou sall return to thi awne oyss agayne,
 Thi derrast kyne ar her in mekill payne;
 This rycht regioun thow mon redeme it all,
 Thi last reward in erd sall be bot small;
 Let nocht tharefor, tak redress off this myss,
 To thi reward thou sall haiff lestand blyss.

^m p. 82.

Off hir ryght hand scho betaucht him a bok,
Humylly thus hyr leyff full sone scho tuk,
On to the cloud ascendyt off his sycht.
Wallace brak up the buk in all his myght.
In thre partis the buk weill writyn was,
The fyrst writyng was gross letteris off bras,
The secound gold, the thrid was silver scheyne.
Wallace merveld quhat this writyng suld meyne;
To rede the buk he besyet him so fast,
His spreit agayne to walkand mynd is past,
And wp he raiss, syne sodandly furth went.
This clerk he fand, and tald him his entent
Off this wisioun, as I haiff said befor,
Completly through; Quhat nedis wordis mor.
Der sone, he said, my witt unabill is
To runsik sic, for dreid I say off myss;
Yit I sall deyme, thocht my cunnyng be small,
God grant na chargis efftir my wordis fall.
Saynct Androw was gaiff the that suerd in hand,
Off sanctis he is the wowar off Scotland;
That montayne is quhar he the had on hycht,
Knowlage to haiff off wrang that thow mon ryght;
The fyr sall be fell tithingis, or ye part,
Quhilk will be tald in mony syndry art.
I can nocht witt quhat qweyn at it suld be,
Quhethir Fortoun, or our Lady so fre,
Lykly it is, be the brychtnes scho brocht,
Modyr off him that all this world has wrocht.
The prety wand, I trow, be myn entent,
Assignes rewille and cruell jugement;
The red colour, quha graithly wndrestud,
Betaknes all to gret battaill and blud;
The greyn, curage, that thow art now amang,
In strowble wer thou sall conteyne full lang;
The saphyr stayne scho blissit the with all,
Is lestand grace, will God, sall to the fall;
The thrynfald buk is bot this brokyn land,
Thou mon rademe be worthines off hand;
The bras lettris betakynnys bot to this,
The gret oppress off wer and mekill myss,
The quhilk thow sall bryng to the ryght agayne,
Bot thou tharfore mon suffer mekil payne;
The gold takynnys honour and worthinas,
Wictour in armys, that thou sall haiff be grace:
The silver shawis cleyne lyff and hewynys blyss,
To thi reward that myrth thou sall nocht myss,

Dreid nochth tharfor, be out off all despayr.
Forthir as now heroff I can na mair*.

About the present period, historical romances of recent events seem to have commenced. Many of these appear to have been written by heralds^k. In the library of Worcester college at Oxford, there is a poem in French, reciting the achievements of Edward the Black Prince, who died in the year 1376. It is in the short verse of romance, and was written by the prince's herald, who attended close by his person in all his battles, according to the established mode of those times. This was John Chandois-herald, frequently mentioned in Froissart. In this piece, which is of considerable length, the names of the Englishmen are properly spelled, the chronology exact, and the epitaph^l, forming a sort of peroration to the narrative, the same as was ordered by the prince in his will^m. This poem, indeed, may seem to claim no place here, because it happens to be written in the French language: yet, exclusive of its subject, a circumstance I have mentioned, that it was composed by a herald, deserves particular attention, and throws no small illustration on the poetry of this era. There are several proofs which indicate that many romances of the fourteenth century, if not in verse, at least those written in prose, were the work of heralds. As it was their duty to attend their masters in battle, they were enabled to record the most important transactions of the field with fidelity. It was customary to appoint none to this office but persons of discernment, address, experience, and some degree of educationⁿ. At solemn tournaments

* [In a subsequent part of this work, Section xxxii. Warton has acknowledged his error in making this early mention of blind Harry; who lived in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The Scottish poet, whose rank the blind minstrel is thus made to assume, is Andrew of Wyntoun, a writer unknown to Warton. As it does not fall within the scope of the present edition to supply omissions of this kind, the reader is referred to Mr. Macpherson's edition of Wyntoun's "*Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*;" Mr. Ellis's *Specimens of the Early English Poets*; and Mr. Irving's *Lives of the Scottish Poets*.—PRICE.]

^k See Le Pere Menestrier, *Cheval. Ancien. c. v. p. 225. Par. 12mo.*

^l It is a fair and beautiful manuscript on vellum. It is an oblong octavo, and formerly belonged to Sir William le Neve, Clarencieux herald.

^m The hero's epitaph is frequent in romances. In the French romance of *Saintre*, written about this time, his epitaph is introduced.

ⁿ Le Pere Menestrier, *Cheval. Ancien. ut sup. p. 225. ch. v.* "*Que l'on croyoit avoir l'Esprit*," &c. Feron says that they gave this attendance in order to make a true report. *L'Institut. des Roys et He-*

rauda, p. 44. a. See also Favin. p. 57. See a curious description in Froissart, of an interview between the Chandois-herald, mentioned above, and a marshal of France, where they enter into a warm and very serious dispute concerning the *devices d'amour* borne by each army. *Liv. i. ch. 161.*

[A curious collection of German poems evidently compiled from these heraldic registers, has recently been discovered in the library of Prince Sinsendorf. The reader will find an account of them and their author Peter Suchenwirt (who lived at the close of the fourteenth century) in the 14th volume of the *Vienna Annals of Literature (Jahrbücher der Literatur, Wien. 1814)*. They are noticed here for their occasional mention of English affairs. The life of Burkhard v. Ellerbach recounts the victory gained by the English at the battle of Cressy; in which this terror of Prussian and Saracen infidels was left for dead on the field, "the blood and the grass, the green and the red, being so completely mingled in one general mass," that no one perceived him.—Friedrich v. Chreuspeckh served in Scotland, England, and Ireland. In the latter country he joined an army of

they made an essential part of the ceremony. Here they had an opportunity of observing accoutrements, armorial distinctions, the number and appearance of the spectators, together with the various events of the turnney, to the best advantage: and they were afterwards obliged to compile an ample register of this strange mixture of foppery and ferocity^o. They were necessarily connected with the minstrels at public festivals, and thence acquired a facility of reciting adventures. A learned French antiquary is of opinion, that antiently the French heralds, called *Héraux*, were the same as the minstrels, and that they sung metrical tales at festivals^p. They frequently received fees or largesse in common with the minstrels^q. They travelled into different countries, and saw the fashions

60,000 (!) men, about to form the siege of a town called Trachtal (?); but the army broke up without an engagement. On his return from thence to England, the fleet in which he sailed fell in with a Spanish squadron, and destroyed or captured six-and-twenty of the enemy. These events occurred between the years 1332-36. Albrecht v. Nürnberg followed Edward III. into Scotland, and appears to have been engaged in the battle of Halidown-hill.—But the "errant knight" most intimately connected with England, was Hans v. Traun. He joined the banner of Edward III. at the siege of Calais, during which he was engaged in cutting off some supplies sent by sea, for the relief of the besieged. He does ample justice to the valour and heroic resistance of the garrison; who did not surrender till their stock of leather¹, rope and similar materials,—which had long been their only food,—was exhausted. Rats were sold at a crown each. In the year 1356 he attended the Black Prince in the campaign which preceded the battle of Poitiers; and on the morning of that eventful fight, Prince Edward honoured him with the important charge of bearing the English standard. The battle is described with considerable animation. The hostile armies advanced on foot, the archers forming the vanguard. "This was not a time," says the poet, "for the interchange of chivalric civilities, for friendly greetings, and cordial love: no man asked his fellow for a violet or a rose²; and many a hero, like the ostrich, was obliged to digest both iron and steel, or to overcome in death the sensations inflicted by the spear and the javelin. The field resounded with the clash of swords, clubs, and battle-axes; and with shouts of *Nater Dam* and *Sand Jors*." But Von Traun, mindful of the trust reposed in him, rushed forward

to encounter the standard bearer of France: "He drove his spear through the vizor of his adversary—the enemy's banner sunk to the earth never to rise again—Von Traun planted his foot upon its staff; when the king of France was made captive, and the battle was won." For his gallantry displayed on this day, Edward granted him a pension of a hundred marks. He is afterwards mentioned as being intrusted by Edward III. with the defence of Calais during a ten weeks siege; and at a subsequent period as crossing the channel, and capturing a (French?) ship, which he brought into an English port and presented to Edward.—It is to be hoped these poems will be published. The slight analysis of their contents given by Mr. Primisser, and on which this note is founded, is just sufficient to excite, without gratifying, curiosity.—PRICE.]

^o "L'un des principaux fonctions des Hérautes d'armes étoit se trouver aujourns, &c. ou ils gardoient les écus pendans, recevoient les noms et les blasons des chevaliers, en tenoient REGISTRE, et en composoient recueils," &c. Menestre. Orig. des Armoir. p. 180. See also p. 119. These registers are mentioned in Perceforest, xi. 68. 77.

^p Carpentier, Suppl. Du-Cang. Gloss. Lat. p. 750. tom. iii.

^q Thus at St. George's feast at Windsor we have, "Diversis heraldis et ministrallis," &c. Ann. 21 Ric. II. 9 Hen. VI. Apud Anstis, Ord. Gart. i. 56. 108. And again, Exit. Pell. M. ann. 22 Edw. III. "Magistro Andream Roy Norreys, [a herald,] Lybekin le Piper, et Hanakino filio suo, et sex aliis menestrallis regis in denariis eis liberatis de dono regis, in subsidium expensarum suarum, lv. s. iv. d."—Exit. Pell. P. ann. 33 Edw. II. "Wilhelmo Volauant regi heraldorum et ministrallis existentibus apud Smithfield in

¹ The original reads "schuch, sil, chvnt und hewt;" the two last I interpret "kind und haut."

² So I interpret "umb veyal (veilchen) noch umb rosen."

of foreign courts and foreign tournaments. They not only committed to writing the process of the lists, but it was also their business, at magnificent feasts, to describe the number and parade of the dishes, the quality of the guests, the brilliant dresses of the ladies, the courtesy of the knights, the revels, disguisings, banquets, and every other occurrence most observable in the course of the solemnity. Spenser alludes expressly to these heraldic details, where he mentions the splendor of Florimel's wedding.

To tell the glory of the feast that day,
The goodly servyse, the devisfull sights,
The bridegrome's state, the bride's most rich array,
The pride of ladies, and the worth of knights,
The royall banquettes, and the rare delights,
Were work fit for an HERALD, not for me^r.

I suspect that Chaucer, not perhaps without ridicule, glances at some of these descriptions, with which his age abounded; and which he probably regarded with less reverence, and read with less edification, than did the generality of his cotemporary readers.

Why shulde I tellen of the rialte
Of that wedding? or which course goth befor?
Who blowith in a trumpe, or in a horn?^s

Again, in describing Cambuscan's feast.

Of which shall I tell all the array,
Then would it occupie a sommer's day:
And eke it nedeth not to devise,
At everie course the order of servise:
I will not tellen as now of her strange sewes,
Ne of her swans, ne of her heronsewes^t.

And at the feast of Theseus, in the KNIGHT'S TALE^u.

The minstralcie, the service at the feste,
The grete geftes also to the most and leste,
The riche array of Theseus palleis,
Ne who sat first or last upon the deis,
What ladies feyrist ben, or best daunsing,
Or which of them can best dauncin or sing,
Ne who most felingly spekith of love,
Ne what haukes sittin on perchis above,
Ne what houndes liggen on the floure adoun,
Of all this now I make no mentioun.

ultimo hastiludio de dono regis, xl." I
could give many other proofs.

^r F. Q. v. iii. 3.

^s Man of Lawe's Tale, v. 704.

^t Squire's Tale, v. 83.

^u V. 2199. p. 17. Urr.

In the *FLOURE AND THE LEAF*, the same poet has described, in eleven long stanzas, the procession to a splendid tournament, with all the prolixity and exactness of a herald^w. The same affectation, derived from the same sources, occurs often in Ariosto.

It were easy to illustrate this doctrine by various examples. The famous French romance of *SAINTRE* was evidently the performance of a herald. John de Saintre, the knight of the piece, was a real person, and, according to Froissart, was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, in the year 1356^x. But the compiler confounds chronology, and ascribes to his hero many pieces of true history belonging to others. This was a common practice in these books. Some authors have supposed that this romance appeared before the year 1380^y. But there are reasons to prove that it was written by Antony de la Sale, a Burgundian, author of a book of *CEREMONIES*, from his name very quaintly entitled *LA SALLADE*, and frequently cited by our learned antiquary Selden^z. This Antony came into England to see the solemnity of the queen's coronation in the year 1445^a. I have not seen any French romance which has preserved the practices of chivalry more copiously than this of *SAINTRE*. It must have been an absolute master-piece for the rules of tilting, martial customs, and public ceremonies prevailing in its author's age. In the library of the Office of Arms, there remains a very accurate description of a feast of Saint George, celebrated at Windsor in 1471^b. It appears to have been written by the herald Blue-mantle Poursuivant. Menestrier says, that Guillaume Rucher, herald of Henault, has left a large treatise, describing the tournaments annually celebrated at Lisle in Flanders^c. In the reign of Edward the Fourth, John Smarte, a Norman, garter king at arms, described in French the tournament held at Bruges, for nine days, in honour of the marriage of the duke of Burgundy with Margaret the king's daughter^d. There is a French poem, entitled *Les noms et les armes des seigneurs, &c. a l'assiege de Karleverch en Escoce*, 1300^e. This was undoubtedly written by a herald. The author thus describes the banner of John duke of Bretagne.

Baniere avoit cointee et paree
De or et de asur eschequeree
Au rouge ourle o jaunes lupars
Determinee estoit la quarte pars^f.

^w From v. 204. to v. 287.

^x Froissart, Hist. i. p. 178.

^y Bysshe, Not. in Upton. Milit. Offic. p. 56. Menestrier, Orig. Arm. p. 23.

^z Tit. Hon. p. 413, &c.

^a Anst. Ord. Gart. ii. 321.

^b MSS. Offic. Arm. M. 15. fol. 12. 13.

^c "Guillaume Rucher, héraut d'armes du titre de Heynaut, a fait un gros volume des rois de l'Épinette à Lisle en Flanders; c'est une cérémonie, ou un feste, dont il a

décrit les joustes, tournois, noms, armoiries, livrées, et équipages de divers seigneurs, qui se rendoient de divers endroits, avec les catalogues de rois de cette feste." Menestr. l'Orig. des Armoir. p. 64.

^d See many other instances in MSS. Harl. 69. fol. entit. The Booke of certaine Triumphes. See also Appendix to the new edition of Leland's Collectanea.

^e MSS. Cott. Brit. Mus.

^f The bishop of Gloucester has most

The pompous circumstances of which these heraldic narratives consisted, and the minute prolixity with which they were displayed, seem to have infected the professed historians of this age. Of this there are various instances in Froissart, who had no other design than to compile a chronicle of real facts. I will give one example out of many. At a treaty of marriage between our Richard the Second and Isabel daughter of Charles the Fifth king of France, the two monarchs, attended with a noble retinue, met and formed several encampments in a spacious plain, near the castle of Guynes. Froissart expends many pages in relating at large the costly furniture of the pavilions, the riches of the side-boards, the profusion and variety of sumptuous liquors, spices, and dishes, with their order of service, the number of the attendants, with their address and exact discharge of duty in their respective offices, the presents of gold and precious stones made on both sides, and a thousand other particulars of equal importance, relating to the parade of this royal interview^a. On this account, Caxton, in his exhortation to the knights of his age, ranks Froissart's history, as a book of chivalry, with the romances of Lancelot and Percival; and recommends it to their attention, as a manual equally calculated to inculcate the knightly virtues of courage and courtesy^b. This indeed was in an age, when not only the courts of princes, but the castles of barons vied with one another in the lustre of their shows; when tournaments, coronations, royal interviews, and solemn festivals, were the grand objects of mankind. Froissart was an eye-witness of many of the ceremonies which he describes. His passion seems to have been that of seeing magnificent spectacles, and of hearing reports concerning them^c. Although a canon of two churches, he passed his life in travelling from court to court, and from castle to castle^d. He thus,

obligingly condescended to point out to me another source, to which many of the romances of the fourteenth century owed their existence. Montfaucon, in his *Monumens de la Monarchie Française*, has printed the *Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint Esprit au droit desir ou du Noeud, établi par Louis d'Anjou roi de Jerusalem et Sicile en 1352-3-4*. tom. ii. p. 329. This was an annual celebration at *Chastel de l'Euf enchané du merveilleux peril*. The castle, as appears by the monuments which accompany these statutes, was built at the foot of the obscure grot of the ENCHANTMENTS of Virgil. The statutes are as extraordinary as if they had been drawn up by Don Quixote himself, or his assessors the curate and the barber. From the seventh chapter we learn, that the knights who came to this yearly festival at the *chastel de l'euf*, were obliged to deliver in writing to the clerks of the chapel of the castle their yearly adventures. Such of these histories as were thought worthy to

be recorded, the clerks are ordered to transcribe in a book, which was called *Le livre des avenements aux chevaliers, &c. Et demerra le dit livre toujours en la dicte chapelle*. This sacred register certainly furnished from time to time ample materials to the romance-writers. And this circumstance gives a new explanation to a reference which we so frequently find in romances; I mean, that appeal which they so constantly make to some authentic record.

^a See Froissart's Cronycle, translated by lord Berners. Pinson, 1523. vol. ii. f. 242.

^b *Boke of the Ordre of Chevalrye or Knighthood: translated out of the Frenshe and imprinted by Wylliam Caxton*. S. D. Perhaps 1484. 4to.

^c His father was a painter of armories. This might give him an early turn for shows. See M. de la Curne de S. Palaye, *Mem. Lit.* tom. x. p. 664. edit. 4to.

^d He was originally a clerk of the chamber to Philippa, queen of Edward

either from his own observation, or the credible informations of others, easily procured suitable materials for a history, which professed only to deal in sensible objects, and those of the most splendid and conspicuous kind. He was familiarly known to two kings of England, and one of Scotland¹. But the court which he most admired was that of Gaston earl of Foix, at Orlaix in Bearn; for, as he himself acquaints us, it was not only the most brilliant in Europe, but the grand centre for tidings of martial adventures^m. It was crowded with knights of England and Arragon. In the mean time it must not be forgot that Froissart, who from his childhood was strongly attached to carousals, the music of minstrels, and the sports of hawking and huntingⁿ, cultivated the poetry of the troubadours, and was a writer of romances^o. This turn, it must be confessed, might have some share in communicating that romantic cast to his history which I have mentioned. During his abode at the court of the earl of Foix, where he was entertained for twelve weeks, he presented to the earl his collection of the poems of the duke of Luxembourg, consisting of sonnets, balades, and virelays. Among these was included a romance, composed by himself, called MELIADER, or THE KNIGHT OF THE SUN OF GOLD. Gaston's chief amusement was to hear Froissart read this romance^p every evening after supper^q. At his introduction to Richard the Second, he presented that brilliant monarch with a book beautifully illuminated, engrossed with his own hand, bound in crimson velvet, and embellished with silver bosses, clasps, and golden roses, comprehending all the matters of AMOURS and MORALITIES, which in the course of twenty-four years he had composed^r. This was in the year 1396. When he left England the same

the Third. He was afterwards canon and treasurer of Chimay in Henault, and of Lille in Flanders; and chaplain to Guy earl of Castellon. Labor. Introd. à l'Hist. de Charles VI. p. 69. Compare also Froissart's Chron. VI. f. 29. 305. 319. And Bullart, Académie des Arts et des Sciences, i. p. 125. 126.

¹ Cron. ii. f. 158. 161.

^m Cron. ii. f. 30. This was in 1381.

ⁿ See Mem. Lit. ut supr. p. 665.

^o Speaking of the death of king Richard, Froissart quotes a prediction from the old French prose romance of Brut, which he says was fulfilled in that catastrophe. liv. iv. c. 119. Froissart will be mentioned again as a poet.

^p I take this opportunity of remarking, that romantic tales or histories appear at a very early period to have been READ as well as SUNG at feasts. So Wace, in the Roman du Rou, in the British Museum, above-mentioned, vol. i. p. 59.

Doit l'en les vers et les regestes,
Et les estoires LIRE as festes.

^q Froissart brought with him for a

present to Gaston Earl of Foix four greyhounds, which were called by the romantic names of *Tristram*, *Hector*, *Brut*, and *Roland*. Gaston was so fond of hunting, that he kept upwards of six hundred dogs in his castle. M. de la Curne, ut supr. p. 676. 678. He wrote a treatise on hunting, printed 1520. See Verdier, Art. GASTON Comte de Foix. In illustration of the former part of this note, Crescimbeni says, "Che in molte nobilissime famiglie Italiane, da 400 a più anni, passarono i nomi de' *Lancillotti*, de' *Tristani*, de' *Galeani*, de' *Galeotti*, delle *Isotte* [*Isoulde*], delle *Genevre*, e d'altri cavalieri, e dame in esse TAVOLE ROTONDE operanti," &c. Istori. Volg. Poes. vol. i. lib. v. p. 327. Venez. 4to.

^r I should think that this was his romance of MELIADER. Froissart says, that the king at receiving it, asked him what the book treated of. He answered *d'Amour*. The king, adds our historian, seemed much pleased at this; and examined the book in many places, for he was fond of reading as well as speaking French. He then ordered Richard Cren-

year^a, the king sent him a massy goblet of silver, filled with one hundred nobles^t.

As we are approaching to Chaucer, let us here stand still, and take a retrospect of the general manners. The tournaments and carousals of our antient princes, by forming splendid assemblies of both sexes, while they inculcated the most liberal sentiments of honour and heroism, undoubtedly contributed to introduce ideas of courtesy, and to encourage decorum. Yet the national manners still retained a great degree of ferocity, and the ceremonies of the most refined courts in Europe had often a mixture of barbarism, which rendered them ridiculous. This absurdity will always appear at periods when men are so far civilised as to have lost their native simplicity, and yet have not attained just ideas of politeness and propriety. Their luxury was inelegant, their pleasures indelicate, their pomp cumbersome and unwieldy. In the mean time it may seem surprising, that the many schools of philosophy which flourished in the middle ages should not have corrected and polished the times. But as their religion was corrupted by superstition, so their philosophy degenerated into sophistry. Nor is it science alone, even if founded on truth, that will polish nations. For this purpose, the powers of imagination must be awakened and exerted, to teach elegant feelings, and to heighten our natural sensibilities. It is not the head only that must be informed, but the heart must also be moved. Many classic authors were known in the thirteenth century, but the scholars of that period wanted taste to read and admire them. The pathetic or sublime strokes of Virgil would be but little relished by theologians and metaphysicians.

don, the chevalier in waiting, to carry it into his privy chamber, *dont il me fit bonne chere*. He gave copies of the several parts of his Chronicle, as they were finished, to his different patrons. Le Laboureur says, that Froissart sent fifty-six quires of his Roman au Croniques to Guillaume de Bailly an illuminator; which, when illuminated, were intended as a present to the king of England. Hist. ch. vi. en la Vie de Louis duc d'Anjou. p. 67. seq. See also Cron. i. iv. c. i.—iii. 26. There are two or three fine illuminated copies of Froissart now remaining among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum. Among the stores of Henry the Eighth at his manor of Bedington in Surry, I find the fashionable reading of the times exemplified in the following books, viz. "*Item, a great book of parchmente written and lymned with gold of graver's work De confessione Amantis, with xviii other bookes, Le premier volume de Lancelot, FROISSART, Le grant voiage de Jerusalem, Enguerain de Monstrellot,*" &c. MSS. Harl. 1419.

f. 382. Froissart was here properly classed.

^a Froissart says, that he accompanied the king to various palaces, "A Elten, a Ledos, a Kinkestove, a Cenes, a Certesée, et a Windsor." That is, Eltham, Leeds, Kingston, Chertsey, &c. Cron. liv. iv. c. 119. p. 348. The French are not much improved at this day in spelling English places and names.

[Perhaps by *Cenes*, Froissart means SHENE, the royal palace at Richmond.—ADDITIONS.]

^t Cron. f. 251. 252. 255. 319. 348. Bayle, who has an article on Froissart, had no idea of searching for anecdotes of Froissart's life in his Chronicle. Instead of which, he swells his notes on this article with the contradictory accounts of Moreri, Vossius, and others; whose disputes might have been all easily settled by recurring to Froissart himself, who has interspersed in his history many curious particulars relating to his own life and works.

SECTION XII.

General view of the character of Chaucer. Boccacio's Teseide. A Greek poem on that subject. Tournaments at Constantinople. Common practice of the Greek exiles to translate the popular Italian poems. Specimens both of the Greek and Italian Theseid. Critical examination of the Knight's Tale.

THE most illustrious ornament of the reign of Edward the Third, and of his successor Richard the Second, was Jeffrey Chaucer; a poet with whom the history of our poetry is by many supposed to have commenced; and who has been pronounced, by a critic of unquestionable taste and discernment, to be the first English versifier who wrote poetically^a. He was born in the year 1328, and educated at Oxford, where he made a rapid progress in the scholastic sciences as they were then taught: but the liveliness of his parts, and the native gaiety of his disposition, soon recommended him to the patronage of a magnificent monarch, and rendered him a very popular and acceptable character in the brilliant court which I have above described. In the mean time, he added to his accomplishments by frequent tours into France and Italy, which he sometimes visited under the advantages of a public character. Hitherto our poets had been persons of a private and circumscribed education, and the art of versifying, like every other kind of composition, had been confined to recluse scholars. But Chaucer was a man of the world; and from this circumstance we are to account, in great measure, for the many new embellishments which he conferred on our language and our poetry. The descriptions of splendid processions and gallant carousals, with which his works abound, are a proof that he was conversant with the practices and diversions of polite life. Familiarity with a variety of things and objects, opportunities of acquiring the fashionable and courtly modes of speech, connections with the great at home, and a personal acquaintance with the vernacular poets of foreign countries, opened his mind, and furnished him with new lights^b. In Italy he was introduced to Petrarch, at the wedding of Violante, daughter of Galeazzo duke of Milan, with the duke of Cla-

^a Johnson's Diction. Pref. p. 1.

^b The earl of Salisbury, beheaded by Henry the Fourth, could not but patronise Chaucer. I do not mean for political reasons. The earl was a writer of verses, and very fond of poetry. On this account, his acquaintance was much cultivated by the famous Christina of Pisa; whose works, both in prose and verse, compose so con-

siderable a part of the old French literature. She used to call him, "Gracieux chevalier, aimant dicties, et lui-meme gracieux dicteur." See M. Boivin, *Mem. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 767. seq. 4to. I have seen none of this earl's *Ditties*. Otherwise he would have been here considered in form, as an English poet.

rence; and it is not improbable that Boccacio was of the party*. Although Chaucer had undoubtedly studied the works of these celebrated writers, and particularly of Dante, before this fortunate interview; yet it seems likely, that these excursions gave him a new relish for their compositions, and enlarged his knowledge of the Italian fables. His travels likewise enabled him to cultivate the Italian and Provencial languages with the greatest success; and induced him to polish the asperity, and enrich the sterility of his native versification, with softer cadences, and a more copious and variegated phraseology. In this attempt, which was authorised by the recent and popular examples of Petrarch in Italy and Alain Chartier in France^d, he was countenanced and assisted by his friend John Gower, the early guide and encourager of his studies*. The revival of learning in most countries appears to have first owed its rise to translation. At rude periods the modes of original thinking are unknown, and the arts of original composition have not yet been studied. The writers therefore of such periods are chiefly and very usefully employed in importing the ideas of other languages into their own. They do not venture to think for themselves, nor aim at the merit of inventors, but they are laying the foundations of literature; and while they are naturalising the knowledge of more learned ages and countries by translation, they are imperceptibly improving the national language. This has been remarkably the case, not only in England, but in France and Italy. In the year 1387, John Trevisa, canon of Westbury in Gloucestershire, and a great traveller, not only finished a translation of the Old and New Testaments, at the command of his munificent patron Thomas lord Berkley^f, but also translated Higden's POLYCHRONICON, and other Latin pieces^g. But these translations would have been alone insufficient to have produced or sustained

* Froissart was also present. Vie de Petrarque, iii. 772. Amst. 1766. 4to. I believe Paulus Jovius is the first who mentions this anecdote. Vit. Galeas. ii. p. 152.

^d Leland, Script. Brit. 421.

^e Gower, Confess. Amant. l. v. fol. 190. b. Barthel. 1554.

And grete wel Chaucer, when ye mete,
As my disciple and my poete:
For in the flowers of his youth,
In sundrie wise as he well couth,
Of dities and of songes glade
The which he for my sake made, etc.

[Francis Thynne, in his letter to Speght, (ap. Todd's Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer) has justly observed, that these lines are uttered by Venus; and consequently, that the inference drawn from them is wholly unfounded. Chaucer had published all his poems, except the Canterbury Tales, previous to the appearance of the Confessio Amantis.—PRICE.]

^f See H. Wharton, Append. Cav. p. 49.

^g Such as Bartholomew Glanville *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, lib. xix. Printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1494. fol. And Vegetius *De Arte Militari*. MSS. Digb. 233. Bibl. Bodl. In the same manuscript is Ægidius Romanus *De Regimine Principum*, a translation probably by Trevisa. He also translated some pieces of Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Armagh. See *supr.* p. 90. He wrote a tract, prefixed to his version of the Polychronicon, on the utility of translations: *De Utilitate Translationum, Dialogus inter Clericum et Patronum*. See more of his translations in MSS. Harl. 1900. I do not find his English Bible in any of our libraries, nor do I believe that any copy of it now remains. Caxton mentions it in the preface to his edition of the English Polychronicon. [See Lewis's Wicliffe, p. 66. 329. And Lewis's History of the Translations of the Bible, p. 66.—ADDITIONS.]

any considerable revolution in our language : the great work was reserved for Gower and Chaucer. Wickliffe had also translated the Bible^b : and in other respects his attempts to bring about a reformation in religion at this time proved beneficial to English literature. The orthodox divines of this period generally wrote in Latin : but Wickliffe, that his arguments might be familiarised to common readers and the bulk of the people, was obliged to compose in English his numerous theological treatises against the papal corruptions. Edward the Third, while he perhaps intended only to banish a badge of conquest, greatly contributed to establish the national dialect, by abolishing the use of the Norman tongue in the public acts and judicial proceedings, as we have before observed, and by substituting the natural language of the country. But Chaucer manifestly first taught his countrymen to write English ; and formed a style by naturalising words from the Provencial*, at that time the most polished dialect of any in Europe, and the best adapted to the purposes of poetical expression.

It is certain that Chaucer abounds in classical allusions : but his poetry is not formed on the antient models. He appears to have been an universal reader, and his learning is sometimes mistaken for genius : but his chief sources were the French and Italian poets. From these originals two of his capital poems, the KNIGHT'S TALE¹, and the ROMANCE OF THE ROSE, are imitations or translations. The first of these is taken from Boccacio.

Boccacio was the disciple of Petrarch : and although principally known and deservedly celebrated as a writer or inventor of tales, he was by his cotemporaries usually placed in the third rank after Dante and Petrarch. But Boccacio having seen the Platonic sonnets of his master Petrarch, in a fit of despair committed all his poetry to the flames^k, except a single poem, of which his own good taste had long taught him to entertain a more favourable opinion. This piece, thus happily rescued from destruction, is at present so scarce and so little known, even in Italy, as to have left its author but a slender proportion of that eminent degree of poetical reputation, which he might have justly claimed from so extraordinary a performance. It is an heroic poem, in twelve books, entitled LE Teseide, and written in the octave

^b It is observable, that he made his translation from the vulgate Latin version of Jerom. It was finished 1383. See MS. Cod. Bibl. Coll. Eman. Cant. 102.

* [Vid. infra Sect. XVIII. Note †, from the Additions.]

¹ Chaucer alludes to some book from whence this tale was taken, more than once, viz. v. l. "Whilom, as olde stories tellen us." v. 1465. "As olde bookes to us saine, that all this storie telleth more plain." v. 2814. "Of soules fynd I nought in this registre." That is, this History, or narrative. See also v. 3297. In the

Legende of good women, where Chaucer's works are mentioned, is this passage, which I do not well understand. v. 420.

And al the love of Palamon and Arcite
Of Thebis, though the storie is knowne lye.

[The last words seem to imply that it had not made itself very popular.—TYRWHITT.]

^k Goujet, Bibl. Fr. Tom. vii. p. 328. But we must except, that besides the poem mentioned below, Boccacio's Amazonida, e Forze d' Ercole, are both now extant ; and were printed at Ferrara in or about the year 1475. fol.

stanza, called by the Italians *ottava rima*, which Boccaccio adopted from the old French chansons, and here first introduced among his countrymen¹. It was printed at Ferrara, but with some deviations from the original, and even misrepresentations of the story, in the year 1475^m. Afterwards, I think, in 1488. And for the third and last time at Venice, in the year 1528ⁿ. But the corruptions have been suffered to remain through every edition.

Whether Boccaccio was the inventor of the story of this poem is a curious enquiry. It is certain that Theseus was an early hero of romance^o. He was taken from that grand repository of the Grecian heroes, the History of Troy, written by Guido de Colonna^p. In the royal library at Paris, there is a manuscript entitled, *THE ROMAN DE THESEUS ET DE GADIFER*^q. Probably this is the printed French romance, under the title, "Histoire du Chevalier THESEUS de Coulogne, par sa proïesse empereur de Rome, et aussi de son fils Gadifer empereur du Greece, et de trois enfans du dit Gadifer, traduite de vieille rime Picarde en prose Francoise. Paris 1534^r." Gadifer, with whom Theseus is joined in this antient tale, written probably by a troubadour of Picardy, is a champion in the oldest French romances^s. He is mentioned frequently in the French romance of Alexander^t. In the romance of PERCEFORREST, he is called king of Scotland, and said to be crowned by Alexander the Great^u. But whether or no this prose HISTOIRE DU CHEVALIER THESEUS is the story of Theseus in question, or whether this is the same Theseus, I cannot ascertain^v. There is likewise in the same royal library a manuscript, called by Montfaucon, *HISTORIA THESEI IN LINGUA VULGARI*, in ten books^w. The Abbe Goujet observes, that there is in some libraries of France an old French translation of Boccaccio's THESEID, from which Anna de Graville formed the French poem of PALAMON and ARCITE, at the command of queen Claude, wife of Francis the First, about the year 1487^x. Either the translation used by Anna de Graville, or her poem, is perhaps the second of the manuscripts mentioned by Montfaucon. Boccaccio's THESEID has also been translated into Italian prose, by

¹ See Crescimben. *Istor. Volgar. Poes.* vol. i. L. i. p. 65. Ven. 1731. 4to.

^o Poema della Teseide del Boccaccio chiosato, e dichiarato da Andrea de Bassi in Ferrara, 1475. fol.

^p 4to.

^q In Lydgate's Temple of Glas, never printed, among the lovers painted on the wall is Theseus killing the Minotaure. I suppose from Ovid. *Bibl. Bodl. MSS.* Fairfax, 16. Or from Chaucer, *Legende Ariadne*.

^r See vol. i. p. 129. *supr.* and foregoing note.

^s *MSS. Bibl. [Reg. Paris.] Tom. ii. 974. E.*

^t Fol. tom. ii. Again, *ibid.* 4to. black

letter. See Lenglet, *Bibl. Rom.* page 191.

^u The chevaliers of the courts of Charles the Fifth and Sixth adopted names from the old romances, such as Lancelot, Gadifer, Carados, &c. *Mem. Anc. Cheval. i. p. 340.*

^v See vol. i. p. 141.

^w See *Historie du Perceforrest roy de la Gr. Bretagne, et Gadiffer roy d'Escosse, &c.* 6 tom. Paris, 1531. fol.

^x [Certainly not. The romance makes Theseus the son of Floridas, a king who reigned at Cologne in Germany in the year of our Lord 632.—DOUCE.]

^y *Bibl. MSS. ut supr. p. 773.*

^z *Ut supr. p. 329.*

Nicholas Granucci, and printed at Lucca in 1570⁷. The title of Granucci's prose THESEIDE is this, *THESEIDE di Boccacio de ottava Rima nuovamente ridotta in prosa per Nicolao Granucci di Lucca. In Lucca appresso Vinzenzza Busdraghi. MDLXX.* In the DEDICAZIONE to this work, which was printed more than two hundred years ago, and within one hundred years after the Ferrara edition of the THESEIDE appeared, Granucci mentions Boccacio's work as a TRANSLATION from the barbarous Greek poem cited below. DEDICAZ. fol. 5. "Volendo far cosa, que non sio stata fatta da loro, pero mutato parere mi dicoli a ridurre in prosa questo Innamoramento, Opera di M. Giovanni Boccacio, quale egli trasporto DAL GRECO in octava rima per compiacere alla sua Fiametta," &c.* Boccacio himself mentions the story of Palamon and Arcite. This may seem to imply that the story existed before his time: unless he artfully intended to recommend his own poem on the subject by such an allusion. It is where he introduces two lovers singing a portion of this tale. "Dioneo e Fiametta gran pezza cantorona insieme d'ARCITE e di PALAMONE⁸." By Dioneo, Boccacio represents himself; and by Fiametta, his mistress, Mary of Arragon, a natural daughter of Robert king of Naples.

I confess I am of opinion, that Boccacio's THESEID is an original composition. But there is a Greco-barbarous poem extant on this subject, which, if it could be proved to be antecedent in point of time to the Italian poem, would degrade Boccacio to a mere translator on this occasion. It is a matter that deserves to be examined at large, and to be traced with accuracy.

This Greek poem is as little known and as scarce as Boccacio's THESEID. It is entitled, *Θησεος και γαμου της Εμυλιας*. It was printed in quarto at Venice in the year 1529. *Stampata in Vinegia per Giovanantonio et fratelli da Sabbio a requisitione de M. Damiano de Santa Maria de Spici M.D.XXIX. del Mese de Decembrio⁹.* It is not mentioned by Crusius or Fabricius; but is often cited by Du Cange in his Greek glossary, under the title, *DE NUPTIIS THESEI ET ÆMILIÆ*. The heads of the chapters are adorned with rude wooden cuts of the story. I once suspected that Boccacio, having received this poem from some of his learned friends among the Grecian exiles, who being driven from Constantinople took refuge in Italy about the fourteenth century, translated it into Italian. Under this supposition, I was indeed surprised to find

⁷ 4to. There is a French prose translation with it. The Theseid has also been translated into French prose by D. C. C. 1597. 12mo. Paris. "La Theseide de Jean Boccace, contenant les chastes amours de deux chevaliers Thebans, Arcite et Polemon," &c. Jane de la Fontaine also translated into French verse this poem. She died 1536. Her translation was never printed. It is applauded by Joannes Secundus, Eleg. xv.

* [Lib. Slonian. 1614. Brit. Mus.—ADDITIONS.]

⁸ Giorn. vii. Nov. 10. p. 348. edit. Vineg. 1548. 4to. Chaucer himself alludes to this story, Bl. Kn. v. 369. Perhaps on the same principle.

⁹ A manuscript of it is in the Royal Library at Paris, Cod. 2569. Du Cange Ind. Auct. Gloss. Gr. Barb. ii. p. 65. col. 1.

the ideas of chivalry, and the ceremonies of a tournament minutely described, in a poem which appeared to have been written at Constantinople. But this difficulty was soon removed, when I recollected that the Franks, Venetians, and Germans had been in possession of that city for more than one hundred years; and that Baldwin earl of Flanders was elected emperor of Constantinople in the year 1204, and was succeeded by four Latin or Frankish emperors, down to the year 1261^b. Add to this, that the word, *repνεμετρον*, a TOURNAMENT, occurs in the Byzantine historians^c. From the same communication likewise, I mean the Greek exiles, I fancied Boccacio might have procured the stories of several of his tales in the DECAMERON: as, for instance, that of Cy-

^b About which period it is probable that the anonymous Greek poem, called the *Loves of Lybister and Rhodamna*, was written. This appears by the German name Frederic, which often occurs in it, and is grecoised, with many other German words. In a manuscript of this poem which Crusius saw, were many paintings and illuminations; where, in the representation of a battle, he observed no guns, but javelins, and bows and arrows. He adds, "et musicæ testudines." It is written in the iambic measure mentioned below. It is a series of wandering adventures with little art or invention. Lybister, the son of a Latin king, and a Christian, sets forward accompanied with an hundred attendants in search of Rhodamna, whom he had lost by the stratagems of a certain old woman skilled in magic. He meets Clitophon son of a king of Armenia. They undergo various dangers in different countries. Lybister relates his dream concerning a partridge and an eagle; and how from that dream he fell in love with Rhodamna daughter of Chyses a pagan king, and communicated his passion by sending an arrow, to which his name was affixed, into a tower, or castle, called Argyrocastre, &c. See Crusii Turco-Græcia, p. 974. But we find a certain species of erotic romances, some in verse and some in prose, existing in the Greek empire, the remains and the dregs of Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, Xenophon the Ephesian, Charito, Eustathius or Eumathius, and others, about or rather before the year 1200. Such are the *Loves of Rhodante and Dosicles* of Theodorus Prodromus, who wrote about the year 1130. This piece was imitated by Nicetas Eugenianus in the *Loves of Charicell and Drosilla*. See Labb. Bibl. Nov. Manuscript. p. 220. Whether or no *The Loves of Callimachus and Chrysorrhoe*, *The Erotic History of Hemperius*, *The History of the Loves of Florius and Platystora*, with some others, all by anonymous

authors, and in Greco-barbarous iambics, were written at Constantinople; or whether they were the compositions of the learned Greeks after their dispersion, of whom more will be said hereafter, I am not able to determine. See Nessel. l. p. 342, 343. Meurs. Gloss. Gr. Barb. V. Bav. And Lambecc. v. p. 262, 264.

^c As also *Τοπνε, Hastiludium, Fr. Tournoi*. And *Τοπνεσιον, hastiludio contendere*. John Cantacuzenus relates, that when Anne of Savoy, daughter of Amadeus, the fourth earl of the Allobroges, was married to the emperor Andronicus, junior, the Frankish and Savoyard nobles, who accompanied the princess, held tilts and tournaments before the court at Constantinople; which, he adds, the Greeks learned of the Franks. This was in the year 1326. Hist. Byzant. l. i. cap. 42. But Nicetas says, that when the emperor Manuel made some stay at Antioch, the Greeks held a solemn tournament against the Franks. This was about the year 1160. Hist. Byzant. l. iii. cap. 3. Cinnamus observes, that the same emperor Manuel altered the shape of the shields and lances of the Greeks to those of the Franks. Hist. lib. iii. Nicephorus Gregoras, who wrote about the year 1340, affirms, that the Greeks learned this practice from the Franks. Hist. Byzant. l. x. p. 339. edit. fol. Genev. 1615. The word *Καβαλλarioi*, Knights, *Chevaliers*, occurs often in the Byzantine historians, even as early as Anna Comnena, who wrote about 1140. Alexiad. lib. xiii. p. 411. And we have in J. Cantacuzenus, "*την Καβαλαριων παρεχε τιμην*." He conferred the honour of Knighthood. This indeed is said of the Franks. Hist. ut supr. l. iii. cap. 25. And in the Greek poem now under consideration, one of the titles is, "*Πως εκοινηκεν ο Θεσευς τους δυο Θεβαιους Καβαλαριους*." How Theseus dubbed the two Theban Knights. lib. vii. Signatur. ν η ι ι. sol. vers.

MON and IPHIGENIA, where the names are entirely Grecian, and the scene laid in Rhodes, Cyprus, Crete, and other parts of Greece belonging to the imperial territory^d. But, to say no more of this, I have at present no sort of doubt of what I before asserted, that Boccaccio is the writer and inventor of this piece. Our Greek poem is in fact a literal translation from the Italian THESEID. The writer has translated the prefatory epistle addressed by Boccaccio to the Fiametta. It consists of twelve books, and is written in Boccaccio's octave stanza, the two last lines of every stanza rhyming together. The verses are of the iambic kind, and something like the VERSUS POLITICI, which were common among the Greek scholars a little before and long after Constantinople was taken by the Turks, in the year 1453. It will readily be allowed, that the circumstance of the stanzas and rhymes is very singular in a poem composed in the Greek language, and is alone sufficient to prove this piece to be a translation from Boccaccio. I must not forget to observe, that the Greek is extremely barbarous, and of the lowest period of that language.

It was a common practice of the learned and indigent Greeks, who frequented Italy and the neighbouring states about the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to translate the popular pieces of Italian poetry, and the romances or tales most in vogue, into these Greco-barbarous iambics^e. PASTOR FIDO was thus translated. The romance of ALEXANDER THE GREAT was also translated in the same manner by Deme- trius Zenus, who flourished in 1530, under the title of Αλεξανδρεὺς ὁ Μακεδων, and printed at Venice in the year 1529^f. In the very year, and at the same place, when and where our Greek poem on Theseus, or Palamon and Arcite, was printed, APOLLONIUS OF TYRE, another famous romance of the middle ages, was translated in the same man- ner, and entitled Διηγῆσις ὤραιωτατη Ἀπολλωνίου του εν Τυρω ῥημαδα^g.

^d Giorn. v. Nov. 1.

^e That is *versus politici* above mention- ed, a sort of loose iambic. See Langii Philologia Græco-barbara. Tzetzes's Chi- liads are written in this versification. See Du Cange, Gl. Gr. ii. col. 1196.

^f Crus. ut supr. p. 373. 399. See supr. vol. i. p. 132.

^g That is, rhythmically, poetically, Gr. Barb. Du Cange mentions, "Μεταγλω- ττισμα απο Λατινικης εις Ρωμαικην διη- γησις πολληπαθους Απολλωνιου του Τυρου." Ind. Auct. Gloss. Gr. Barb. ii. p. 36. col. b. Compare Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. vi. 821. I believe it was first printed at Venice, 1563. viz. "Historia Apollonii Tyanæi, [Tyrensis] Ven. 1563. Liber Eroticus, Gr. barb. lingua exaratus ad modum rhythmorum nostrorum, rarissimus audit," &c. Vogt. Catal. libr. rarior. p. 345. edit. 1753. I think it was reprinted at Venice, 1696. apud Nicol. Glycem. 8vo. In the works of Velserus, there is Nar-

ratio eorum quæ Apollonio regi acciderunt, &c. He says it was first written by some Greek author. Velseri Op. p. 697. edit. 1682. fol. The Latin is in Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. 39.—Bodl. F. 7. 7. And F. 11. 45. In the preface, Velserus, who died 1614, says, that he believes the original in Greek still remains at Constan- tinople, in the library of Manuel Eugene- nus. Montfaucon mentions a noble copy of this romance, written in the thir- teenth century, in the royal library at Paris. Bibl. MSS. p. 753. Compare MSS. Langb. Bibl. Bodl. vi. p. 15. *Gesta Apol- lonii*, &c. There is a manuscript in Saxon of the romance of Apollonius of Tyre. Wanley's Catal. apud Hickes, ii. 146. See Martin. Crusii Turco-Græc. p. 209. edit. 1594. Gower recites many stories of this romance in his *Confessio Amantis*. He calls Apollonius "a yonge, a freshe, a lustie knight." See Lib. viii. fol. 175 b.— 185 a. But he refers to Godfrey of Vi-

The story of king Arthur they also reduced into the same language. The learned Martinus Crusius, who introduced the Greco-barbarous language and literature into the German universities, relates, that his friends who studied at Padua sent him in the year 1564, together with Homer's *Iliad*, Ἀδᾶχαϊ REGIS ARTHURI, ALEXANDER above-mentioned, and other fictitious histories or story-books of a similar cast*. The French history or romance of BERTRAND DU GUESCELIN, printed at Abbeville in 1487¹, and that of BELISAIRE, or Belisarius, they rendered in the same language and metre, with the titles Διηγῆσις ἐξαιρετος Βελθανδρου του Ρωμαίου^m, and Ἱστορικὴ ἐξηγησις περὶ Βελλισαριου, &c.ⁿ Boccaccio himself, in the DECAMERON^o, mentions the story of Troilus

terbo's Pantheon, or universal Chronicle, called also *Memoria Seculorum*, partly in prose, partly verse, from the Creation of the world, to the year 1186. The author died in 1190.

—A Cronike in daies gone
The which is cleped Panteone, &c.

fol. 175 a. The play called Pericles Prince of Tyre, attributed to Shakspeare, is taken from this story of Apollonius as told by Gower, who speaks the Prologue. It existed in Latin before the year 900. See Barth. *Adversar.* lviii. cap. i. Chaucer calls him "of Tyre Apolloneus." *Prol. Man. L. Tale. v. 81. p. 50. Urr. edit.* and quotes from this romance,

How that the cursid king Antiochus
Brafte his daughter of hir maidinhede,
That is so horrible a tale to rede,
When he her drewe upon the pavement.

In the royal library there is "Histoire d'Apollin roy de Thir." *Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 C. ii. 2.* With regard to the French editions of this romance, the oldest I have seen is, "Plaisante et agreable Histoire d'Apollonius prince de Thyr en Affrique et roy d'Antioch, traduite par Gilles Corozet, Paris, 1530. 8vo." And there is an old black-letter edition, printed in quarto at Geneva, entitled, "La Chronique d'Appollin roy de Thir," At length the story appeared in a modern dress by M. le Brun, under the title of "Avantures d'Apollonius de Thyr," printed in twelves at Paris and Rotterdam, in 1710. And again at Paris the following year.

[In the edition of the *Gesta Romanorum*, printed at Rouen in 1521, and containing one hundred and eighty-one chapters, the history of Apollonius of Tyre occurs, ch. 153. This is the first of the additional chapters.—ADDITIONS.]

* So I translate "alios id genus minores libelloa." *Crus. ibid. p. 489.* Crusius was born in 1526, and died 1607.

¹ At the end of *Le Triumphe des neuf*

Preux, &c. fol. That is, The Nine Worthies.

^m See Du Cange, *Gl. Gr. Barb. ii. Ind. Auctor. p. 36. col. b.* This history contains Beltrand's, or Bertrand's amours with Χρυσάρζα, *Chrysarsa*, the king of Antioch's daughter.

ⁿ See Lambec. *Bibl. Cæsar. Lib. v. p. 264.* It is remarkable, that the story of *Date obolum Belisario* is not in Procopius, but in this romance. Probably Vandyck got this story from a modernised edition of it, called *BELLISAIRE ou le Conquerant*, Paris. 1643. 8vo. Which, however, is said in the title-page to be taken from Procopius. It was written by the sieur de Grenailles.

^o They sometimes applied their Greek iambs to the works of the antient Greek poets. Demetrius Zenus, above-mentioned, translated Homer's *Βατραχομυομαχία*: and Nicolaus Lucanus, the *Iliad*. The first was printed at Venice, and afterwards reprinted by Crusius, *Turco-Græc. p. 373.* The latter was also printed at Venice, 1526. apud Steph. Sabium. This Demetrius Zenus is said to be the author of the *Γαλεωμυομαχία*, or Battle of the Cats and Mice. See *Crus. ubi sup. 396.* And Fabric. *Bibl. Gr. i. 264. 223.* On account of the Greco-barbarous books which began to grow common, chiefly in Italy, about the year 1520, Stephen a Sabio, or Sabius, above-mentioned, the printer of many of them, published a Greco-barbarous lexicon at Venice, 1527, entitled, "CORONA PRETIOSA, Εἰσαγωγή νέα ἐπιγραφομένη Στεφανος χρησιμος, η̄γουν Στεφανος τιμιος, ὥστε μαθεῖν, ἀναγινώσκειν, γράφειν, νοεῖν, καὶ λαλεῖν τὴν ἰδιωτικὴν καὶ Ἀττικὴν γλῶσσην τῶν Γραικῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν γραμματικὴν καὶ τὴν ἰδιωτικὴν γλῶσσαν τῶν Λατίνων." It is a mixture of modern and antient Greek words, Latin and Italian. It was reprinted at Venice by Petrus Burana, 1546.

and Cressida in Greek verse; which I suppose had been translated by some of the fugitive Greeks with whom he was connected, from a romance on that subject; many antient copies of which now remain in the libraries of France^p. The story of FLORIUS AND PLATZFLORE, a romance which Ludovicus Vives with great gravity condemns under the name of *Florian and Blanca-Flor*, as one of the pernicious and unclassical popular histories current in Flanders about the year 1523^q, of which there are old editions in French, Spanish^r, and perhaps Italian, is likewise extant very early in Greek iambics, most probably as a translation into that language^s. I could give many others; but I hasten to lay before my readers some specimens both of the Italian and the Greek PALAMON AND ARCITE^t. Only premising, that both have about a thousand verses in each of the twelve books, and that the two first books are introductory: the first containing the war of Theseus with the Amazons, and the second that of Thebes, in which Palamon and Arcite are taken prisoners. Boccaccio thus describes the Temple of Mars.

N e icampi Tracii sotto icieli hyberni
D a tempesta continua agitati
D oue schieré di nimbi sempiterni
D a uenti or qua e or la trasmutati

^p See Lenglet's *Bibl. Rom.* p. 253. "Le Roman de Troilus." And Montfaucon, *Bibl. MSS.* p. 792. 793, &c. &c. There is, "L'Amore di Troleo e Griseida que si tratta in buone parte la Guerra di Troja, d'Angelo Leonico, Ven. 1553." in octave rhyme. 8vo. More will be said of this hereafter.

^q Lud. Viv. de Christiana Femina. lib. i. cap. cui tit. *Qui non legendi Scriptores*, &c. He lived at Bruges. He mentions other romances common in Flanders, Leonela and Canamor, Curias and Florela, and Pyramus and Thisbe.

^r Flores y Blancaflor. *En Alcalá*, 1512. 4to.—*Histoire Amoureuse de Flores et de Blanchefleur*, traduite de l'Espagnol par Jacques Vincent. Paris, 1554. 8vo.—*Florimont et Passeroze*, traduite de l'Espagnol en prose Française, Lyon, 15... 8vo. There is a French edition at Lyons, 1571. It was perhaps originally Spanish.

[The translation of Flores and Blancaflor in Greek iambics might also be made in compliment to Boccaccio. Their adventures make the principal subject of his *Philocopo*: but the story existed long before, as Boccaccio himself informs us, *L. i. p. 6. edit. 1723.* Flores and Blancaflor are mentioned as illustrious lovers by *Matfres Eymengau de Bezers*, a poet of Languedoc, in his *Breviari d' Amor*, dated in the year 1288. *MSS. Reg.*

19 C. i. fol. 199. This tale was probably enlarged in passing through the hands of Boccaccio. See *Canterb. T. iv. p. 169.—ADDITIONS.*]

[A German romance on this subject was translated by Konrad Fluke from the French of Robert d' Orleans, in the early part of the thirteenth century. The subject is referred to at an earlier period by several Provençal poets, and this, coupled with the theatre of its events, makes Warton's conjecture extremely probable, that it is of Spanish origin.—PRICE.]

^s See *supr.* p. 132, Note^b, where, for want of further information, I left this point doubtful.

^t For the use of the Greek *Theseid* I am obliged to the politeness of Mr. Stanley, who condescends to patronize and assist the studies he so well understands. I believe there is but one more copy in England, belonging to Mr. Ramsay the painter. Yet I have been told that Dr. George, provost of King's, had a copy. The first edition of the Italian book, no less valuable a curiosity, is in the excellent library of the very learned and communicative Dr. Askew. This is the only copy in England. See *Bibl. Smith. Addend. fol. xl. Venet. 1755. 4to.*—[I am informed, that Dr. George's books, among which was the Greek *Theseid*, were purchased by Lord Spencer.—ADDITIONS.]

I n uarii loghi ne iguazosi uerni
 E de aqua globi per fredo agropati
 G itati sono eneue tutta uia
 C he in giazio amano aman se induria

E una sekua sterile de robusti
 C erri doue eran folti e alti molto
 N odosi aspri rigidi e uetusti
 C he de ombra eterna ricopreno il uolto
 D el tristo suolo enfra li antichi fusti
 D i ben mille furor sempre rauolto
 V i si sentia grandissimo romore
 N e uera bestia anchora ne pastore

I n questa mide la cha delo idio
 A rmipotente questa edificata
 T utta de azzajo splendido e pulio
 D alquale era del sol riuerberata
 L aluce che aboreua il logho rio
 T utta differro era la stretta entrata
 E le porte eran de eterno admante
 F errato dogni parte tutte quante

E le le colone di ferro custei
 V ide che lo edificò sosteneano
 L i impeti de menti parue alei
 V eder che fieri dela porta usiano
 E il ciecho pechàre e ogne omei
 S imilmente quiui si uedeano
 V idiue le ire rosse come focho
 E la paura palida in quel locho

E con gli occulti ferri itradimenti
 V ide e le insidie con uista apparenza
 L i discordia sedea esanguinenti
 F erri auea in mano e ogni differenza
 E tutti i loghi pareano strepenti
 D aspre minaze e di crudel intenza
 E n mezo illocho la uertu tristissima
 S edea di degne laude pouerissima

V ideui ancora lo alegro furore
 E oltre acio con uolto sanguinoso
 L a morte armata uide elo stupore
 E ogni altare qui uera copioso
 D i sangue sol ne le bataglie fore
 D i corpi human cacciato e luminoso

E ra ciaschun di focho tolto a terre
 A rse e diffate per le triste guerre
 E t era il tempio tutto historiato"
 D i socil mano e di sopra ed intorno
 E cio che pria ui uide designato
 E ran le prede de nocte e di giorno
 T olto ale terre e qualunque sforzato
 F u era qui in habito musorno
 V ideanuissi le gente incatenate
 P orti di ferro e forteze spezate
 V edeui ancor le naue bellatrici
 I n uoti carri e li uolti guastati
 E i miseri pianti & infelici
 E t ogni forza con li aspecti e lati
 O gni ferita ancor si vedea lici
 E sangue con le terre mescolati
 E ogni logo con aspecto fiero
 S i uedea Marte turbido e altiero, &c.²

The Temple of Venus has these imageries.

P oi presso ase uidde passar bellezza
 S enza ornamento alchun se riguardando
 E gir con lei uidde piaceuolleza
 E luna laltra secho comendano
 P oi con lor uidde istarsi gioueneza
 D estra e adorna molto festegiando
 E daltra parte uidde el fole ardire
 L usinge e ruffiania in sieme gire
 I n mezo el locho in su alte colone
 D i rame uidde un tempio al qual dintorno.

² Thus, *Σροισματα* means paintings, properly history-paintings, and *ιστορειν*, and *ανιστορειν*, is to paint, in barbarous Greek. There are various examples in the Byzantine writers. In middle Latin *Historiographus* signifies literally a Painter. Perhaps our HISTORIOGRAPHER ROYAL was originally the king's *Illuminator*. *Ἱστοριογραφος μουσιατωρ* occurs in an Inscription published by Du Cange, *Dissertat. Joinv.* xxvii. p. 319. where *μουσιατωρ* implies an artist who painted in mosaic work called *μουσαιον*, or *μουσιον*, *Musivum*. In the Greek poem before us *Ἱστοριτας* is used for a Painter, lib. ii.

Εκ την παρουναν την ζωνν ολεποικειν
 ο Ἱστοριτας.

In the middle Latin writers we have *depingere HISTORIALITER*, to paint with histories or figures, viz. "Forinsecus debavit illud [delubrum] intrinsecus autem depinxit historialiter." Dudo de Act. Norman. l. iii. p. 153. Dante uses the Italian word before us in the same sense. Dante, *Purgat. Cant. x.*

Quivi era HISTORIATA l'alta gloria
 Del Roman Prince.—

Ἱστορια frequently occurs, simply for picture or representation in colours. Nilus Monach. lib. iv. Epist. 61. *Και ιστοριας πτηνων και ερπετων και βλαστηματων*. "PICTURES of birds, serpents, and plants." And in a thousand other instances. — L. vii.

D anzando giouenette uidde e done
 Q ual da se belle : e qual de habito adorno
 D iscente e schalze in giube e in gone
 E in cio sol dispendeano il giorno
 P oi sopra el tempio uidde uolitare
 P assere molte e columbi rigiare

E alentrata del tempio uicina
 V idde che si sedeua piana mente
 M adona pace : e in mano una cortina
 N anzi la porta tenea lieue mente
 A presso lei in uista assai tapina
 P acientia sedeua discreta mente
 P allida ne lo aspecto : e dogni parte
 E intorno alei uidde promesse e carte

P oi dentro al tempio entrata di sospiri
 V i senti un tumulto che giraua
 F ochoso tutto di caldi desiri
 Q uesto gialtri tutti aluminaua
 D i noue fiamme nate di martiri
 D i qua ciaschun di lagrime grondaui
 M osse da una dona cruda e ria
 C he uidde li chiamata gilosia, &c.

Some of these stanzas are thus expressed in the Greco-barbarous translation^w.

Εἰς τούτον εἶδε τὸν θεόν, τὸν οἶκον τὸν μέγαλον,
 ἀρματὰ πολλὰ σκληρὰ, κτισμένος ἦτον ὅλος.
 Ὅλοαμπρος γὰρ ἦτοναί, ἐλαμπεν ὡς τὸν ἥλιον,
 ὅταν ὁ ἥλιος ἐκρυνε, ἀστραπεν ὡς τὸν φέγγος.
 Ὅ τοπος ὅλος ἐλαμπεν, ἐκτὴν λαμπροτήταντου,
 τὸ ἐμπατον ὀλοσιδῆρον, καὶ τὰ στενωμάτωντου.
 Ἀπὸ διαμαντὴ πορτεστου, ἦσαν καὶ τὰ καρφία,
 σηδερομεναὶ δυνάτα, ἀπαπασαν μερία.

Κολοναὶς ἦσαν σιδηρῆς, πολλὰ χοντρές μεγαλαίς,
 ἀπανώτους ἐβαστεναι, ὅλον τὸν οἶκον κεινον.
 Ἐκεῖδε τὴν βουρκοτήταν, τὸν λογισμόν ἐκεινῶν,
 ὀποκτὴν πορταν βγενασί, ἀγροὶ καὶ θυμομενού.
 Καὶ τὴν τυφλὴν τὴν ἁμαρτιαν καὶ τὸ οὐαὶ καὶ οἶχον
 ἐκεῖσε ἐφαινοντήσαν, ὅμοιον σαν καὶ τ' ἄλλα.
 Καὶ ταῖς ὀργαῖς ἐσκευθῆκεν, κοκιναὶς ὡς φωτῖα,
 τὸν φόβον εἶδε λοχλομον, ἐκεῖσε σμῖαν μερία.

^w From which it was thought proper to give no larger specimen, as the language is intelligible only to a very few curious scholars.

Μετα κοιφα τα σιδερὰ, εἶδε δημηγερσiais,
 καὶ ταις φάλσιαις πονγίνονται, καὶ μοιάζουν δικαιοσυνες.
 Ἐκεῖον ἀσυνήθασια, μετὰ διαφωνiais,
 ἐβασα εἰς τὸ χερήτης, σιδερὰ ματομένα.
 Ὅλος ὁ τοπος εἰδειχνε, ἀγριος καὶ χολιασμενος,
 ἀγριοις γὰρ φοβερismoις, κωμοτατην μαλεαν.
 Μεσα τον τοπον τουτονε, ἡ χαρῆα τυχεμενη,
 ἐκαθετον ὁ πομπρεπε, νὰ εἶναι παινεμενη.²

In passing through Chaucer's hands, this poem has received many new beauties. Not only those capital fictions and descriptions, the temples of Mars, Venus, and Diana, with their allegorical paintings, and the figures of Lycurgus and Emetrius with their retinue, and so much heightened by the bold and spirited manner of the British bard, as to strike us with an air of originality*. In the mean time it is to be remarked, that as Chaucer in some places has thrown in strokes of his own, so in others he has contracted the uninteresting and tedious pro-

* L. vii. Sign. μ γ.

• [Boccaccio's situations and incidents, respecting the lovers, are often inartificial and unaffected. In the Italian poet, Emilia walking in the garden and singing, is seen and heard first by Arcite, who immediately calls Palamon. They are both equally, and at the same point of time, captivated with her beauty; yet without any expressions of jealousy, or appearance of rivalry. But in Chaucer's management of the commencement of this amour, Palamon by seeing Emilia first, acquires an advantage over Arcite, which ultimately renders the catastrophe more agreeable to poetical justice. It is an unnatural and unanimated picture which Boccaccio presents, of the two young princes violently enamoured of the same object, and still remaining in a state of amity. In Chaucer, the quarrel between the two friends, the foundation of all the future beautiful distress of the piece, commences at this moment, and causes a conversation full of mutual rage and resentment. This rapid transition from a friendship cemented by every tie, to the most implacable hostility, is on this occasion not only highly natural, but produces a sudden and unexpected change of circumstances, which enlivens the detail, and is always interesting. Even afterwards, when Arcite is released from the prison by Perithous, he embraces Palamon at parting. And in the fifth book of the Theseide, when Palamon goes armed to the grove in search of Arcite, whom he finds sleeping, they meet on terms of much civility and friendship, and in all the mechanical

formality of the manners of romance. In Chaucer, this dialogue has a very different cast. Palamon, at seeing Arcite, feels a *colde swerde* glide throughout his heart: he starts from his ambuscade, and instantly salutes Arcite with the appellation of *false traitour*. And although Boccaccio has merit in discriminating the characters of the two princes, by giving Palamon the impetuosity of Achilles, and Arcite the mildness of Hector; yet Arcite by Boccaccio is here injudiciously represented as too moderate and pacific. In Chaucer he returns the salute with the same degree of indignation, draws his sword, and defies Palamon to single combat. So languid is Boccaccio's plan of this amour, that Palamon does not begin to be jealous of Arcite, till he is informed in the prison, that Arcite lived as a favourite servant with Theseus in disguise, yet known to Emilia. When the lovers see Emilia from the window of their tower, she is supposed by Boccaccio to observe them, and not to be displeased at their signs of admiration. This circumstance is justly omitted by Chaucer, as quite unnecessary; and not tending either to promote the present business, or to operate in any distant consequences. On the whole, Chaucer has eminently shewn his good sense and judgement in rejecting the superfluities, and improving the general arrangement of the story. He frequently corrects or softens Boccaccio's false manners: and it is with singular address he has often abridged the Italian poet's ostentatious and pedantic parade of ancient history and mythology.—ADDITIONS.]

licity of narrative, which he found in the Italian poet. And that he might avoid a servile imitation, and indulge himself as he pleased in an arbitrary departure from the original, it appears that he neglected the embarrassment of Boecacio's stanza, and preferred the English heroic couplet, of which this poem affords the first conspicuous example extant in our language.

The situation and structure of the temple of Mars are thus described.

—————A forest

In which ther wonneth neyther man ne best :
 With knotty knarry barrein trees old,
 Of stubbes sharpe, and hidous to behold,
 In which ther ran a romble and a swough^a.
 As though a storme shuld bersten every bough.
 And downward from an hill, under a bent^b,
 Ther stood the temple of Mars armipotent,
 Wrought all of burned^c stele : of which th'entree
 Was longe, and streite, and gastly for to see :
 And therout came a rage and swiche a vise^d
 That it made all the gates for to rise^e.
 The northern light in at the dore shone,
 For window on the wall ne was ther none,
 Thurgh which men mighten any light discernen.
 The dore was all of athamant eterne,
 Yclenched overthwart and endelong,
 With yren tough, and for to make it strong.
 Every piler the temple to sustene
 Was tonnè-grete^f of yren bright and shene.

The gloomy sanctuary of this tremendous fane was adorned with these characteristical imageries.

Ther saw I first the derke imagining
 Of Felonie, and alle the compassing :
 The cruel Irè, red as any glede^g.
 The Pikepurse, and eke the pale Drede^h ;
 The Smiler with the knif under the clokeⁱ :
 The shepen brenning with the blakè smoke^k ;

^a sound.

^b precipice [declivity].

^c burnished.

^d noise. [Perhaps we should read *rese*, a Saxon word signifying *violence*, impetuosity. If this correction be admitted, we must also read in the next line *rese* for *rise*, with MS. A.—TYRWHITT.]

^e "it strained the doors : almost forced them from their hinges."

^f a great tun ; a tun-weight.

^g coal.

^h fear.

ⁱ Dryden has converted this image into clerical hypocrisy, under which he takes an opportunity of gratifying his spleen against the clergy. Knight's Tale, B. ii. p. 56. edit. 1713 :

Next stood Hypocrisy with *holy* leer,
 Soft-smiling and demurely looking down,
 But hid the dagger underneath the gown.

^k Perhaps for *shepyn* we should read *chepyn*, or *cheping*, i. e. a town, a place

The Treson of the mording in the bedde¹,
 The open Werre with woundes all bebledde;
 Conteke^m with bloody knifⁿ, and sharp Manace,
 All full of chirking^o was that sory place!
 The sleer of himself yet saw I there,
 His herte-blood hath bathed all his here,
 The naile ydriven in the shode on hight,
 The colde deth, with mouth gaping upright^r.
 Amiddes of the temple sate Mischance,
 With discomfourt, and sory countenance.
 Yet saw I Woodnesse^s laughing in his rage.
 Armed complaint, outhees, and fiers Outrage;
 The carraine in the bush, with throte ycorven^t,
 A thousand slain, and not of qualme ystorven^u.
 The tirant, with the prey by force yraft,
 The toun destroyed, there was nothing laft,
 Yet saw I brent the shippes hoppesteres*,
 The hunte^v ystrangled with the wilde beres,

of trade. This line is therefore to represent, A City on fire. In Wickliffe's Bible we have, "It is lyk to children sittynge in CHEPYNGE." Matt. xi. 16. [The stable, from the Sax. *scypen*, which signifies the same thing.—TYRWHITT.]

¹ Dryden has lowered this image,

Th' assassinating wife. — —

^m strife.

ⁿ This image is likewise entirely misrepresented by Dryden, and turned to a satire on the Church.

Contest with sharpen'd knives in *cloysters* drawn,
 And all with blood bespread the *holy lawn*.

^o Any disagreeable noise, or hollow murmur. Properly, the jarring of a door upon the hinges. See also Chaucer's Boeth. p. 364 b. Urr. edit. "When the felde *chirkinge* agrisethe of the colde, by the fellnesse of the wind Aquilon." The original is, "Vento Campus inhorruit."

^r This couplet refers to the suicide in the preceding one; who is supposed to kill himself by driving a nail into his head [in the night], and to be found dead and cold in his bed, with his "mouth gapyng upryght." This is properly the meaning of his "hair being bathed in blood." *Shode*, in the text, is literally a *bush of hair*. Dryden has finely paraphrased this passage. [The old printed text, on which Warton's paraphrase is founded, read, "in the shode anyght."—PRICE.]

^s madness.

^t throat cut.

^u "slain,—not destroyed by sickness or dying a natural death."

* [It is needless to trouble the reader with the various readings and interpretations of this passage. To *hoppe*, in Saxon (though with us it has acquired a ludicrous sense), and the termination *ster* or *ster*, was used to denote a female, like *trix* in Latin. As therefore a female baker was called a *bakester*, a female brewer a *brewester*, a female webbe or weaver a *webbester*, so I conceive a female hopper or dancer was called a *hoppester*. It is well known that a ship in most languages is considered as a female Though the idea of a ship dancing on the waves be not an unpoetical one, the adjunct *hoppesteres* does not seem so proper in this place as the *bellatrici* of the *Theseida*, l. vii.

Vedevi ancor le navi *bellatrici*
 In voti carri e li volti guastati.

TYRWHITT.

This note has been given to justify the adoption of Mr. Tyrwhitt's reading. It is to be regretted that this distinguished critic thought it right to withhold the "various readings of this passage," since few could have been more obscure or apparently more incongruous than the one upon which his election has fallen. The obvious meaning of "shippes hoppesteres," (admitting Mr. Tyrwhitt's etymology to be correct,) is *the dancers of the ship*; for to interpret it *ships, dancers*, quasi

The sow freting^v the child right in the cradel,
 The cokee yscalled, for all his long ladel.
 Nought was foryete by th' infortune of Marte;
 The carter^x overridden by his carte^y,
 Under the wheel full low he lay adoun.
 Ther were also of Martes division,
 The Armerer, and the Bowyer, and the Smith^z
 That forgeth sharpè swerdes on his stith^z.
 And all above, depeinted in a tour,
 Saw I Conquest sitting in gret honour,
 With thilke sharpe swerd over his hed,
 Y-hanging by a subtil twined thred.^a

This groupe is the effort of a strong imagination, unacquainted with selection and arrangement of images. It is rudely thrown on the canvas without order or art. In the Italian poets, who describe every thing, and who cannot, even in the most serious representations, easily suppress their natural predilection for burlesque and familiar imagery, nothing is more common than this mixture of sublime and comic ideas^b. The form of Mars follows, touched with the impetuous dashes of a savage and spirited pencil.

The statue^c of Mars upon a carte^d stood,
 Armed, and loked grim as he were wood^e.

the dancing ships, would not only be against all analogy, but leaves the sense and the sentence incomplete. The old reading "shippes upon steris" is not without its difficulties, and if correct might perhaps be interpreted "ships upon steyeres," or as we now should say, ships upon the stocks. But it is idle to offer conjectures upon a text which may rest upon no better authority than the whim of an indolent transcriber, or the mistake of a printer's compositor. An inspection of the manuscripts can alone decide the preference due to one reading over another, and this must be left to some future editor of the *Canterbury Tales*. The context, however, would lead one to believe that Chaucer intended to heighten his imagery by a strong antithesis, and to paint a fleet destroyed by fire upon the surface of the water. It might be right to observe, that in Saxon and all the Northern languages, a ship is of the neuter gender.—PRICE.]

^v [the huntsman; from the Saxon *hunta*.—TYRWHITT.]

^x devouring.

^z charioteer.

^y chariot.

^a anvil.

^a v. 1998. p. 16. Urr.

^b There are many other instances of this mixture. v. 1179. "We strive as did the houndis for the bone." v. 1264. "We fare as he that dronk is as a mouse," &c. v. 2762. "Farewel physick! Go bere the corse to church." v. 2521. "Some said he lokid grim and he wolde fight," &c.

^c form, or figure. Statuary is not implied here. Thus he mentions the *statue* of Mars on a banner, *supr.* v. 977. I cannot forbear adding in this place these fine verses of Mars arming himself in haste, from our author's *Complaint of Mars and Venus*, v. 99.

He throwth on his helme of huge weight;
 And girt him with his swordes, and in his hond

His mighty spere, as he was wont to feight,

He shekith so, that it almost to wonde.

Here we see the force of description without a profusion of idle epithets. These verses are all *sinew*: they have nothing but verbs and substantives.

^d chariot.

^e mad.

A wolf ther stood beforne him at his fete
 With eyen red, and of a man he ete.
 With subtil pensil peinted was this storie,
 In redouting^f of Mars and of his glorie.^g

But the ground-work of this whole description is in the Thebaid of Statius. I will make no apology for transcribing the passage at large, that the reader may judge of the resemblance. Mercury visits the temple of Mars, situated in the frozen and tempestuous regions of Thrace.^h

Hic steriles delubra notat Mavortia sylvas,
 Horrescitque tuens : ubi mille furoribus illi
 Cingitur, adverso domus immansueta sub Æmo.
 Ferrea compago laterum, ferro arcta teruntur
 Limina, ferratis incumbunt tecta columnis.
 Læditur adversum Phœbi jubar, ipsaque sedem
 Lux timet, et dirus contristat sydera fulgor.
 Digna loco statio. Primis subit Impetus amens
 E foribus, cæcumque Nefas, Iræque rubentes,
 Exanguesque Metus ; occultisque ensibus astant
 Insidiæ, geminumque tenens Discordia ferrum.
 Innumeris strepit aula minis. Tristissima Virtus
 Stat medio, lætusque Furor, vultuque cruento
 Mors armata sedet. Bellorum solus in aris
 Sanguis, et incensis qui raptus ab urbibus ignis.
 Terrarum exuviæ circum, et fastigia templi
 Captæ insignibant gentes, cœlataque ferro
 Fragmina portarum, bellatricesque carinæ,
 Et vacui currus, protritaque curribus ora.ⁱ

Statius was a favourite writer with the poets of the middle ages. His bloated magnificence of description, gigantic images, and pompous diction, suited their taste, and were somewhat of a piece with the romances

^f recording, [reverence, T.]

^g v. 2043.

^h Chaucer points out this very temple in the introductory lines, v. 1981.

Like to the estries of the grisly place
 That hight the *grete temple of Mars in Thrace*.

In thilke cold and frosty region,
 Ther as Mars has his sovræn mansion.

ⁱ Stat. Theb. vii. 40. And below we have Chaucer's *Doors of adamant sterne*, viz. v. 68.

— Clausæque adamante perenni
 Dissiliere fores. — — —

Statius also calls Mars, *Armipotens*, v. 78.

A sacrifice is copied from Statius, where says Chaucer, v. 2296.

And did her thingis as men might behold
 In *Stace of Thebes*. — — —

I think Statius is copied in a simile, v. 1640. The introduction of this poem is also taken from the Thebaid, xii. 545. 481. 797. Compare Chaucer's lines, v. 870 seq. v. 917 seq. v. 996 seq. The funeral pyre of Arcite is also translated from Theb. vi. 195 seq. See Ch. v. 2940 seq. I likewise take this opportunity of observing, that Lucretius and Plato are imitated in this poem ; together with many passages from Ovid and Virgil.

they so much admired. They neglected the gentler and genuine graces of Virgil, which they could not relish. His pictures were too correctly and chastely drawn to take their fancies: and truth of design, elegance of expression, and the arts of composition were not their objects^k. In the mean time we must observe, that in Chaucer's Temple of Mars many personages are added; and that those which existed before in Statius have been retouched, enlarged, and rendered more distinct and picturesque by Boccacio and Chaucer. Arcite's address to Mars, at entering the temple, has great dignity, and is not copied from Statius.

O strongè god, that in the regnes cold
Of Trace honoured art, and lord yhold!
And hast in every regne, and every lond,
Of armes al the bridel in thin hond;
And hem fortunist, as thee list devise,
Accept of me my pitous sacrifice^l.

The following portrait of Lycurgus, an imaginary king of Thrace, is highly charged, and very great in the gothic style of painting.

^k In *Troilus and Cresside* he has translated the arguments of the twelve books of the *Thebaid* of Statius. See B. v. p. 1479 seq.

[But to be more particular as to these imitations.

Ver. 900. p. 8. Urr. edit.

A company of ladys twey and twey, &c.

Thus Theseus, at his return in triumph from conquering Scythia, is accosted by the dames of Thebes, Stat. Theb. xii. 519.

*Jamque domos patrias, Scythicæ post
aspera gentis*

*Prælia, laurigero subeuntem Thesea curru
Lætifici plausus, &c. &c.*

*Paulum et ab insessis mœstæ Pelopeides
aris*

*Promovere gradum, seriemque et dona
triumphi*

Mirantur, victique animo rediere mariti.

Atque ubi tardavit currus, et ab axe superbo

*Explorat causas victor, poscitque benigna
Aure preces; orsa ante alias Capaneia con-*

jux,
Belliger Ægide, &c.

Chaucer here copies Statius, (v. 861-966.)

Kn. T. from v. 519. to v. 600. Theb. See also *ibid.* 465 seq.

V. 930. p. 9.

Here in the Temple of the goddess Clemence, &c.

Statius mentions the temple of Clemency

as the asylum where these ladies were assembled, Theb. xii. 481.

*Urbe fuit media, nulli concessa potentum
Ara deum, mitis posuit Clementia sedem,
&c.*

V. 2947.

Ne what jewellis men into the fire cast,
&c.

Literally from Statius, Theb. vi. 206.

*Ditantur flammæ, non unquam opulenter
illa*

Ante cinis; crepitant gemmæ, &c.

But the whole of Arcite's funeral is minutely copied from Statius. More than a hundred parallel lines on this subject might be produced from each poet. In Statius the account of the trees felled for the pyre, with the consternation of the Nymphs, takes up more than twenty-four lines. v. 84-116. In Chaucer about thirteen, v. 2922-2937. In Boccacio, six stanzas. B. xi. Of the three poets, Statius is most reprehensible, the first author of this ill-placed and unnecessary description, and who did not live in a Gothic age. The statues of Mars and Venus I imagined had been copied from Fulgentius, Boccacio's favorite mythographer. But Fulgentius says nothing of Mars: and of Venus, that she only stood in the sea on a couch, attended by the Graces. It is from Statius that Theseus became a hero of romance. —ADDITIONS.]

^l v. 2375.

Ther maist thou se, coming with Palamon,
 Lycurge himself, the grete king of Trace;
 Blake was his berde, and manly was his face:
 The cerceles of his eyen in his hed
 They gloweden betwixten yalwe and red:
 And like a griffon loked he about,
 With kemped heres on his browes stout;
 His limmes gret, his braunes hard and stronge,
 His shouldres brode, his armes rounnd and longe.
 And as the guise was in his contree
 Ful highe upon a char of gold stood he:
 With foure white bolles in the trais.
 Instead of cote-armure, on his harnais
 With nayles yelwe, and bright as any gold,
 He hadde a beres^a skin cole-blake for old.
 His longe here was kempt behind his bak,
 As any ravenes fetherit shone for blake.
 A wreth of gold armgrete^o, of hugè weight,
 Upon his hed sate full of stones bright,
 Of fine rubins, and of diamants.
 About his char ther wenten white alauns^p,
 Twenty and mo, as gret as any stere,
 To huntun at the leon or the dere;
 And folwed him with mosel^q fast ybound,
 Colered with gold^r and torretes^s filed^t round.
 A hundred lordes had he in his route,
 Armed full wel, with hertes sterne and stoute.^u

^a a bear's.

^o as big as your arm.

^p greyhounds. A favourite species of dogs in the middle ages. In the antient pipe-rolls, payments are frequently made in greyhounds. Rot. Pip. an. 4. Reg. Johann. [A.D. 1203.] "Rog. Constabul. Cestrie debet D. Marcas, et X. palfridos et X. *laissas Leporariorum* pro habenda terra Vidonis de Loverell de quibus debet reddere per ann. C. M." *Ten leashes of greyhounds.* Rot. Pip. an. 9. Reg. Johann. [A.D. 1208.] "SUTHANT. Johan. Teingre debet C. M. et X. *leporarios magnos, pulchros, et bonos, de redemptione sua,*" &c. Rot. Pip. an. 11. Reg. Johan. [A.D. 1210.] "EVERVEYSIRE. Rog. de Mallvell redd. comp. de I. palefrido velociter currente, et II. *Laisiis leporariis* pro habendis literis deprecatoriis ad Matildam de M." I could give a thousand other instances of the sort. [*Alano* is the Spanish name of a species of dog which the dictionaries call a mastiff.—TYRWHITT.]

^q muzzle.

^r In Hawes's Pastime of Pleasure, [written temp. Hen. VII.] Fame is attended with two greyhounds; on whose golden collars Grace and Governauce are inscribed in diamond letters. See next note.

^s rings; the fastening of dogs' collars. They are often mentioned in the INVENTORY of furniture, in the royal palaces of Henry the Eighth, above-cited. MSS. Harl. 1419. In the *Castle of Windsor*. Article COLLARS. f. 409. "Two greyhounds collars of crimson velvett and cloth of gold, lacking *torrettes*."—"Two other collars with the kinges armes, and at the ende portcullis and rose."—"Item, a collar embrowdered with pomegranates and roses with *turretts* of silver and gilt."—"A collar garnished with stole-worke with one shallop shelle of silver and gilt, with *torrettes* and pendautes of silver and guilte."—"A collar of white velvett, embrowdered with perles, the swivels of silver."

^t filed; highly polished.

^u v. 2129.

The figure of Emetrius king of India, who comes to the aid of Arcite, is not inferior in the same style, with a mixture of grace.

With Arcita, in stories as men find,
The gret Emetrius, the king of Inde,
Upon a stedè bay, trapped in stele,
Covered with cloth of gold diapred^w wele,
Came riding like the god of armes Mars:
His cote-armure was of a cloth of Tars^x,
Couched with perles, white, and round and grete;
His sadel was of brent^y gold new ybete,
A mantelet upon his shouldres hanging,
Bretfull^z of rubies red, as fire sparkling.
His crispè here like ringes^a was yronne,
And that was yelwe, and glitered as the sonne.
His nose was high, his eyen bright citrin^b,
His lippes round, his colour was sanguin.
And a fewe fraknes in his face ysprent^c,
Betwixen yelwe and blake somdele ymeint^d.
And as a leon he his loking caste^e.
Of five and twenty yere his age I caste.
His berd was well begonnen for to spring,
His vois was as a trompe thondiring.
Upon his hed he wered, of laurer grene
A gerlond freshe, and lusty for to sene.
Upon his hond he bare for his deduit
An egle tame, as any lily white^f.
An hundred lordes had he with him there,
All armed, save hir hedes, in all hir gere^g.
About this king ther ran on every part
Full many a tame leon, and leopart.^h

The banner of Mars displayed by Theseus, is sublimely conceived.

The red statue of Mars, with spere and targe,
So shineth in his white banner large
That al the felde gliteren up and doun.ⁱ

^w See this word explained above, vol. i. p. 177.

^x Not of Tarsus in Cilicia. It is rather an abbreviation for *Tartarin*, or *Tartarium*. See Chaucer's *Flowre and Leafe*, v. 212.

On every trumpe hanging a brode bannere
Of fine *Tartarium* full richely bete.

That it was a costly stuff appears from hence:—"Et ad faciendum unum Jupoun de *Tartaryn* blu pouderat. cum garteriis blu paratis cum boucles et pendants de argento deaurato." Comp. J. Coke *Provisoris Magn. Garderob. temp. Edw. III. ut*

supr. It often occurs in the wardrobe-accounts for furnishing tournaments. Du Cange says, that this was a fine cloth manufactured in Tartary. Gloss. *Tartarium*. But Skinner in V. derives it from Tortona in the Milanese. He cites Stat. 4 Hen. VIII. c. vi.

^y burnt, burnished.

^z quite full.

^a rings.

^b lemon-colour. Lat. *Citrinus*.

^c sprinkled.

^d "a mixture of black and yellow."

^e cast, darted. ^f See vol. i. p. 169.

^g armour. ^h v. 2157. ⁱ v. 977.

This poem has many strokes of pathetic description, of which these specimens may be selected.

Upon that other side Palamon
Whan that he wist Arcita was ygon,
Swiche sorwe he maketh, that the grete tour
Resounded of his yelling and clamour :
The pure fetters on his shinnes grete
Were of his bitter salte teres wete.^k

Arcite is thus described, after his return to Thebes, where he despairs of seeing Emilia again.

His slepe, his mete, his drinke, is him byraft ;
That lene he wex, and drie as is a shaft :
His eyen holwe, and grisly to behold
His hewe falwe, and pale as ashen^l cold :
And solitary he was, and ever alone,
And wailing all the night, making his mone.
And if he herdè song or instrument,
Than wold he wepe, he mighte not be stent^m.
So feble were his spirites and so low,
And changed so, that no man coude know
His speche, ne his vois, though men it herd.ⁿ

Palamon is thus introduced in the procession of his rival Arcite's funeral :

Tho came this woful Theban Palamon
With flotery^o berd, and ruggy ashy heres,
In clothes blake ydropped all with teres,
And, (passing over of weping Emelie,)
Was reufullest of all the compaignie.^p

To which may be added the surprise of Palamon, concealed in the forest, at hearing the disguised Arcite, whom he supposes to be the squire of Theseus, discover himself at the mention of the name of Emilia.

—————Thrugout his herte
He felt a colde swerd sodenly glide :
For ire he quoke, no lenger wolde he hide,
And whan that he had herd Arcites tale,
As he were wood, with face ded and pale,
He sterte him up out of the bushes thikke, &c.^q

A description of the morning must not be omitted ; which vies, both in sentiment and expression, with the most finished modern poetical

^k v. 1277.

^l ashes.

buffata) may be said to flote upon the air.

^m stayed.

ⁿ v. 1363.

—TYRWHITT.]

^o squallid. [*Flotery* seems literally to mean floating ; as hair dishevelled (*ra-*

^p v. 2884.

^q v. 1576.

landscape, and finely displays our author's talent at delineating the beauties of nature.

The besy larke, messenger of day,
Saleweth^r in hire song the morwe gray;
And fry Phebus riseth up so bright,
That all the orient laugheth of the sight^{*}:
And with his stremes drieth in the greves^t
The silver dropes hanging on the leves.^u

Nor must the figure of the blooming Emilia, the most beautiful object of this vernal picture, pass unnoticed.

———— Emelie, that fayrer was to sene
Than is the lilie upon his stalke grene;
And fresher than the May with floures newe,
(For with the rose colour strof hire hewe).^w

In other parts of his works he has painted morning scenes *con amore*: and his imagination seems to have been peculiarly struck with the charms of a rural prospect at sun-rising.

We are surprised to find, in a poet of such antiquity, numbers so nervous and flowing: a circumstance which greatly contributed to render Dryden's paraphrase of this poem the most animated and harmonious piece of versification in the English language. I cannot leave the KNIGHT'S TALE without remarking, that the inventor of this poem appears to have possessed considerable talents for the artificial construction of a story. It exhibits unexpected and striking turns of fortune; and abounds in those incidents which are calculated to strike the fancy by opening resources to sublime description, or interest the heart by pathetic situations. On this account, even without considering the poetical and exterior ornaments of the piece, we are hardly disgusted with the mixture of manners, the confusion of times, and the like violations of propriety, which this poem, in common with all others of its age, presents in almost every page. The action is supposed to have happened soon after the marriage of Theseus with Hippolita, and the death of Creon in the siege of Thebes: but we are soon transported into more recent periods. Sunday, the celebration of matins, judicial astrology, heraldry, tilts and tournaments, knights of England, and targets of Prussia^x, occur in the city of Athens under the reign of Theseus.

^{*} saluteth.

^u See Dante, Purgat. c. i. p. 234.

[For *Orient*, perhaps *Orisount*, or the *horison*, is the true reading. So the edition of Chaucer in 1561. So also the barbarous Greek poem on this story, 'Ο Ουρανός ὁλος γελα. Dryden seems to have read, or to have made out of this misspelling of *Horison*, *ORIENT*.—The ear

instructs us to reject this emendation.—
ADDITIONS.]

^t groves, bushes.

^w v. 1493.

^x v. 1037.

^y The knights of the Teutonic order were settled in Prussia, before 1300. See also Ch. Prol. v. 53; where tournaments in Prussia are mentioned. Arcite quotes a fable from Æsop, v. 1179.

SECTION XIII.

The subject of Chaucer continued. His Romaunt of the Rose. William of Lorris and John of Meun. Specimens of the French Le Roman de la Rose. Improved by Chaucer. William of Lorris excels in allegorical personages. Petrarch dislikes this poem.

CHAUCER'S ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE is translated from a French poem entitled LE ROMAN DE LA ROSE. It was begun by William of Lorris, a student in jurisprudence, who died about the year 1260^a. Being left unfinished, it was completed by John of Meun, a native of a little town of that name, situated on the river Loire near Orleans, who seems to have flourished about the year 1310^b. This poem is esteemed by the French the most valuable piece of their old poetry. It is far beyond the rude efforts of all their preceding romancers: and they have nothing equal to it before the reign of Francis the First, who died in the year 1547. But there is a considerable difference in the merit of the two authors. William of Lorris, who wrote not one quarter of the poem, is remarkable for his elegance and luxuriance of description, and is a beautiful painter of allegorical personages. John of Meun is a writer of another cast. He possesses but little of his predecessor's inventive and poetical vein; and in that respect was not properly qualified to finish a poem begun by William of Lorris. But he has strong satire, and great liveliness^c. He was one of the wits of the court of Charles le Bel.

The difficulties and dangers of a lover, in pursuing and obtaining the object of his desires, are the literal argument of this poem. This design is couched under the allegory of a Rose, which our lover after frequent obstacles gathers in a delicious garden. He traverses vast ditches, scales lofty walls, and forces the gates of adamantine and almost impregnable castles. These enchanted fortresses are all inhabited by various divinities; some of which assist, and some oppose, the lover's progress^d.

Chaucer has luckily translated all that was written by William of

^a Fauchet, p. 198.

^b Id. *ibid.* p. 200. He also translated Boethius De Consolatione, and Abelard's Letters, and wrote Answers of the Sybills, &c.

^c The poem consists of 22734 verses. William of Lorris's part ends with v. 4149. viz.

A peu que je ne m'en desespoir.

^d In the preface of the edition printed in the year 1538, all this allegory is turned

to religion. The Rose is proved to be a state of grace, or divine wisdom, or eternal beatitude, or the Holy Virgin to which heretics cannot gain access. It is the white Rose of Jericho, *Quasi plantatio Rosæ in Jericho*, &c. &c. The chemists, in the mean time, made it a search for the Philosopher's Stone; and other professions, with laboured commentaries, explained it into their own respective sciences.

Lorris^e: he gives only part of the continuation of John of Meun^f. How far he has improved on the French original, the reader shall judge. I will exhibit passages selected from both poems; respectively placing the French under the English, for the convenience of comparison. The renovation of nature in the month of May is thus described.

That it was May, thus dremed me^g,
In time of love and jollite,

* See Occleve's Letter of Cupide, written 1402. Urry's Chaucer, p. 536. v. 283. who calls John of Meun the author of the Romaunt of the Rose.

^f Chaucer's poem consists of 7699 verses; and ends with this verse of the original, viz. v. 13105.

Vous aurez absolution.

But Chaucer has made several omissions in John of Meun's part, before he comes to this period. He has translated all William of Lorris's part, as I have observed; and his translation of that part ends with v. 4432. viz.

Than shuldin I fallin in wanhope.

Chaucer's cotemporaries called his Romant of the Rose, a translation. Lydgate says that Chaucer

———Notably did his businesse
By grete avyse his wittes to dispose,
To translate the ROMANS OF THE ROSE.

Prol. Boch. st. vi. It is manifest that Chaucer took no pains to disguise his translation. He literally follows the French, in saying, that a river was "lesse than *Saine*," i. e. the Seine at Paris. v. 118. "No wight in all Paris." v. 7157. A grove has more birds "than ben in all the reime of *Fraunce*." v. 495. He calls a pine, "A tree in *France* men call a pine." v. 1457. He says of roses, "so faire werin never in *Rone*." v. 1674. "That for Paris ne for Pavie." v. 1654. He has sometimes reference to French ideas, or words, not in the original. As "Men clepin hem Sereins in France." v. 684. "From Jerusalem to Burgoine." v. 554. "Grein de Paris." v. 1369. Where Skinner says, *Paris* is contracted for *Paradise*. In mentioning minstrells and juglers, he says, that some of them "Songin songes of Lorraine." v. 776. He adds,

For in Lorraine there notis be
Full swettr than in *this contre*.

There is not a syllable of these songs, and singers, of Lorraine, in the French. By the way, I suspect that Chaucer translated this poem while he was at Paris. There are also many allusions to English affairs, which I suspected to be Chaucer's; but

they are all in the French original. Such as "Hornpipis of Cornevaile." v. 4250. These are called in the original, "Chalemeaux de Cornouaille." v. 3991. A knight is introduced, allied to king "Arthour of Bretaine." v. 1199. who is called, "Bon roy Artus de Bretaine." Orig. v. 1187. Sir Gawin, and Sir Kay, two of Arthur's knights, are characterised, v. 2206. seq. See Orig. v. 2124. where the word *Keulx* is corrupt for *Keie*. But there is one passage, in which he mentions a *Bachelere* as fair as "The Lordis sonne of Windisore." v. 1250. This is added by Chaucer, and intended as a compliment to some of his patrons. In the *Legende of good Women*, Cupid says to Chaucer, v. 329.

For in plain text, withoutin nede of glose,
Thou hast *translatid* the Romaunt of the Rose.

[Cornouaille here mentioned was a part of the province of Bretagne in France. Mr. Warton must have consulted some French MS. respecting the singers of Lorraine, for the passage certainly occurs in some of the printed editions, and in several MSS.—Douce.]

* Qu'on joli moys de May songeoye,
Ou temps amoureux plein de joye,
Que toute chose si s'esgaye,
Si qu'il n'y a buissons ne haye
Qui en May parer ne se vueille,
Et couvrir de nouvelle fueille:
Les boys recouvrent leur verdure,
Qui sont sces tant qui l'hiver dure;
La terre mesmes s'en orgueille
Pour la rougée qui ta mouille,
En oubliant la povreté
Où elle a tout l'hiver esté;
Lors devient la terre si gobe,
Qu'elle veult avoir neuve robe;
Si sçet si cointe robe faire,
Que de couleurs y a cent paire,
D'herbes, de fleures Indes et Perses:
Et de maintes couleurs diverses,
Est la robe que je devise
Parquoy la terre mieulx se prise.
Les oiseaux qui tant se sont teuz
Pour l'hiver qu'ils ont tous sentuz,
Et pour le froit et divers temps,
Sont en May, et par la printemps,
Si liez, &c. v. 51.

That all thing ginnith waxin gay,
 For ther is neither buske nor hay^a
 In May that it n'ill shroudid bene,
 And it with newe levis wrene¹:
 These wooddis eke recoverin grene,
 That drie in winter ben to sene;
 And the erth waxith proude withall
 For sote dewis that on it fall,
 And the povir estate forgette
 In whiche that winter had it sette:
 And than becometh the grounde so proude,
 That it will have a newè shroud;
 And make so quaynt his robe and fayre,
 That it had hewes an hundred payre,
 Of grasse and flowris Inde and Pers:
 And many hewis ful divers
 That is the robe I mene iwis,
 Through which the ground to praisin is,
 The birdis, that han lefte thir songe
 While they han suffrid cold ful stronge,
 In wethers grille^k and darke to sight,
 Ben in May, for the sunnè bright
 So glad, &c^l

In the description of a grove, within the garden of Mirth, are many natural and picturesque circumstances, which are not yet got into the storehouse of modern poetry.

These trees were sett as I devise^m,
 One from another in a toise,
 Five fadom or sixe, I trowe so,
 But they were hie and gret also;
 And for to kepe out wel the sunne,
 The croppis were so thik yrunneⁿ,
 And everie branch in othir knitte
 And ful of grene levis sitte^o,

^a bush, or hedge-row. Sometimes wood. Rot. Pip. an. 17. Henr. III. "Et Heremite sancti Edwardi in *haga* de Birchenwude, xl. sol."

¹ hide. From *wrie*, or *wrey*, to cover.

^k cold, [horridus. Prompt. Parv.]

^l v. 51.

^m Mais sachiès que les arbres furent
 Si loing a loing comme estre durent
 L'ung fut de l'autre loing assis
 De cinque toises voyre de six,
 Mais moult furent fueilluz et haulx
 Pour gardir de l'este le chaulx

Et si eslis par dessus furent
 Que chaleurs percer ne lis peuvent
 Ne ne pavoient bas descendre
 Ne faire mal a l'erbe tendre.
 Au vergier eut dains & chevreleux,
 Et aussi beaucoup d'escureux,
 Qui par dessus arbres sailloyent;
 Conuins y avoit qui yssioient
 Bien souvent hors de leurs tanieres,
 En moult de diverses manieres. v. 1368.

ⁿ "the tops, or boughs, were so thickly
 twisted together."

^o set.

That sunnè might ther none discende
 Lest the tendir grassis shende^p.
 Ther might men does and roes ise^q,
 And of squirels ful grete plente,
 From bow to bow alwaie lepinge;
 Connis^r ther were also playing^r.
 That comin out of ther clapers^t,
 Of sondrie colors and maners;
 And madin many a turneyng
 Upon the freshe grasse springing^u.

Near this grove were shaded fountains without frogs, running into murmuring rivulets, bordered with the softest grass enamelled with various flowers.

In placis sawe I wellis there^w
 In whichè ther no froggis were,
 And faire in shadow was eche wel;
 But I ne can the nombre tel
 Of stremis smale, that by devise
 Mirth had don com thorough condise^x,
 Of which the watir in renning,
 Gan makin a noise ful liking.
 About the brinkis of these wellis,
 And by the stremes ovir al ellis
 Sprange up the grasse as thick isett
 And soft eke as any velvett.
 On which man might his leman ley
 As softe as fetherbed to pley.—
 There sprange the violet all newe,
 And freshe perwinke^y riche of hewe;
 And flouris yalowe white and rede,
 Such plenti grew ther ner in mede:

^p be hurt.

^q see.

^r conies.

^w Chaucer imitates this passage in the *Assemble of Foules*, v. 190 seq. Other passages of that poem are imitated from Roman de la Rose.

^t burroughs.

^u v. 1391.

^x Par lieux y eut cleres fontaines,
 Sans barbelotes¹ & sans raines,
 Qui des arbres estoient umbrez,
 Par moy ne vous seront nombres,
 Et petit ruisseau, que Deduit
 Avoit la trouvés par conduit;
 L'eau alloit aval faisant
 Son melodieux et plaisant.

Aux borts des ruisseauz et des rives
 Des fontaines cleres et vives
 Poignoit l'erbe dru et plaisant
 Grant soulas et plaisir faisant.
 Amy pouoit avec sa mye
 Soy deporter ne'r doubtez mye.—
 Violette y fut moult belle
 Et aussi parvenche nouvelle;
 Fleurs y eut blanches et vermeilles,
 Ou ne pourroit trouver pareilles,
 De toutes diverses couleurs,
 De haultz pris et de grans valeurs,
 Si estoit soef flairans
 Et reflagrans et odorans. v. 1348.
^x conduits. ^y periwinkle.

¹ A species of insect often found in stagnant water.

Full gaie was al the grounde and queint
 And poudrid, as men had it peint,
 With many a fresh and sondry floure
 That castin up ful gode savoure^a.

But I hasten to display the peculiar powers of William de Lorris in delineating allegorical personages; none of which have suffered in Chaucer's translation. The poet supposes that the garden of Mirth, or rather Love, in which grew the Rose, the object of the lover's wishes and labours, was enclosed with embattled walls, richly painted with various figures, such as Hatred, Avarice, Envy, Sorrow, Old Age, and Hypocrisy. Sorrow is thus represented.

SORROWE was paintid next ENVIE^a
 Upon that wal of masonrie.
 But wel was seen in her colour,
 That she had livid in languour;
 Her seemid to have the jaundice,
 Not half so pale was AVARICE,
 Ne nothing alike of lenenesse
 For sorowe, thought, and grete distresse.
 A s'rowful thing wel semid she;
 Nor she had nothing slow ybe
 For to bescrachin of hir face,
 And for to rent in many place
 Hir clothes, and for to tere her swire^b,
 As she that was fulfilled of ire:
 And al to torn lay eke hir here
 About hir shoulders, here and there;
 As she that had it all to rent
 For angre and for male talent^c.

Nor are the images of HATRED and AVARICE inferior.

Amiddis sawe I HATE ystonde.^d—
 And she was nothing wel araide
 But like a wode woman afraide:

^a v. 1411.

^b De les ENVIE estoit TRISTESSE
 Painte aussi et garnye d'angoisse.
 Et bien paroit à sa couleur
 Qu'elle avoit à cuer grant douleur:
 Et sembloit avoir la jaunice,
 La n'y faisoit riens AVARICE,
 Le palisseur ne de maigresse
 Car le travaille et la destresse, &c.
 Moult sembloit bien que fust dolente;
 Car el n'avoit pas este lente
 D'esgratignier toute sa chiere;
 Sa robe ne luy estoit chiere
 En mains lieux l'avoit desairée,
 Comme culle qui fut yrée.

Ses chevelx dérompus estoient,
 Qu'autour de son col pendoient,
 Presque les avoit tous desroux
 De maitalent et de corroux. v. 300.

^b neck.

^c v. 300.

^d Au milieu de mur je vy HAYNE.
 Si n'estoit pas bien atournée,
 Ains sembloit estre forcence
 Rechignée estoit et froncé
 Avait le nez et reboursé.
 Moult hydeuse estoit et souillée
 Et fut sa teste eptortillée
 Tres ordement d'un touaille,
 Qui moult estoit d'horrible taille. 143.

Yfrownid foule was hir visage,
 And grinning for dispiteous rage,
 Her nose ysnortid up for tene^e
 Full hideous was she forti sene,
 Full foul and rustey was she this,
 Her hed iwritthin was iwis,
 Full grimly with a grete towaile, &c.^f

The design of this work will not permit me to give the portrait of Idleness, the portress of the garden of Mirth, and of others, which form the group of dancers in the garden: but I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing those of Beauty, Franchise, and Richesse, three capital figures in this genial assembly.

The God of love, jolife and light,^s
 Ladde on his honde a ladie bright,
 Of high prise, and of gret degre,
 This ladie called was BEAUTIE.
 And an arowe, of which I told,
 Full well ythewid^h was she holde:
 Ne was she darke ne browne, but bright,
 And clere as is the monè light.—
 Her fleshe was tendre as dewe of floure,
 Her chere was simple as birde in bourc:
 As white as lilie, or rose in rise^l,
 Her face was gentil and tretise^k;
 Fetis^l she was, and smal to se,
 No wintrid^m browis heddè she;
 No poppedⁿ here, for't neded nought
 To windir^o her or to peint ought.
 Her tresses yalowe and long straughten^p.
 Unto her helis down the ^qraughten.^r

Nothing can be more sumptuous and superb than the robe, and

^e anger, [grief. T.]

^f v. 147.

^g Le Dieu d'amours si s'estoit pris
 A une dame de hault pris,
 Pres se tenoit de son costé
 Celle dame eut nom BEAULTE.
 Ainsi comme une des cinque flesches
 En ille aut toutes bonnes taiches:
 Point ne fut obscur, ne brun,
 Mais fut clere comme la lune.—
 Tendre eut la chair comme rousée,
 Simple fut comme une espousée.
 Et blanch comme fleur de lis,
 Visage eut bel doulx et alis,
 Elle estoit gresle et alignée
 N'estoit fardié ne pignée,
 Car elle n'avoit pas mestier
 De soy farder et affaictier.

Les cheveux ent blons et si longs
 Qu' ils batoient aux talons. v. 1004.

^h Having good qualities. See supr.
 v. 939. seq.

ⁱ on the bush; or, in perfection; or, a budding rose. [On the branch. Sax. *hpus*, *virgulta*.]

^k well-proportioned.

^l *fetious*, handsome, [well-made, neat, T.]

^m contracted.

ⁿ affectedly dressed. Properly, dressed up like a *puppet*.

^o to trim; to adorn.

^p *stretched*; spread abroad.

^q reached.

^r v. 1003.

other ornaments, of RICHESSE, or Wealth. They are imagined with great strength of fancy. But it should be remembered, that this was the age of magnificence and show; when a profusion of the most splendid and costly materials were lavished on dress, generally with little taste and propriety, but often with much art and invention.

RICHESSE a robe of purple on had,*
 Ne trow not that I lie or mad†,
 For in this world is none it liche‡,
 Ne by a thousand dele⁴ so riche,
 Ne none so faire: for it full wele
 With orfraies⁵ laid was everie dele,
 And purtraied in the ribaninges⁶
 Of dukis stories and of kinges;
 And with a bend⁷ of gold tassiled,
 And knoppis⁸ a fine of gold amiled⁹.

* De pourpre fut le vestement
 A RICHESSE, si noblement,
 Qu'en tout le monde n'eust plus bel,
 Mieulx fait, ne aussi plus nouvel:
 Pourtraictes y furent d'orfroys
 Hystories d'empereurs et roys.
 Et encores y avoit-il
 Un ouvrage noble et subtil;
 A noyaulx d'or au col fermoit,
 Et a bendes d'azur tenoit;
 Noblement eut le chief paré
 De riches pierres décoré
 Qui gettoient moult grant clarté,
 Tout y estoit bien assorté.
 Puis eut une riche sainture
 Sainte par dessus sa vesture:
 Le boucle d'une pierre fu,
 Grosse et de moult grant vertu
 Celluy qui sur soy le protoit
 De tous venins garde estoit.—
 D'autre pierre fut le mordans
 Qui guerissoit du mal des dens.
 Cest pierre portoit bon cur,
 Qui l'avoit pouvoit estre asseur
 De sa santé et de sa vei,
 Quant à jeun il l'avoit vei:
 Les cloux furent d'or puré,
 Par dessus le tissu doré,
 Qui estoient grans et pesans,
 En chascun avoit deux besans.
 Si eut avecques a Richeesse
 Uns cadre d'or mis sur la tresse,
 Si riche, si plaisant, et si bel,
 Qu'onques on ne veit le pareil:
 De pierres estoit fort garny,
 Precieuses et aplaný,
 Qui bien en voudroit deviser,
 On ne les pouvoit pas priser
 Rubis, y eut saphirs, jagonces,
 Esmerandes plus de cent onces:
 Mais devant eut par grant maistrise,
 Un escarboucle bien assise

Et le pierre si clere estoit
 Que cil qui devant la mettoit
 Si en pouvoit veoir au besoing
 A soy conduire une lieue loing,
 Telle clarté si en yssoit
 Que Richesse en resplandissoit
 Par tout le corps et par sa face
 Aussi d'autour d'elle la place. v. 1066.

† "that I lie, or am mad."

‡ like.

⁴ parts [a thousandth part].

⁵ embroidery in gold.

⁶ laces laid on robes; embroideries.

⁷ band; knot.

⁸ knobs; buttons.

⁹ enameled;—enameling, and perhaps pictures in enamel, were common in the middle ages. From the Testament of Job. de Foxle, knight, Dat. apud Bramshill Co. Southampt. Nov. 5, 1378. "Item lego domino abbati de Waltham unum annulum auri grossi, cum una saphiro infixâ, et nominibus trium regum [of Cologne] sculptis in eodem annulo.—Item lego Margarithæ sorori mee unam tabulam argenti deaurati et *amelitam*, minorem de duabus quas habeo, cum diversis ymaginibus sculptis in eadem.—Item lego Margerie uxori Johannis de Wilton unum monile auri, cum S. litera sculpta et *amelita* in eodem." Registr. Wykeham, Episc. Winton. P. ii. fol. 24. See also Dugd. Bar. i. 234. a.

[AMILED is from the French EMAIL, or ENAMEL. This art flourished most at Limoges in France. So early as the year 1197, we have "Duas tabulas æneas superauratas de labore Limogie." Chart. ann. 1197. apud Ughelin. tom. vii. Ital. Sac. p. 1274. It is called *Opus Lemnovicum*, in Dugdale's Mon. iii. 310. 313.

About her neck, of gentle^c entaile^c,
 Was set the richè chevesaile^d;
 In which ther was ful grete plente
 Of stonis clere and faire to se.
 RICHESE a girdle had upon
 The bokill^e of it was of ston
 Of vertu grete and mokill^f might,
 For who so bare the ston so bright
 Of venim durst him nothing doubt
 While he the ston had him about.—
 The mordaunt^g wrought in noble guise
 Was of a ston ful precious,
 That was so fin and vertuous
 That whole a man it couth ymake
 Of palsie, and of the tothe ake:
 And yet the ston had soche a grace
 That he was sikre^h in evvrie place
 All thilkè daie not blinde to bene
 That fasting might that ston sene.
 The barrisⁱ were of gold full fine
 Upon a tissue of sattin,
 Full hevie, grete, and nothing light,
 In everiche was a besaunt wight^k.

331. And in Wilkins's Concil. i. 666. where two cabinets for the host are ordered, one of silver or of ivory, and the other *de opere Lemovicino*. Synod. Wigorn. A.D. 1240. And in many other places. I find it called *Limaise*, in a metrical romance, the name of which I have forgot, where a tomb is described,

And yt was, the Romans sayes,
 All with golde and *limaise*.

Carpentier [V. LIMOGIA.] observes, that it was antiently a common ornament of sumptuous tombs. He cites a Testament of the year 1327, "*Je lais huit cent livres pour faire deux tombes hautes et levées de l'EUVRE de LIMOGES.*" The original tomb of Walter de Merton, bishop of Rochester, erected in his cathedral about the year 1276, was made at Limoges. This appears from the accounts of his executors, viz. "Et computant xl l. v s. vi d. liberat. Magistro Johanni Linnomcensi, pro tumba dicti Episcopi Roffensis, scil. pro constructione et carriagio de Lymoges ad Roffam. Et xl s. viii d. cuidam Executori apud Lymoges ad ordinandum et providendum constructionem dictæ Tumbæ. Et xs. viii d. cuidam garcioni eunti apud Lymoges quærenti dictam tumbam constructam, et ducenti eam cum

dicto Mag. Johanne usque Roffam. Et xxii l. in materialibus circa dictam tumbam defricandam. Et vii marcas, in feramento ejusdem, et carriagio a Londin. usque ad Roff. et aliis parandis ad dictam tumbam. Et xi s. cuidam vitriario pro vitris fenestrarum emptarum juxta tumbam dicti Episcopi apud Roffam." Ant. Wood's MS. Merton Papers, Bibl. Bodl. Cod. Ballard. 46.—ADDITIONS.]

^c Of good workmanship, or carving. From *Intagliare*. Ital.

^d necklace.

^e buckle.

^f muckel; great.

^g tongue of a buckle. *Mordeo*. Lat.

^h certain.

ⁱ I cannot give the precise meaning of *Barris*, nor of *Cloux* in the French. It seems to be part of a buckle. In the wardrobe-roll, quoted above, are mentioned, "One hundred garters *cum boucles*, barris, et pendentibus de argento." For which were delivered, "ccc barrs argenti." An. 21. Edw. III.—[*Clavus* in Latin, from whence the Fr. *cloux* is derived, seems to have signified not only an outward border, but also what we call a stripe. Montfaucon, t. iii. P. i. ch. vi. A *bar* in heraldry is a narrow stripe or *fascia*. —TYRWHITT.]

^k "the weight of a besant." A byzant

Upon the tressis of RICHESSE
 Was sett a circle of noblesse,
 Of brende¹ gold, that full light yshone,
 So faire, trowe I, was nevir none.
 Bot he were konning for the nones^m
 That could devisin all the stones,
 That in the circle shewin clere,
 It is a wonder thing to here:
 For no man could or preisⁿ, or gesse,
 Of 'hem the value or richesse:
 Rubies ther were, saphirs, ragounces^o,
 And emeraudes more than two ounces:
 But all before full subtilly
 A fine carboncle set sawe I:
 The stone so clere was and so bright,
 That al so sone as it was night,
 Men mightin se to go for nede,
 A mile or two, in length or brede;

was a species of gold-coin, stamped at *Byzantium*. A wedge of gold.

¹ burnished.

^m "well-skilled in these things."

ⁿ appraise, value.

^o The gem called a *Jacinth*. We should read, in Chaucer's text, *Jagounces* instead of *Ragounces*, a word which never existed; and which Speght, who never consulted the French *Roman de la Rose*, interprets merely from the sense of the context, to be "A kind of precious stone." Gloss. Ch. in V. The knowledge of precious stones was a grand article in the natural philosophy of this age; and the medical virtue of gems, alluded to above, was a doctrine much inculcated by the Arabian naturalists. Chaucer refers to a treatise on gems, called the *LAPIDARY*, famous in that time. House of Fame, L. ii. v. 260:

And thei were sett as thicke of ouchis
 Fine, of the finist stonis faire
 That men *redin* in the *LAPIDAIRE*.

Montfaucon, in the royal library at Paris, recites "Le *LAPIDAIRE*, de la vertu des pierres." Catal. MSS. p. 794. This I take to be the book here referred to by Chaucer. Henry of Huntingdon wrote a book *De Gemmis*. He flourished about 1145. Tann. Bibl. p. 395. See a Greek Treatise, Du Cange, Gloss. Gr. Barb. ii. Ind. Auctor. p. 37. col. 1. In the Cotton library is a Saxon Treatise on precious stones. Tiber. A. 3. liii. fol. 98. The writing is more ancient than the Conquest. See vol. i. p. 9. [The treatise referred to contains a meagre explanation of the

twelve precious stones mentioned in the Apocalypse.] Pelloutier mentions a Latin poem of the eleventh century on Precious Stones, written by Marbode bishop of Rennes [who died in the year 1123], and soon afterwards translated into French verse. Mem. Lang. Celt. part. i. vol. i. ch. xiii. p. 26. The translation begins,

Evax fut un mult riche reis
 Lu reigne tint d'Arabeis.

It was printed in *Œuvres de Hildebert Eveque du Mons*, edit. Ant. Beaugendre, col. 1638. This may be reckoned one of the oldest pieces of French versification. A manuscript *De Speciebus Lapidum*, occurs twice in the Bodleian library, falsely attributed to one Adam Nidzarde, Cod. Digb. 28. f. 169.—Cod. Laud. C. 3. *Princ.* "Evax rex Arabum legitur scripssisse." But it is, I think, Marbode's book above-mentioned. Evax is a fabulous Arabian king, said to have written on this subject. Of this Marbode, or Marbodæus, see Ol. Borrich. Diss. Acad. de Poet. pag. 87. § 78. edit. Francof. 1683. 4to. His poem was published, with notes, by Lampridius Alardus. The eastern writers pretend, that king Solomon, among a variety of physiological pieces, wrote a book on Gems; one chapter of which treated of those precious stones, which resist or repel evil Genii. They suppose that Aristotle stole all his philosophy from Solomon's books. See Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xiii. 387. seq. And i. p. 71. Compare Herbelot, Bibl. Oriental. p. 962. b. Artic. *KETAB alahgiar* seq.

Soche light ysprang out of the stone,
That RICHESSE wondir bright yshone
Both on her hedde and all hir face
And eke about her all the place.^p

The attributes of the portrait of MIRTH are very expressive.

Of berde unnethe had he nothing,^q
For it was in the firstè spring :
Ful young he was and merie^r of thought,
And in samette^r with birdis wrought,
And with golde bete ful fetously,
His bodie was clad full richely ;
Wrought was his robe in straunge gise,
And all to slittered^s for queintise,
In many a place lowe and hie,
And shod he was, with grete maistrie,
With shone decopid^t and with lace,
By drurie^u and eke by solace ;
His lefe^w a rosin chapelet
Had made and on his hedde it set.^x

FRANCHISE is a no less attractive portrait, and sketched with equal grace and delicacy.

And next him daunsid dame FRANCHISE,^y
Arayid in ful noble guise.
She n'as not broune ne dunne of hewe,
But white as snowe ifallin newe,
Her nose was wrought at point devise^z,
For it was gentill and tretise ;
With eyin glad and browis bent,
Her hare down to her helis went^a :

^p v. 1071.

^q Et si n'avoit barbe a menton
Si non petit poil follaton ;
Il estoit jeune damoyseaulx ;
Son bauldrier fut portrait d'oiseaulx
Qui tout estoit è or batu,
Tres richement estoit vestu
D'un' robe moult desgysée,
Qui fut en maint lieu incisée,
Et decouppée par quointise,
Et fut chausé par mignotise,
D'un souliers decouppés à las
Par joyeuseté et soulas,
Et sa neye luy fist chapeau
De roses gracieux et beau. v. 832.

^r samite ; satin : explained above.

^s cut and slashed.

^t cut or marked with figures. From *decouper*, Fr. to cut. Thus the parish clerk Absolon, in the Miller's Tale, v. 210. p. 26. Urr.

With Poullis windowes carven on his shose.

I suppose *Poullis windowes* was a cant phrase for a fine device or ornament.

^u modesty, [courtship, gallantry. T.]

^w mistress.

^x v. 833.

^y Apres tous ceulx estoit FRANCHISE,
Qui ne fut ne brune ne bise ;
Ains fut comme la neige blanche
Courtoise estoit, joyeuse et franche,
Le nez avoit long et tretis
Yeulx vers rins, sourcils saitis,
Les cheveux eut tres-blons et longs,
Simple feut comme les coulons.
Le cuer eut doux et debonnaire.

v. 1190.

^z with the utmost exactness.

^a All the females of this poem have grey eyes and yellow hair. One of them is said to have " Her eyen graie as is a

Simple she was as dove on tre,
Ful debonaire of hart was she.^b

The personage of DANGER is of a bolder cast, and may serve as a contrast to some of the preceding. He is supposed suddenly to start from an ambuscade; and to prevent Bialcoil, or *Kind Reception*, from permitting the lover to gather the rose of beauty.

With that anon out start DANGERE^c,
Out of the place where he was hidde;
His malice in his chere was kidde^d;
Full grete he was, and blacke of hewe,
Sturdie and hideous whoso him knewe;
Like sharpe urchons^e his heere was grow,
His eyes red sparclng as fire glow,
His nose frouncid^f full kirkid^g stooode,
He come criande^h as he were woode.ⁱ

Chaucer has enriched this figure. The circumstance of DANGER's hair standing erect like the prickles on the urchin or hedge-hog, is his own, and finely imagined.

Hitherto specimens have been given from that part of this poem which was written by William de Lorris, its first inventor. Here Chaucer was in his own walk. One of the most striking pictures in the style of allegorical personification, which occurs in Chaucer's translation of the additional part, is much heightened by Chaucer, and indeed owes all its merit to the translator; whose genius was much better adapted to this species of painting than that of John of Meun, the continuator of the poem.

With her, Labour and eke Travaile^k,
Lodgid bene, with sorowe and wo,
That nevir out of her court go.

faucon." v. 546. Where the original word, translated *gracie*, is *vers.* v. 546. We have this colour again, Orig. v. 822. "Les yeulx eut *vers*." This too Chaucer translates, "Her eyin *gracie*." v. 862. The same word occurs in the French text before us, v. 1195. This comparison was natural and beautiful, as drawn from a very familiar and favourite object in the age of the poet. Perhaps Chaucer means "grey as a falcon's eyes."
^b v. 1211.

^c A tant saillit villain DANGERE,
De là on il estoit muée;
Grant fut, noir et tout hericé
S'ot, les yeulx rouges comme feux,
Le vis froncé, le nez hydeux
Et scerie tout forcenéz. v. 2959.

^d "was discovered by his behaviour, or countenance." Perhaps we should read *cheke*, for *chere*.

^e *urchins*; hedge-hogs.

^f contracted.

^g *crooked*; turned upwards.

^h "crying as if he was mad."

ⁱ v. 3130.

^k Travaile et douleur la hebergent,
Mais ill le lient et la chargent,
Que mort prochaine luy presentent,
Et talent de seq repentir;
Tant luy sont de fleaux sentir;
Adonc luy vient en remembraunce,
En cest tardive presence,
Quant et se voit foible et chenué. v. 4733.

Pain and Distresse, Sicknesse and Ire,
 And Melanc'ly that angry sire,
 Ben of her palais¹ senators ;
 Groning and Grutching her herbegeors^m ;
 The day and night her to tourment,
 With cruill deth thei her present,
 And tellin her erlicheⁿ and late,
 That DEATH stondith armid at her gate.
 Then bring they to remembraunce,
 The foly dedes of hir enfance^o.

The fiction that Sickness, Melancholy, and other beings of the like sort, were counsellors in the palace of OLD AGE, and employed in telling her day and night, that "DEATH stood *armed* at her gate," was far beyond the sentimental and satirical vein of John of Meun, and is conceived with great vigour of imagination.

Chaucer appears to have been early struck with this French poem. In his DREME, written long before he begun this translation, he supposes, that the chamber in which he slept was richly painted with the story of the ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE^p. It is natural to imagine, that such a poem must have been a favourite with Chaucer. No poet, before William of Lorris, either Italian or French, had delineated allegorical personages in so distinct and enlarged a style, and with such a fullness of characteristical attributes: nor had descriptive poetry selected such a variety of circumstances, and disclosed such an exuberance of embellishment, in forming agreeable representations of nature. On this account, we are surprised that Boileau should mention Villon as the first poet of France who drew form and order from the chaos of the old French romancers.

Villon sçeut le PREMIER, dans ces siecles grossiers
 Debrouïller l' ART CONFUS de nos vieux ROMANCIERS.^q

But the poetry of William of Lorris was not the poetry of Boileau.

That this poem should not please Boileau, I can easily conceive. It is more surprising that it should have been censured as a contemptible performance by Petrarch, who lived in the age of fancy. Petrarch having desired his friend Guy de Gonzague to send him some new piece, he sent him the ROMAN DE LA ROSE. With the poem, instead of an encomium, he returned a severe criticism; in which he treats it as a cold, inartificial, and extravagant composition: as a proof, how much France, who valued this poem as her chief work, was surpassed

¹ palace.
^m chamberlains, [providers of lodgings, harbingers. T.]
ⁿ early.
^o v. 4994.

^p v. 322. Chaucer alludes to this poem in *The Marchaunt's Tale*, v. 1548. p. 72. Urr.

^q Art. Poet. ch. i. He died about the year 1456.

by Italy in eloquence and the arts of writing^a. In this opinion we must attribute something to jealousy. But the truth is, Petrarch's genius was too cultivated to relish these wild excursions of imagination: his favourite classics, whom he revived, and studied with so much attention, ran in his head. Especially Ovid's *ART OF LOVE*, a poem of another species, and evidently formed on another plan; but which Petrarch had been taught to venerate, as the model and criterion of a didactic poem on the passion of love reduced to a system. We may add, that although the poem before us was founded on the visionary doctrines and refinements concerning love invented by the Provencal poets, and consequently less unlikely to be favourably received by Petrarch, yet his ideas on that delicate subject were much more Platonic and metaphysical.

SECTION XIV.

Chaucer continued. His Troilus and Cresseide. Boccacio's Troilo. Sentimental and pathetic strokes in Chaucer's poem. House of Fame. A Provencal composition. Analysed. Improperly imitated by Pope.

CHAUCER'S poem of TROILUS and CRESSEIDE is said to be formed on an old history, written by Lollius, a native of Urbino in Italy^a. Lydgate says that Chaucer, in this poem,

———— made a translacion
Of a boke which called is TROPHE
In Lumbarde tongue, &c.^b

It is certain that Chaucer, in this piece, frequently refers to "MYNE AUCTOR LOLLIUS^c." But he hints, at the same time, that Lollius wrote in Latin^d. I have never seen this history, either in the Lombard or the Latin language. I have before observed, that it is mentioned in Boc-

^a See Petrarch. Carm. L. i. Ep. 30.

^a Petrus Lambecius enumerates Lollius Urbicus among the *Historici Latini profani* of the third century. Prodrum. p. 246. Hamb. 1659. See also Voss. Historic. Latin. ii. 2. p. 163. edit. Lugd. Bat. But this could not be Chaucer's Lollius. Chaucer places Lollius among the historians of Troy, in his House of Fame, iii. 380. It is extraordinary, that Du Fresnoy, in the *Index Auctorum*, used by him for his Latin glossary, should mention this Lollius Urbicus of the third century. Tom. i. p. 141. edit. i. As I apprehend, none of his works remain. A proof that Chaucer translated

from some Italian original is, that in a manuscript which I have seen of this poem, I find, *Monesteo* for *Menestes*, *Rupheo* for *Ruphes*, *Pheuseo* for *Pheuses*, lib. iv. 50. seq. where, by the way, Xantippe, a Trojan chief, was perhaps corruptly written for Xantippo, i. e. Xantippus. As Joseph. Iscan. iv. 10. In Lydgate's Troy, *Zantiphus*, iii. 26. All corrupted from Antiphus, Dict. Cret. p. 105. In the printed copies we have *Ascalapho* for *Ascalaphus*, lib. v. 319.

^b Prol. Boch. st. iii.

^c See lib. i. v. 395.

^d Lib. ii. v. 10.

cacio's Decameron, and that a translation of it was made into Greek verse by some of the Greek fugitives in the fourteenth century. Du Fresnoy, if I mistake not, somewhere mentions it in Italian*. In the royal library at Paris it occurs often as an antient French romance. "Cod. 7546. Roman de Troilus."—"Cod. 7564. Roman de Troilus et de Briseida ou Criseida."—Again, as an original work of Boccacio. "Cod. 7757. Philostrato dell' amorse fatiche de Troilo per GIOVANNI BOC-CACIO†." "Les suivans (adds Montfaucon^d) contiennent *les autres œuvres* de Boccace." Much fabulous history concerning Troilus is related in Guido de Columna's Destruction of Troy. Whatever were Chaucer's materials, he has on this subject constructed a poem of considerable merit, in which the vicissitudes of love are depicted in a strain of true poetry, with much pathos and simplicity of sentiment^e. He calls it, "a litill tragedie^f." Troilus is supposed to have seen Cresside in a temple; and retiring to his chamber, is thus naturally described, in the critical situation of a lover examining his own mind after the first impression of love.

And whan that he in chambre was alone,
He down upon his beddis fete him sette,

* [L'Amore di Troilo e Griseida, di Angelo Leonico, Ven. 1553. 8vo. Du Fresnoy Bibl. des Romans, i. 217.—Douce.]

† [Boccacio's FILOSTRATO was printed in quarto at Milan, in 1488. The title is, "Il FIOLOSTRATO, che tracta de lo innamoramento de TROILO a GRYSEIDA: et de molte altre infinite battaglie. Impresso nella incilita cita de Milano par magistro Uldericho Scinzenzeler nell' anno M.CCCCLXXXVIII. a di xxvii d' mese Settembre." It is in the octave stanza. The editor of the CANTERBURY TALES informs me, that Boccacio himself, in his Decameron, has made the same honourable mention of this poem as of the The-seida, although without acknowledging either for his own. In the Introduction to the Sixth Day, he says, that "Dioneo insieme con Lauretta de TROILE ET DI CRISEIDA cominciarono cantare." Just as, afterwards, in the conclusion of the Seventh Day, he says, that the same "Dioneo et Fiametta gran pezzi cantarono insieme D'ARCITA ET DI PALAMONE." See Canterb. T. vol. iv. p. 85. iii. p. 311. Chaucer appears to have been as much indebted to Boccacio in his Troilus and Cresseide, as in his Knights Tale. At the same time we must observe, that there are several long passages, and even episodes, in Troilus, of which no traces appear in the Philostrato. Chaucer speaks of himself as a translator *out of Latin*, B. ii. 14. And he calls his author LOLLIVS, B. i. 394-421. and B. v. 1652. The latter of these two passages is in the Philostrato; but the

former, containing Petrarch's sonnet, is not. And when Chaucer says, he *translates from Latin*, we must remember, that the *Italian* language was called *Latino volgare*. Shall we suppose, that Chaucer followed a more complete copy of the Philostrato than that we have at present, or one enlarged by some officious interpolator? The Parisian manuscript might perhaps clear these difficulties. In Bennet library at Cambridge, there is a manuscript of Chaucer's Troilus, elegantly written, with a frontispiece beautifully illuminated, LXI.—ADDITIONS.]

^d Bibl. p. 793. col. 2. Compare Lengl. Bibl. Rom. ii. p. 253.

^e Chaucer however claims no merit of invention in this poem. He invokes Clio to favour him with rhymes only; and adds,

— To everie lover I me' excuse
That of no *sentiment* I this endite
But out of *latin* in my *tonge* it write.

L. ii. v. 10 seq. But Sir Francis Kinaston, who translated Troilus and Cresseide [1635.] into Latin rhymes, says that Chaucer in this poem "has taken the liberty of his own inventions." In the mean time, Chaucer, by his own references, seems to have been studious of seldom departing from Lollius. In one place, he pays him a compliment, as an author whose excellencies he could not reach. L. iii. v. 1330.

But sothe is, though I can not tellen all,
As can mine author of *his excellence*.

See also L. iii. 576. 1823.

^f L. ult. v. 1785.

And first he gan to sike^g, and ofte to grone,
 And thought aie on her so withoutin lette:
 That as he satte and woke, his spirit mette^h
 That he her saugh, and temple, and all the wiseⁱ
 Right of her loke, and gan it newe avise.^k

There is not so much nature in the sonnet to Love, which follows. It is translated from Petrarch; and had Chaucer followed his own genius, he would not have disgusted us with the affected gallantry and exaggerated compliments which it extends through five tedious stanzas. The doubts and delicacies of a young girl disclosing her heart to her lover, are exquisitely touched in this comparison.

And as the newe abashid nightingale
 That stintith^m first, when she beginith sing,
 When that she herith any herdisⁿ tale,
 Or in the hedgis anie wight stirring,
 And after sikir^o doth her voice outring;
 Right so Cresseidè when that her drede stent^p
 Opened her herte and told him her intent^q.

The following pathetic scene may be selected from many others. Troilus seeing Cressida in a swoon, imagines her to be dead. He unsheaths his sword with an intent to kill himself, and utters these exclamations.

And thou, cite, in which I live in wo,
 And thou Priam, and brethren al ifere^r,
 And thou, my mother, farwel, for I go:
 And, Atropos, make ready thou my bere:
 And thou Cresseidè, O sweet hertè dere,
 Receive thou now my spirit, would he say,
 With swerd at hert all redy for to dey.

But as god would, of swough^s she tho abraide^t,
 And gan to sighe, and TROILUS she cride:
 And he answerid, Lady mine Cresseide,
 Livin ye yet? And let his sword doun glide,
 Yes, hertè mine, that thankid be Cupide,
 Quoth she: and therewithall she sorè sight^u
 And he began to glad her as he might.

Toke her in armis two, and kist her oft,
 And her to glad he did all his entent:
 For which her ghost, that flickered aie alofte
 Into her woefull breast aien it went:
 But at the last, as that her eyin glent^w

^g sigh.^h thought, imagined.ⁱ her fears ceased.ⁱ manner.^k l. i. v. 359.^q l. iii. v. 1239.^m stops.ⁿ herdsman, a shepherd.^o swoon.^r together.^o with confidence.^p sighed.^t then awaked.^w glanced.

Aside, anon she gan his swerde aspie,
As it lay bere, and gan for fere to crie :

And askid him why he had it outdrawe?
And Troilus anon the cause hir tolde,
And how therwith himself he would have slawe :
For which Creseide upon him gan behold,
And gan him in her armis fast to fold;
And said, O mercy, God, lo whiche a dede
Alas ! how nere we werin bothè dede ! *

Pathetic description is one of Chaucer's peculiar excellencies.

In this poem are various imitations from Ovid, which are of too particular and minute a nature to be pointed out here, and belong to the province of a professed and formal commentator on the piece. The Platonic notion in the third book⁷ about universal love, and the doctrine that this principle acts with equal and uniform influence both in the natural and moral world, are a translation from Boethius⁸. And in the KNIGHT'S TALE he mentions, from the same favourite system of philosophy, the FAIRE CHAINE OF LOVE⁹. It is worth observing, that the reader is referred to Dares Phrygius, instead of Homer, for a display of the achievements of Troilus.

His worthi dedis who so list him here,
Rede DARES, he can tel hem all ifere^a.

Our author, from his excessive fondness for Statius, has been guilty of a very diverting and what may be called a double anachronism. He represents Cresside, with two of her female companions, sitting in a *pavid parlour*, and reading the THEBAID of Statius^b, which is called *the Geste of the Siege of Thebes*^c, and *the Romance of Thebis*^d. In another place, Cassandra translates the Arguments of the twelve books of the THEBAID^e. In the fourth book of this poem, Pandarus endeavours

* L. iv. v. 1205.

⁷ v. 1750.

⁸ Consolat. Philosoph. L. ii. Met. ult. iii. Met. 2. Spenser is full of the same doctrine. See Faery Queen, i. ix. l. iv. x. 34. 35, &c. &c. I could point out many other imitations from Boethius in this poem.

⁹ v. 2990. Urr.

^a L. iv. v. 1770.

^b L. ii. v. 81.

^c L. ii. v. 84.

^d L. ii. v. 100. *Bishop Amphiorax* is mentioned, ib. v. 104. Pandarus says v. 106 :

— All this I know my selve,
And all the assiege of Thebes, and all the
care ;
For herof ben ther makid *bokis twelve*.
In his Dreme, Chaucer to pass the night

away, rather than play at chess, calls for a *Romaunce* ; in which " were writtin fables of quenis livis and of kings, and many othir thingis smale." This proves to be Ovid, v. 52 seq. See Man. of L. T. v. 54. Urr. There was an old French Romance called PARTONEPEX, often cited by Du Cange and Carpentier. Gl. Lat. This is Parthenopeus, a hero of the Theban story. It was translated into English, and called PERTONAPE. See vol. i. p. 127.

[The romance of Partonepex de Blois, cited by Du Cange, has no connexion with the Theban story. See Mr. Rose's version after Le Grand.—PRICE.]

^e L. v. v. 1490. I will add here, that Cresside proposes the trial of the Ordeal to Troilus. L. iii. v. 1048. Troilus, during the times of truce, amuses himself with hawking. L. iii. v. 1785.

to comfort Troilus with arguments concerning the doctrine of predestination, taken from Bradwardine, a learned archbishop and theologian, and nearly Chaucer's cotemporary^f.

This poem, although almost as long as the *Eneid*, was intended to be sung to the harp, as well as read.

And redde where so thou be, or ellis *songe*^g.

It is dedicated to the *morall* Gower, and to the *philosophical* Strode. Gower will occur as a poet hereafter. Strode was eminent for his scholastic knowledge, and tutor to Chaucer's son Lewis at Merton college in Oxford.

Whether the HOUSE OF FAME is Chaucer's invention, or suggested by any French or Italian poet, I cannot determine. But I am apt to think it was originally a Provencial composition,—among other proofs, from this passage:

And ther came out so gret a noise,
That had it standin upon Oyse,
Men might have herd it esily,
I trow, to ROME sikerly.^h

The Oyse is a river in Picardy, which falls into the river Seine, not many leagues from Paris. An Englishman would not have expressed distance by such an unfamiliar illustration. Unless we reconcile the matter, by supposing that Chaucer wrote this poem during his travels. There is another passage where the ideas are those of a foreign romance. To the trumpeters of renown the poet adds,

——— All that usid clarion
In Casteloigne or Arragon.ⁱ

Casteloigne is Catalonia in Spain^k. The martial musicians of English tournaments, so celebrated in story, were a more natural and obvious allusion for an English poet^l.

This poem contains great strokes of Gothic imagination, yet bordering often on the most ideal and capricious extravagance. The poet, in a vision, sees a temple of glass,

In which were more images
Of gold standinge in sundrie stages,

^f In his book *De Causa Dei*, published by Sir Henry Savile, 1617. He touches on this controversy, Nonne's Pr. T. v. 1349. Urr. See also Tr. Cr. L. iv. v. 961 seq.

^g L. ult. v. 1796.

^h L. ii. v. 838. [See infra Sect. xviii. Note †, from the Additions.]

ⁱ B. iii. v. 157.

^k See Marchaunt's Tale, v. 1231. p. 70. Urr. He mentions a rock higher than any in Spain. B. iii. v. 27. But this I believe was an English proverb.

^l He mentions a plate of gold, "As fine as duckett in Venice." B. iii. v. 258. But he says, that the Galaxy is called *Watlyng-strete*. B. ii. v. 431. He swears by Thomas Becket, B. iii. v. 41. In one place he is addressed by the name of GEOFFREY. B. ii. v. 221. But in two others by that of PETER. B. ii. v. 526. B. iii. v. 909. Among the musicians, he mentions "Pipirs of all the Duche tong." B. iii. v. 144.

Sette in more riche tabernacles,
 And with perre^m more pinnacles,
 And more curious pourtraituris,
 And quaint manir of figuris,
 Of golde work than I sawe evir.ⁿ

On the walls of this temple were engraved stories from Virgil's *Eneid*^o and Ovid's *Epistles*^p. Leaving this temple, he sees an eagle with golden wings soaring near the sun.

— Faste by the sonne on hie,
 As kennyng myght I with mine eie,
 Methought I sawe an egle sore;
 But that it semid mochil more^q,
 Then I had any egle sene^r.—
 It was af gold, and shone so bright,
 That nevir man sawe suche a sight, &c.^a

The eagle descends, seizes the poet in his talons, and mounting again, conveys him to the House of Fame, which is situated, like that of Ovid, between earth and sea. In their passage thither, they fly above the stars; which our author leaves, with clouds, tempests, hail, and snow, far beneath him. This aerial journey is partly copied from Ovid's *Phaeton* in the chariot of the sun. But the poet apologises for this extravagant fiction, and explains his meaning, by alleging the authority of Boethius; who says, that Contemplation may soar on the wings of Philosophy above every element. He likewise recollects, in the midst of his course, the description of the heavens, given by Marcius Capella in his book *De Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii*^t, and Alanus in his *Anticlaudian*^u. At his arrival in the confines of the House of Fame, he is alarmed with confused murmurs, issuing from thence, like distant thunders or billows. This circumstance is also borrowed from Ovid's

^m jewels.

ⁿ B. i. v. 120.

^o Where he mentions Virgil's hell, he likewise refers to Claudian *De Raptu Proserpinæ*, and Dante's *Inferno*. v. 450. There is a translation of a few lines from Dante, whom he calls "the wise poet of Florence," in the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, v. 1125. p. 84. Urr. The story of Hugolin of Pisa, a subject which sir Joshua Reynolds has lately painted in a capital style, is translated from Dante, "the grete poete of Italie that hight Dante," in the *Monkes Tale*, v. 877. A sentence from Dante is cited in the *Legende of Good Women*, v. 360. In the *Freere's Tale*, Dante is compared with Virgil, v. 256.

^p It was not only in the fairy palaces of the poets and romance-writers of the middle ages, that Ovid's stories adorned the walls. In one of the courts of the palace of

Nonesuch, all Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were cut in stone under the windows. Hearne, *Coll. MSS.* 55. p. 64. But the *Epistles* seem to have been the favourite work, the subject of which coincided with the gallantry of the times.

^q greater.

^r The eagle says to the poet, that this house stands

Right so as thine owne boke tellith.

B. ii. v. 204. That is, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. See *Met. L. xii. v. 40. &c.*

^s B. i. v. 496 seq.

^t See *The Marchaunt's Tale*, v. 1248. p. 70. Urr. And *Lidg. Stor. Theb.* fol. 357.

^u A famous book in the middle ages. There is an old French translation of it. *Bibl. Reg. Paris. MSS. Cod. 7632.*

temple^w. He is left by the eagle near the house, which is built of materials bright as polished glass, and stands on a rock of excessive height, and almost inaccessible. All the southern side of this rock was covered with engravings of the names of famous men, which were perpetually melting away by the heat of the sun. The northern side of the rock was alike covered with names; but being here shaded from the warmth of the sun, the characters remained unmelted and un-effaced. The structure of the house is thus imagined.

— Me thoughtin by saint Gile,
That all was of stone of berille,
Both the castle and the toure,
And eke the hall and everie boure^x:
Without pecis or joynnynges,
And many subtill compassyngs,
As barbicans^y and pinnacles,
Imageries and tabernacles
I sawe, and full eke of windowis
As flakis fallin in grete snowis.

In these lines, and in some others which occur hereafter^z, the poet perhaps alludes to the many new decorations in architecture, which began to prevail about his time, and gave rise to the florid Gothic style. There are instances of this in his other poems. In his *DREAM*, printed 1597.^a

And of a sute were al the touris,
Subtily carven aftir flouris.—
With many a smal turret hie.

And in the description of the palace of *PLEASAUNT REGARDE*, in the *ASSEMBLIE OF LADIES*.^b

Fairir is none, though it were for a king,
Devisid wel and that in every thing;
The towris hie, ful plesante shall ye finde,
With fannis fresh, turning with everie winde.
The chambris, and the parlirs of a sorte,
With bay windows, goodlie as may be thought:
As for daunsing or othir wise disporte,
The galleries be al right wel ywrought.

In *Chaucer's Life* by William Thomas^{*}, it is not mentioned that he

^w See Met. xii. 39. And Virg. *Æn.* iv. 173. Val. Flacc. ii. 117. Lucan. i. 469.

^x chamber.

^y turrets.

^z B. iii. v. 211.

^a v. 81. p. 572. Urr.

^b v. 158.

^{*} [*Chaucer's Life* in Urry's edition. William Thomas digested this *Life* from collections by Dart. His brother, Dr. Timothy Thomas, wrote or compiled the Glossary and Preface to that edition. See Dart's *Westminster Abbey*, i. 80. Timothy Thomas was of Christ Church Oxford, and died in 1757.—*ADDITIONS.*]

was appointed clerk of the king's works, in the palace of Westminster, in the royal manors of Shene, Kenington, Byfleet, and Clapton, and in the Mews at Charing^c. Again in 1380, of the works of St. George's chapel at Windsor, then ruinous^e.—But to return.

Within the niches formed in the pinnacles stood all round the castle,

— All manir of minstrelis,
And jestours^d that tellyn tales
Both of weping gand eke of game.

That is, those who sung or recited adventures either tragic or comic, which excited either compassion or laughter. They were accompanied with the most renowned harpers, among which were Orpheus, Arion, Chiron, and the Briton Glaskerion^e. Behind these were placed, "by many a thousand time twelve," players on various instruments of music. Among the trumpeters are named Joab, Virgil's Misenus, and Theodamas^f. About these pinnacles were also marshalled the most famous magicians, jugglers, witches, prophetesses, sorceresses, and professors of natural magic^g, which ever existed in antient or modern times: such as Medea, Circe, Calliope, Hermes^h, Limotheus, and Simon Magusⁱ.

^c Claus. 8. Ric. II.

^e Pat. 14. Ric. II. Apud Tanner, Bibl. p. 166. Note e.

^d This word is above explained.

^e Concerning this harper, see Percy's Ballads.

^f See also The Marchaunt's Tale, v. 1236 seq. p. 70. Urr.

^g See the Frankeleyn's Tale, where several feats are described, as exhibited at a feast done by natural magic, a favorite science of the Arabians. Chaucer there calls it "An art which sotill tragedoris plaie." v. 2696. p. 110. Urr. Of this more will be said hereafter.

^h None of the works of the first Hermes Trismegistus now remain. See Cornel. Agripp. Van. Scient. cap. xlviii. The astrological and other philosophical pieces under that name are supposititious. See Fabr. Biblioth. Gr. xii. 708. And Chan. Yem. Tale, v. 1455. p. 126. Urr. Some of these pieces were published under the fictitious names of Abel, Enoch, Abraham, Solomon, Saint Paul, and of many of the patriarchs and fathers. Cornel. Agripp. De Van. Scient. cap. xlv, who adds, that these *trifles* were followed by Alphonsus king of Castile, Robert Grosthead, Bacon, and Apponus. He mentions Zabulus and Barnabas of Cyprus as famous writers in magic. See also Gower's Confess. Amant. p. 134 b. 149 b. edit. 1554. fol. per Berthelette. In speaking of antient authors,

who were known or celebrated in the middle ages, it may be remarked, that Macrobius was one. He is mentioned by William de Lorris in the Roman de la Rose, v. 9. "Ung aucteur qui ot nom *Macrobe*." A line literally translated by Chaucer, "An author that hight *Macrobes*." v. 7. Chaucer quotes him in his Dreame, v. 284. In the Nonnes Priest's Tale, v. 1238. p. 171. Urr. In the Assemblée of Fowles, v. 111. see also *ibid.* v. 31. He wrote a comment on Tully's *Somnium Scipionis*, and in these passages he is referred to on account of that piece. Petrarch, in a letter to Nicolas Sigeros, a learned Greek of Constantinople, quotes Macrobius as a Latin author of all others the most familiar to Nicolas. It is to prove that Homer is the fountain of all invention. This is in 1354. Famil. Let. ix. 2. There is a manuscript of the first, and part of the second book of Macrobius, elegantly written, as it seems, in France, about the year 800. MSS. Cotton. Vitell. C. iii. Cod. Membr. fol. viii. fol. 138. M. Planudes, a Constantinopolitan monk of the fourteenth century, is said to have translated Macrobius into Greek. But see Fabric. Bibl. Gr. x. 534. It is remarkable, that in the above letter, Petrarch apologises for calling Plato the Prince of Philosophers, after Cicero, Seneca, Apuleius, Plotinus, Saint Ambrose, and Saint Austin.

ⁱ Among these he mentions *Juglers*, that is, in the present sense of the word,

At entering the hall he sees an infinite multitude of heralds, on the surcoats of whom were richly embroidered the armorial ensigns of the most redoubted champions that ever tourneyed in Africa, Europe, or Asia. The floor and roof of the hall were covered with thick plates of gold studded with the costliest gems. At the upper end, on a lofty shrine made of carbuncle, sate Fame. Her figure is like those in Virgil and Ovid. Above her, as if sustained on her shoulders, sate Alexander and Hercules. From the throne to the gates of the hall, ran a range of pillars with respective inscriptions. On the first pillar made of lead and iron^k, stood Josephus, the Jewish historian, "That of the Jewis gestis told," with seven other writers on the same subject. On the second pillar, made of iron, and painted all over with the blood of tigers, stood Statius. On another higher than the rest stood Homer, Dares Phrygius, Livy^l, Lollius, Guido of Columna, and Geoffry of Monmouth, writers of the Trojan story. On a pillar of "tinnid iron clere," stood Virgil; and next him on a pillar of copper, appeared Ovid. The figure of Lucan was placed on a pillar of iron "wroght full sternly," accompanied with many Roman historians^m. On a pillar of sulphur stood Claudian, so symbolised, because he wrote of Pluto and Proserpine.

That bare up all the fame of hell;
Of Pluto and of Proserpine
That queen is of the darkè pine.ⁿ

The hall was filled with the writers of antient tales and romances, whose subjects and names were too numerous to be recounted. In the mean time crowds from every nation and of every condition filled the hall, and each presented his claim to the queen. A messenger is dispatched to summon Eolus from his cave in Thrace; who is ordered to bring his two clarions called SLANDER and PRAISE, and his trumpeter Triton. The praises of each petitioner are then resounded, according to the partial or capricious appointment of Fame; and equal merits obtain very different success. There is much satire and humour in these requests and rewards, and in the disgraces and honours which are indiscriminately distributed by the queen, without discernment and by chance. The poet then enters the house or labyrinth of RUMOUR. It

those who practised Legerdemain, a popular science in Chaucer's time. Thus in Squ. T. v. 239. Urr.

As jugelours playin at these festis grete.

It was an appendage of the occult sciences studied and introduced into Europe by the Arabians.

^k In the composition of these pillars, Chaucer displays his chemical knowledge.

^l Dares Phrygius and Livy are both cited in Chaucer's Dreme, v. 1070. 1084. Chaucer is fond of quoting Livy. He was

also much admired by Petrarch; who, while at Paris, assisted in translating him into French. This circumstance might make Livy a favourite with Chaucer. See Vie de Petrarque, iii. p. 547.

^m Was not this intended to characterise Lucan? Quintilian says of Lucan, "*Oratoribus magis quam poetis annumerandus.*" Instit. Orat. L. x. c. 1.

ⁿ B. iii. v. 419. Chaucer alludes to this poem of Claudian in the Marchaunt's Tale, where he calls Pluto, the king of "fayrie." v. 1744. p. 73. Urr.

was built of sallow twigs, like a cage, and therefore admitted every sound. Its doors were also more numerous than leaves on the trees, and always stood open. These are romantic exaggerations of Ovid's inventions on the same subject. It was moreover sixty miles in length, and perpetually turning round. From this house, says the poet, issued tidings of every kind, like fountains and rivers from the sea. Its inhabitants, who were eternally employed in hearing or telling news, together with the rise of reports, and the formation of lies, are then humourously described: the company is chiefly composed of sailors, pilgrims, and pardoners. At length our author is awakened at seeing a venerable personage of great authority: and thus the Vision abruptly concludes.

Pope has imitated this piece, with his usual elegance of diction and harmony of versification. But in the mean time, he has not only misrepresented the story, but marred the character of the poem. He has endeavoured to correct its extravagances by new refinements and additions of another cast: but he did not consider, that extravagances are essential to a poem of such a structure, and even constitute its beauties. An attempt to unite order and exactness of imagery with a subject formed on principles so professedly romantic and anomalous, is like giving Corinthian pillars to a Gothic palace. When I read Pope's elegant imitation of this piece, I think I am walking among the modern monuments unsuitably placed in Westminster Abbey.

SECTION XV.

Chaucer continued. The supposed occasion of his Canterbury Tales superior to that of Boccacio's Decameron. Squire's Tale, Chaucer's capital poem. Origin of its fictions. Story of Patient Grisilde. Its origin, popularity, and characteristic excellence. How conducted by Chaucer.

NOTHING can be more ingeniously contrived than the occasion on which Chaucer's CANTERBURY TALES are supposed to be recited. A company of pilgrims, on their journey to visit the shrine of Thomas Becket at Canterbury, lodge at the Tabarde-inn in Southwark. Although strangers to each other, they are assembled in one room at supper, as was then the custom; and agree, not only to travel together the next morning, but to relieve the fatigue of the journey by telling each a story^a. Chaucer undoubtedly intended to imitate Boccacio, whose

^a There is an inn at Burford in Oxfordshire, which accommodated pilgrims on their road to Saint Edward's shrine in the abbey of Gloucester. A long room, with

DECAMERON was then the most popular of books, in writing a set of tales. But the circumstance invented by Boccaccio, as the cause which gave rise to his DECAMERON, or the relation of his hundred stories^b, is by no means so happily conceived as that of Chaucer for a similar purpose. Boccaccio supposes, that when the plague began to abate at Florence, ten young persons of both sexes retired to a country house, two miles from the city, with a design of enjoying fresh air, and passing ten days agreeably. Their principal and established amusement, instead of playing at chess after dinner, was for each to tell a tale. One superiority, which, among others, Chaucer's plan afforded above that of Boccaccio, was the opportunity of displaying a variety of striking and dramatic characters, which would not have easily met but on such an expedition;—a circumstance which also contributed to give a variety to the stories. And for a number of persons in their situation, so natural, so practicable, so pleasant, I add so rational, a mode of entertainment, could not have been imagined.

The CANTERBURY TALES are unequal, and of various merit. Few, if any, of the stories are perhaps the invention of Chaucer. I have already spoken at large of the KNIGHT'S TALE, one of our author's noblest compositions^c. That of the CANTERBURY TALES, which deserves the next place, as written in the higher strain of poetry, and the poem by which Milton describes and characterises Chaucer, is the SQUIER'S TALE. The imagination of this story consists in Arabian fiction engrafted on Gothic chivalry. Nor is this Arabian fiction purely the sport of arbitrary fancy: it is in great measure founded on Arabian learning. Cambuscan, a king of Tartary, celebrates his birth-day festival in the hall of his palace at Sarra, with the most royal magnificence. In the midst of the solemnity, the guests are alarmed with a miraculous and unexpected spectacle: the minstrels cease on a sudden, and all the assembly is hushed in silence, surprise, and suspense.

While that this king sit thus in his nobley,
 Herking his ministralles hir thinges pley,
 Beforne him at his bord deliciously:
 In at the hallè dore, al sodenly,
 Ther came a knight upon a stede of bras;
 And in his hond a brod mirroür of glas:
 Upon his thombe he had of gold a ring,
 And by his side a naked swerd hanging.
 And up he rideth to the highe bord:
 In all the halle ne was ther spoke a word,

a series of Gothic windows, still remains, which was their refectory. Leland mentions such another, Itin. ii. 70.

^b It is remarkable, that Boccaccio chose a Greek title, that is, *Δεκαήμερον*, for his Tales. He has also given Greek names to the ladies and gentlemen who recite the

tales. His Eclogues are full of Greek words. This was natural at the revival of the Greek language.

^c The reader will excuse my irregularity in not considering it under the Canterbury Tales. I have here given the reason, which is my apology, in the text.

For mervaille of this knight; him to behold
Ful besily they waiten yong and old^d.

These presents were sent by the king of Araby and Inde to Cambuscan in honour of his feast. The Horse of brass, on the skilful movement and management of certain secret springs, transported his rider into the most distant region of the world in the space of twenty-four hours; for, as the rider chose, he could fly in the air with the swiftness of an eagle; and again, as occasion required, he could stand motionless in opposition to the strongest force, vanish on a sudden at command, and return at his master's call. The Mirroure of glass was endued with the power of showing any future disasters which might happen to Cambuscan's kingdom, and discovered the most hidden machinations of treason. The Naked Sword could pierce armour deemed impenetrable,

Were it as thicke as is a braunched oke.

And he who was wounded with it could never be healed, unless its possessor could be entreated to stroke the wound with its edge. The Ring was intended for Canace, Cambuscan's daughter; and, while she bore it in her purse, or wore it on her thumb, enabled her to understand the language of every species of birds, and the virtues of every plant.

And whan this knight hath thus his tale told,
He rideth out of halle and doun he light:
His Stede, which that shone as sonnè bright,
Stant in the court as stille as any ston.
This knight is to his chambre ladde anon,
And is unarmed, and to the mete ysette:
Thise presents ben ful richelich yfette,
This is to sain, the Swerd and the Mirrouër,
And borne anon into the highe tour,
With certain officers ordained therfore:
And unto Canace the Ring is bore
Solempnely, ther she sat at the table^e.

I have mentioned, in another place, the favourite philosophical studies of the Arabians^f. In this poem the nature of those studies is displayed, and their operations exemplified: and this consideration, added to the circumstances of Tartary being the scene of action, and Arabia the country from which these extraordinary presents are brought, induces me to believe this story to be one of the many fables which the Arabians imported into Europe. At least it is formed on their principles. Their sciences were tinctured with the warmth of their imagi-

^d v. 96. See a fine romantic story of a Count de Macon; who, while revelling in his hall with many knights, is suddenly alarmed by the entrance of a gigantic figure of a black man, mounted on a black steed. This terrible stranger, without receiving

any obstruction from guards or gates, rides directly forward to the high table; and, with an imperious tone, orders the count to follow him, &c. Nic. Gillos, chron. ann. 1120. See also Obs. Fair. Qu. § v. p. 146.

^e v. 188.

^f Diss. i. ii.

nations; and consisted in wonderful discoveries and mysterious inventions.

This idea of a horse of brass took its rise from their chemical knowledge and experiments in metals. The treatise of Jeber, a famous Arab chemist of the middle ages, called *LAPIS PHILOSOPHORUM*, contains many curious and useful processes concerning the nature of metals, their fusion, purification, and malleability, which still maintain a place in modern systems of that science^g. The poets of romance, who deal in Arabian ideas, describe the Trojan horse as made of brass^h. These sages pretended the power of giving life or speech to some of their compositions in metal. Bishop Grosthead's speaking brazen head, sometimes attributed to Bacon, has its foundation in Arabian philosophyⁱ. In the romance of *VALENTINE and ORSON*, a brazen head fabricated by a necromancer in a magnificent chamber of the castle of Clerimond, declares to those two princes their royal parentage^k. We are told by William of Malmesbury, that Pope Sylvester the Second, a profound mathematician who lived in the eleventh century, made a brazen head, which would speak when spoken to, and oracularly resolved many difficult questions^l. Albertus Magnus, who was also a profound adept in those sciences which were taught by the Arabian schools, is said to have framed a man of brass; which not only answered questions readily and truly, but was so loquacious, that Thomas Aquinas, while a pupil of Albertus Magnus, afterwards an Angelic doctor, knocked it in pieces as the disturber of his abstruse speculations. This was about the year 1240^m. Much in the same manner, the notion of our knight's horse being moved by means of a concealed engine, corresponds with their pretences of producing preternatural effects, and their love of surprising by geometrical powers. Exactly in this notion, Rocail, a giant in some of the Arabian romances, is said to have built a palace, together with his own sepulchre, of most magnificent architecture, and with singular artifice: in both of these he placed a great number of gigantic statues, or images, figured of different metals by talismanic skill, which, in consequence of some occult machinery, performed actions of real life, and looked like living menⁿ. We must

^g The Arabians call chemistry, as treating of minerals and metals, *SIMIA*. From *SIM*, a word signifying the veins of gold and silver in the mines. Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* p. 810. b. Hither, among many other things, we might refer Merlin's two dragons of gold finished with most exquisite workmanship, in Geoffrey of Monmouth, l. viii. c. 17. See also *ibid.* vii. c. 3. where Merlin prophesies that a brazen man on a brazen horse shall guard the gates of London.

^h See Lydgate's *Troye Boke*, B. iv. c. 35. And Gower's *Conf. Amant.* B. i. f. 13. b. edit. 1554. "A horse of brasse thel lette do forge."

ⁱ Gower, *Confess. Amant.* ut supr. L. iv. fol. lxiii. a. edit. 1554.

For of the greate clerke Groostest
I red, how redy that he was
Upon clergy a HEAD of BRASSE
To make, and forge it for to telle
Of such things as befell, &c.

^k Ch. xxviii. seq.

^l *De Gest. Reg. Angl.* lib. ii. cap. 10. Compare *Maj. Symbolor. Aureæ Mensæ*, lib. x. p. 453.

^m Delrio, *Disquis. Magic.* lib. i. cap. 4.

ⁿ Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* V. *ROCAIL*. p. 717. a.

add, that astronomy, which the Arabian philosophers studied with a singular enthusiasm, had no small share in the composition of this miraculous steed. For, says the poet,

He that it wrought, he coude many a gin,
He waited many a constellation
Or he had don this operation.^o

Thus the buckler of the Arabian giant Ben Gian, as famous among the Orientals as that of Achilles among the Greeks, was fabricated by the powers of astronomy^p. And Pope Sylvester's brazen head, just mentioned, was prepared under the influence of certain constellations.

Natural magic, improperly so called, was likewise a favourite pursuit of the Arabians, by which they imposed false appearances on the spectator. This was blended with their astrology. Our author's FRANKLEIN'S TALE is entirely founded on the miracles of this art.

For I am siker^a that ther be sciences,
By which men maken divers appearances,
Swiche as thise subtil tregetoures^r play :
For oft at festes, have I wel herd say,
That tregetoures, within an hallè large,
Have made come in a watir and a barge,
And in the hallè rowen up and down :
Somtime hath seinid come a grim leoun,
And somtime floures spring as in a mede ;
Somtime a vine, and grapes white and rede ;
Somtime a castel, &c.^a

Afterwards a magician in the same poem shows various specimens of his art in raising such illusions : and by way of diverting king Aurelius before supper, presents before him parks and forests filled with deer of vast proportion, some of which are killed with hounds and others with arrows. He then shows the king a beautiful lady in a dance. At the clapping of the magician's hands all these deceptions disappear^t.

^o v. 149. I do not precisely understand the line immediately following :

And knew ful many a sele and many a bond.

Sele, i. e. *Seal*, may mean a talismanic sigil used in astrology. Or the Hermetic seal used in chemistry. Or, connected with *Bond*, may signify contracts made with spirits in chemical operations. But all these belong to the Arabian philosophy, and are alike to our purpose. In the Arabian books now extant, are the alphabets out of which they formed Talismans to draw down spirits or angels. The Arabian word *KIMIA*, not only signifies chemistry, but a magical and superstitious science, by which they bound spirits to their

will and drew from them the information required. See Herbelot, Dict. Orient. p. 810. 1005. The curious and more inquisitive reader may consult Cornelius Agrippa, De Vanit. Scient. cap. xlv. xlv. xlv.

^p Many mysteries were concealed in the composition of this shield. It destroyed all the charms and enchantments which either demons or giants could make by goetic or magic art. Herbelot, ubi sup. V. Gian. p. 396. a.

^a sure.

^r juglers.

^o v. 2700. Urr.

^t But his most capital performance is to remove an immense chain of rocks from the sea-shore : this is done in such a manner, that for the space of one week, "it

These feats are said to be performed by consultation of the stars^a. We frequently read in romances of illusive appearances framed by magicians^w, which by the same powers are made suddenly to vanish. To trace the matter home to its true source, these fictions have their origin in a science which professedly made a considerable part of the Arabian learning^x. In the twelfth century the number of magical and astrological Arabic books translated into Latin was prodigious^y. Chaucer, in the fiction before us, supposes that some of the guests in Cambuscan's hall believed the Trojan horse to be a temporary illusion, effected by the power of magic^z.

An apparence ymade by som magike,
As jogelours plain at thise festes grete^a.

In speaking of the metallurgy of the Arabians, I must not omit the sublime imagination of Spenser, or rather some British bard, who feigns that the magician Merlin intended to build a wall of brass about Cairmardin, or Carmarthen; but that being hastily called away by the Lady of the Lake, and slain by her perfidy, he has left his fiends still at work on this mighty structure round their brazen cauldrons, under a rock among the neighbouring woody cliffs of Dynevaure, who dare not desist till their master returns. At this day, says the poet, if you listen at a chink or cleft of the rock,

— Such gastly noyse of yron chaines
And brasen cauldrons thou shalt rombling heare,

semid all the rockis were away." Ibid. 2849. By the way, this tale appears to be a translation. He says, "As the boke doth me remember." v. 2799. And "From Garumne to the mouth of Seine." v. 2778. The Garonne and Seine are rivers in France.

^a See Frankel. T. v. 2820. p. 111. Urr. The Christians called this one of the diabolical arts of the Saracens or Arabians; and many of their own philosophers, who afterwards wrote on the subject, or performed experiments on its principles, were said to deal with the devil. Witness our Bacon, &c. From Sir John Maundeville's Travels it appears, that these sciences were in high request in the court of the Cham of Tartary about the year 1340. He says, that, at a great festival, on one side of the Emperor's table, he saw placed many philosophers skilled in various sciences, such as astronomy, necromancy, geometry, and pyromancy: that some of these had before them astrolabes of gold and precious stones, others had horologes richly furnished, with many other mathematical instruments, &c. chap. lxxi. Sir John Maundeville began his travels into the East in 1322, and finished his book in 1364. chap. cix. See Johannes Sarisb. Polycrat. L. i. cap. xi. fol. 10. b.

^w See what is said of Spenser's False Florimel, Obs. Spens. § xi. p. 123.

^x Herbelot mentions many oriental pieces, "Qui traittent de cette art pernecieux et defendu." Dict. Orient. V. SCH. Compare Agrippa, ubi supr. cap. xlii. seq.

^y "Irrepsit hac ætate etiam turba astrologorum et Magorum, ejus farinæ libris una cum aliis de Arabico in Latinum conversis." Conring. Script. Comment. Sæc. xiii. cap. 3. p. 125. See also Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. V. KETAB. passim.

^z John of Salisbury says, that magicians are those who, among other deceptions, "Rebus adimunt species suas." Polycrat. i. 10. fol. 10. b. Agrippa mentions one Pasetes a jugler, who "was wont to shewe to strangers a very sumptuous banquet, and when it pleased him, to cause it vanishe awaye, al they which sate at the table being disappointed both of meate and drinke," &c. Van. Scient. cap. xlviii. p. 62. b. Engl. Transl. ut infr. Du Halde mentions a Chinese enchanter, who, when the Emperour was inconsolable for the loss of his deceased queen, caused her image to appear before him. Hist. Chin. iii. § iv. See the deceptions of Hakem an Arabian jugler in Herbelot, in V. p. 412. See supr. p. 168. 169.

^a v. 238.

Which thousand sprights with long enduring paines
 Do tosse, that it will stunn thy feeble braines.
 And oftentimes great grones and grievous stowndes
 When too huge toile and labour them constraines,
 And oftentimes loud strokes and ringing sowndes
 From under that deepe rocke most horribly reboundes.

X.

The cause some say is this: a little while
 Before that Merlin dyde, he dyd intend
 A BRASEN WALL in compasse to compyle
 About Cairmardin, and did it commend
 Unto those sprights to bring to perfect end:
 During which work the Lady of the Lake,
 Whom long he lov'd, for him in haste did send,
 Who therby forst his workemen to forsake,
 Them bounde, till his returne, their labour not to slake.

XI.

In the mean time, through that false ladies traine,
 He was surprizd, and buried under beare,
 Ne ever to his work returnd againe:
 Nathlesse those feends may not their worke forbear,
 So greatly his commandement they feare,
 But there do toyle and travayle night and day,
 Until that BRASEN WALL they up do reare^b.

This story Spenser borrowed from Giraldus Cambrensis, who during his progress through Wales, in the twelfth century, picked it up among other romantic traditions propagated by the British bards*. I have before pointed out the source from which the British bards received most of their extravagant fictions.

Optics were likewise a branch of study which suited the natural genius of the Arabian philosophers, and which they pursued with incredible delight. This science was a part of the Aristotelic philosophy; which, as I have before observed, they refined and filled with a thousand extravagances. Hence our strange knight's MIRROR OF GLASS, prepared on the most profound principles of art, and endued with preternatural qualities.

And som of hem wondred on the mirrour,
 That born was up into the maister tour:
 How men mighte in it swiche thinges see.
 An other answered and sayd, It might wel be

^b Fairy Queen, iii. 3. 9 seq.

* See Girald. Cambrens. Itin. Cambr. i. c. 6. Hollinsh. Hist. i. 129. And Camden's Brit. p. 734. Dryden has this fic-

tion, which he relates somewhat differently. Polyolb. lib. iv. p. 62. edit. 1613. Hence Bacon's wall of brass about England.

Naturelly by compositions
 Of angles, and of slie reflections:
 And saide, that in Rome was swiche one,
 They speke of Alhazen and Vitellon,
 And Aristotle, that writen in hir lives
 Of queinte MIRROURS, and of PROSPECTIVES^d.

And again,

This mirrour eke that I have in min hond,
 Hath swiche a might, that men may in it se
 Whan ther shal falle ony adversitee
 Unto your regne, &c.^e

Alcen, or Alhazen, mentioned in these lines, an Arabic philosopher, wrote seven books of perspective, and flourished about the eleventh century. Vitellio, formed on the same school, was likewise an eminent mathematician of the middle ages, and wrote ten books of Perspective. The Roman mirrour here mentioned by Chaucer, as similar to this of the strange knight, is thus described by Gower.

When Rome stoode in noble plite
 Virgile, which was the parfite,
 A mirrour made of his clergie^f
 And setté it in the townes eie
 Of marbre on a pillar without,
 That thei be thyрте mile aboute
 By daie and eke also bi night
 In that mirrour behold might
 Her enemies if any were, &c.^g

The Oriental writers relate, that Glamschid, one of their kings, the Solomon of the Persians and their Alexander the Great, possessed, among his inestimable treasures, cups, globes, and mirroures, of metal, glass, and crystal, by means of which he and his people knew all natural as well as supernatural things. A title of an Arabian book, translated from the Persian, is, "The Mirrour which reflects the World." There is this passage in an antient Turkish poet, "When I am purified by the light of heaven my soul will become the *mirrour of the world*, in which I shall discern all *abstruse secrets*." Monsieur l'Herbelot is of opinion that the Orientals took these notions from the patriarch Joseph's

^d v. 244.

^e v. 153.

^f learning; philosophy.

[The same fiction is in Caxton's *Troye Boke*. "Upon the pinnacle or top of the towre he made an ymage of copper and gave hym in his hande a looking-glasse,

having such vertue, that if it happened that any shippes came to harme, the citie suddenly, their army and their coming should appear in the said looking-glasse."^h B. ii. ch. xxii.—ADDITIONS.]

^g Confess. Amant. l. v. fol. xciv. 6. edit. Berth. 1554. ut supr.

cup of divination, and Nestor's cup in Homer, on which all nature was symbolically represented^b. Our great countryman Roger Bacon, in his *OPUS MAJUS*, a work entirely formed on the Aristotelic and Arabian philosophy, describes a variety of *Specula*, and explains their construction and uses¹. This is the most curious and extraordinary part of Bacon's book, which was written about the year 1270. Bacon's optic tube, with which he pretended to see *future events*, was famous in his age, and long afterwards, and chiefly contributed to give him the name of a magician^k. This art, with others of the experimental kind, the philosophers of those times were fond of adapting to the purposes of thaumaturgy; and there is much occult and chimerical speculation in the discoveries which Bacon affects to have made from optical experiments. He asserts, and I am obliged to cite the passage in his own mysterious expressions, "*Omnia sciri per Pêrspectivam, quoniam omnes actiones rerum fiunt secundum specierum et virtutum multiplicationem ab agentibus hujus mundi in materias patientes,*" &c.¹. Spenser feigns, that the magician Merlin made a *glassie globe*, and presented it to king Ryence, which showed the approach of enemies, and discovered treasons^m. This fiction, which exactly corresponds with Chaucer's *Mirroure*, Spenser borrowed from some romance, perhaps of king Arthur, fraught with Oriental fancy. From the same sources came a like fiction of Camoens, in the *Lusiad*ⁿ, where a globe is shown to Vasco de Gama, representing the universal fabric or system of the world, in which he sees future kingdoms and future events. The Spanish historians report an American tradition, but more probably invented by themselves, and built on the Saracen fables, in which they were so conversant. They pretend that some years before the Spaniards entered Mexico, the inhabitants caught a monstrous fowl, of unusual magnitude and shape, on the lake of Mexico. In the crown of the head of this wonderful bird there was a mirroure or plate of glass, in which the Mexicans saw their future invaders the Spaniards, and all the disasters which afterwards happened to their kingdom. These superstitions remained, even in the doctrines of philosophers, long after the darker ages. Cornelius Agrippa, a learned physician of Cologne, about the year 1520, author of a famous book on the *Vanity of the Sciences*, mentions a species of mirroure which

^b Herbelot. Dict. Oriental. V. GIAM. p. 392. col. 2. John of Salisbury mentions a species of diviners called *SPÉCULARII*, who predicted future events, and told various secrets, by consulting mirroure, and the surfaces of other polished reflecting substances. Polycrat. i. 12. pag. 32. edit. 1595.

¹ Edit. Jebb. p. 253. Bacon, in one of his manuscripts, complains, that no person read lectures in Oxford *De Perspectiva*, before the year 1267. He adds, that in the university of Paris, this science was quite unknown. In *Epist. ad Opus Minus Clementi IV.* Et *ibid.* Op. Min. iii. cap.

ii. MSS. Bibl. Coll. Univ. Oxon. c. 20. In another he affirms, that Julius Cesar, before he invaded Britain, viewed our harbours and shores with a telescope from the Gallic coast. MSS. lib. *De Perspectivis*. He accurately describes reading-glasses or *spectacles*, Op. Maj. p. 236. And the *Camera Obscura*, I believe, is one of his discoveries.

^k Wood, Hist. Antiquit. Univ. Oxon. i. 122.

¹ Op. Min. MSS. ut supr.

^m Fairy Queen, iii. ii. 21.

ⁿ Cant. x.

exhibited the form of persons absent, at command°. In one of these he is said to have shown to the poetical earl of Surry, the image of his mistress, the beautiful Geraldine, sick and reposing on a couch². Nearly allied to this, was the infatuation of *seeing things* in a beryl, which was very popular in the reign of James the First, and is alluded to by Shakespeare. The Arabians were also famous for other machineries of glass, in which their chemistry was more immediately concerned. The philosophers of their school invented a story of a magical steel-glass, placed by Ptolemy on the summit of a lofty pillar near the city of Alexandria, for burning ships at a distance. The Arabians called this pillar *Hemadestlaeor*, or the Pillar of the Arabians³. I think it is mentioned by Sandys. Roger Bacon has left a manuscript tract on the formation of burning-glasses⁴; and he relates that the first burning-glass which he constructed cost him sixty pounds of Parisian money⁵. Ptolemy, who seems to have been confounded with Ptolemy the Egyptian astrologer and geographer, was famous among the Eastern writers and their followers for his skill in operations of glass. Spenser mentions a miraculous tower of glass built by Ptolemy, which concealed his mistress the Egyptian Phao, while the invisible inhabitant viewed all the world from every part of it.

Great Ptolomee it for his leman's sake
Ybuidled *all of glass* by magicke power,
And also it impregnable did make⁶.

But this magical fortress, although impregnable, was easily broken in pieces at one stroke by the builder, when his mistress ceased to love. One of Boyardo's extravagances is a prodigious wall of glass built by some magician in Africa, which obviously betrays its foundation in Arabian fable and Arabian philosophy⁷.

° It is diverting in this book to observe the infancy of experimental philosophy, and their want of knowing how to use or apply the mechanical arts which they were even actually possessed of. Agrippa calls the inventor of magnifying glasses, "without doubt the beginner of all dishonestie." He mentions various sorts of diminishing, burning, reflecting, and multiplying glasses, with some others. At length this profound thinker closes the chapter with this sage reflection: "All these thinges are vaine and superfluous, and invented to no other end but for pompe and idle pleasure!" Chap. xxvi. p. 36. A translation by James Sandford. Lond. 1569. 4to. Bl. Let.

² Drayton's Heroical Epist. p. 87. b. edit. 1598.

³ The same fablers have adapted a similar fiction to Hercules: that he erected pillars at Cape Finesterre, on which he raised magical looking-glasses. In an

Eastern romance, called the Seven Wise Masters, of which more will be said hereafter, at the siege of Hur in Persia, certain philosophers terrified the enemy by a device of placing a habit (says an old English translation) "of a giant-like proportion, on a tower, and covering it with burning-glasses, looking-glasses of cristall, and other glasses of several colours, wrought together in a marvellous order," &c. ch. xvii. p. 182. edit. 1674. The Constantinopolitan Greeks possessed these arts in common with the Arabians. See Morisotus, ii. 3, who says, that in the year 751, they set fire to the Saracen fleet before Constantinople by means of burning-glasses.

⁴ MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Digb. 183. And Arch. A. 149. But I think it was printed at Francfort, 1614. 4to.

⁵ Twenty pounds sterling. Compend. Stud. Theol. c. i. p. 5. MS.

⁶ Fairy Queen, iii. ii. 20.

⁷ Hither we might also refer Chaucer's

The Naked Sword, another of the gifts presented by the strange knight to Cambuscan, endued with medical virtues, and so hard as to pierce the most solid armour, is likewise an Arabian idea. It was suggested by their skill in medicine, by which they affected to communicate healing qualities to various substances^w, and from their knowledge of tempering iron and hardening all kinds of metal^x. It is the classical spear of Peleus, perhaps originally fabricated in the same regions of fancy.

And other folk han wondred on the Swerd,
That wolde percen thurghout every thing;
And fell in speche of Telephus the king,
And of Achilles for his qeintè spere
For he coude with it bothè hele and dere^y
Right in swiche wise as men may with the swerd,
Of which right now ye have yourselfen herd.
Thei speken of sondry harding of metall
And speken of medicines therwithall,
And how and whan it shul dyharded be, &c.^z

The sword which Berni in the *ORLANDO INNAMORATO* gives to the hero Ruggiero, is tempered by much the same sort of magic.

Quel brando con tal tempra fabbricato,
Che taglia incanto ad ogni fatatura.^a

So also his continuator Ariosto,

Non vale incanto, ov' elle mette il taglio.^b

And the notion that this weapon could resist all incantations, is like the fiction above mentioned of the buckler of the Arabian giant Ben Gian, which baffled the force of charms and enchantments made by giants or demons^c. Spenser^e has a sword endued with the same efficacy, the metal of which the magician Merlin mixed with the juice of meadow-wort, that it might be proof against enchantment; and afterwards, having forged the blade in the flames of Etna, he gave it hidden virtue by dipping it seven times in the bitter waters of Styx^d. From

House of Fame, which is built of glass,
and Lydgate's Temple of Glass. It is said in some romances written about the time of the Crusades, that the city of Damascus was walled with glass. See Hall's *Virgidem. or Satyres*, &c. B. iv. S. 6. written in 1597.

Or of Damascus magicke wall of glasse,
Or Solomon his sweating piles of brasse, &c.

^w The notion, mentioned before, that every stone of Stone-henge was washed with juices of herbs in Africa, and tinctured with healing powers, is a piece of the same philosophy.

^a Montfaucon cites a Greek chemist of the dark ages, "CHRISTIANI LABYRINTHUS SALOMONIS, de temperando ferro, conficiendo crystallo, et de aliis naturæ arcanis." *Palæogr. Gr.* p. 375.

^y hurt; wound.

^z v. 256.

^a *Orl. Innam.* ii. 17. st. 13.

^b *Orl. Fur.* xii. 83.

^c *Amadis de Gaul* [Greece.—RITSON.] has such a sword. See *Don Quixote*, B. iii. Ch. iv.

^d *Fairy Queen*, ii. viii. 20. See also *Ariost.* xix. 84.

the same origin is also the golden lance of Berni, which Galafron king of Cathaia, father of the beautiful Angelica and the invincible champion Argalia, procured for his son by the help of a magician. This lance was of such irresistible power, that it unhorsed a knight the instant he was touched with its point.

——— Una lancia d'oro,
Fatto con arte, e con sottil lavoro.
E quella lancia di natura tale,
Che resister non puossi alla sua spinta;
Forza, o destrezza contra lei non vale,
Convien che l'una, e l'altra resti vinta:
Incanto, a cui non è nel mondo eguale,
L'ha di tanta possanza intorno cinta,
Che nè il conte di Brava, nè Rinaldo,
Nè il mondo al colpo suo starebbe saldo.*

Britomart in Spenser is armed with the same enchanted spear, which was made by Bladud an antient British king skilled in magic^f.

The Ring, a gift to the king's daughter Canuce, which taught the language of birds, is also quite in the style of some others of the occult sciences of these inventive philosophers^g: and it is the fashion of the Oriental fabulists to give language to brutes in general. But to understand the language of birds was peculiarly one of the boasted sciences of the Arabians; who pretend that many of their countrymen have been skilled in the knowledge of the language of birds, ever since the time of king Solomon. Their writers relate, that Balkis the queen of Sheba, or Saba, had a bird called *Hudhud*, that is, a lapwing, which she dispatched to king Solomon on various occasions; and that this trusty bird was the messenger of their amours. We are told, that Solomon having been secretly informed by this winged confidant, that Balkis intended to honour him with a grand embassy, enclosed a spacious square with a wall of gold and silver bricks, in which he ranged his numerous troops and attendants in order to receive the ambassadors, who were astonished at the suddenness of these splendid and unexpected preparations^h. Monsieur l'Herbelot tells a curious story of an Arab feeding his camels in a solitary wilderness, who was accosted for a draught of water by Alhejaj a famous Arabian commander, and who had been separated from his retinue in hunting. While they were talking together, a bird flew over their heads, making at the same time an

* Orl. Innam. i. l. st. 43. See also, i. ii. st. 20, &c. And Ariosto, viii. 17. xviii. 118. xxiii. 15.

^f Fairy Queen, iii. 3. 60. iv. 6. 6. iii. 1. 4.

^g Rings are a frequent implement in romantic enchantment. Among a thousand instances, see Orland. Innam. i. 14: where the palace and gardens of Dra-

gontina vanish at Angelica's ring of virtue.

^h Herbelot. Dict. Oriental. V. BALKIS, p. 182.

[Mahomet believed this foolish story, at least thought it fit for a popular book, and has therefore inserted it in the Alcoran. See Grey on Hudibras, parti. cant. i. v. 847. —ADDITIONS.]

unusual sort of noise; which the camel-feeder hearing, looked steadfastly on Alhejaj, and demanded who he was. Alhejaj, not choosing to return him a direct answer, desired to know the reason of that question. "Because," replied the camel-feeder, "this bird assured me, that a company of people is coming this way, and that you are the chief of them." While he was speaking, Alhejaj's attendants arrived¹.

This wonderful ring also imparted to the wearer a knowledge of the qualities of plants, which formed an important part of the Arabian philosophy².

The vertue of this ring if ye wol here
Is this, that if hire list it for to were,
Upon hire thomb, or in hire purse it bere,
Ther is no foule that fleeth under heven
That she ne shal wel understand his steven³,
And know his mening openly and plaine,
And answeere him in his langage againe.
And every gras that groweth upon rote,
She shal eke know, and whom it wol do bote:
All be his woundes never so depe and wide.^m

Every reader of taste and imagination must regret, that instead of our author's tedious detail of the quaint effects of Canace's ring, in which a falcon relates her amours, and talks familiarly of Troilus, Paris, and Jason, the notable achievements we may suppose to have been performed by the assistance of the horse of brass, are either lost, or that this part of the story, by far the most interesting, was never written. After the strange knight has explained to Cambuscan the management of this magical courser, he vanishes on a sudden, and we hear no more of him.

At after souper goth this noble king
To seen this Hors of Bras, with all a route
Of lordes and of ladies him aboute:
Swiche wondring was ther on this Hors of Brasⁿ,
That sin the gret assege of Troyè was,

¹ See Herbel. ubi supr. V. Hégiage Ebn Yusef Al Thakefi. p. 442. This Arabian commander was of the eighth century. In the Seven Wise Masters, one of the tales is founded on the language of birds. Ch. xvi.

² See what is said of this in the Dissertations.

³ language.

^m v. 166.

ⁿ Cervantes mentions a horse of wood, which, like this of Chaucer, on turning a pin in his forehead, carried his rider through the air. [A similar fiction occurs in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, and must be in the recollection of every reader.] This horse, Cervantes adds, was made by Merlin for Peter of Provence; with which

that valorous knight carried off the fair Magalona. From what romance Cervantes took this I do not recollect: but the reader sees its correspondence with the fiction of Chaucer's horse, and will refer it to the same original. See Don Quixote, B. iii. ch. 8. We have the same thing in Valentine and Orson, ch. xxxi. [The romance alluded to by Cervantes, is entitled "La Historia de la linda Magalona hija del rey de Napoles y de Pierres de Provença," printed at Seville 1533, and is a translation from a much more ancient and very celebrated French romance under a similar title.—RITSON.] The French romance is confessedly but a translation: "Ordon-

Ther as men wondred on an hors also,
 Ne was ther swiche a wondring as was tho°.
 But finally the king asketh the knight
 The vertue of his courser and the might;
 And praied him to tell his governaunce:
 The hors anon gan for to trip and daunce,
 Whan that the knight laid hond upon his reine.—
 Enfourmed whan the king was of the knight,
 And hath conceived in his wit aright,
 The maner and the forme of all this thing,
 Ful glad and blith, this noble doughty king
 Repaireth to his revel as beforne:
 The brydel is into the Toure yborne*,
 And kept among his jewels^p lefe and dere:
 The horse vanisht: I n'ot in what manere.^q

By such inventions we are willing to be deceived. These are the triumphs of deception over truth.

Magnanima mensogna, hor quando è al vero
 Si bello, che si possa à te preporre?

THE CLERKE OF OXENFORDS TALE, or the story of Patient Grisilde, is the next of Chaucer's Tales in the serious style which deserves mention. The Clerke declares in his Prologue, that he learned this tale of Petrarch at Padua. But it was the invention of Boccaccio, and is the last in his *DECAMERON*^r. Petrarch, although most intimately connected with Boccaccio for near thirty years, never had seen the *Decameron* till just before his death. It accidentally fell into his hands, while he resided at Arque between Venice and Padua, in the year one thousand three hundred and seventy-four. The tale of Grisilde struck him the most of any: so much, that he got it by heart to relate it to

née en cestui language...et fut mis en cestui language l'an mil cccclvii." A Provençal romance on this subject, doubtlessly the original, was written by Bernard de Treviez, a Canon of Maguelone, before the close of the twelfth century. See Roquefort, *Poesies des Troubadours*, vol. ii. p. 317. [On the authority of Gariel's "*Idée de la ville de Montpellier*," Petrarch is stated to have corrected and embellished this romance.—PRICE.]

^o then.

* [The bridle of the enchanted horse is carried into the tower, which was the treasury of Cambuscan's castle, to be kept among the *jewels*. Thus when king Richard the First, in a crusade, took Cyprus, among the treasures in the castles are recited precious stones, and golden cups, together with "*Sellis aureis frenis et cal-*

caribus." Galfr. Vinessauf. *Iter. Hierosol.* cap. xli. p. 328. Vet. Script. Angl. tom. ii. —ADDITIONS.]

^p *jocalia*; precious things.

^q v. 322 seq. 355 seq.

^r Giorn. x. Nov. 10. Dryden, in the superficial but lively Preface to his *Fables*, says, "The Tale of Grisilde was the invention of Petrarch: by him sent to Boccaccio, from whom it came to Chaucer."

[It may be doubted whether Boccaccio invented the story of Grisilde. For, as the late inquisitive and judicious editor of the *Canterbury Tales* observes, it appears by a Letter of Petrarch to Boccaccio, [Opp. Petrarch. p. 540—7. edit. Basil. 1581.] sent with his Latin translation, in 1373, that Petrarch had heard the story with pleasure, many years before he saw the *Decameron*. vol. iv. p. 157.—ADDITIONS.]

his friends at Padua. Finding that it was the most popular of all Boccaccio's tales, for the benefit of those who did not understand Italian, and to spread its circulation, he translated it into Latin with some alterations. Petrarch relates this in a letter to Boccaccio; and adds, that on showing the translation to one of his Paduan friends, the latter, touched with the tenderness of the story, burst into such frequent and violent fits of tears, that he could not read to the end. In the same letter he says, that a Veronese having heard of the Paduan's exquisiteness of feeling on this occasion, resolved to try the experiment. He read the whole aloud from the beginning to the end, without the least change of voice or countenance; but on returning the book to Petrarch, confessed that it was an affecting story: "I should have wept," added he, "like the Paduan, had I thought the story true. But the whole is a manifest fiction. There never was, nor ever will be, such a wife as Grisilde*." Chaucer, as our Clerke's declaration in the Prologue seems to imply, received this tale from Petrarch, and not from Boccaccio: and I am inclined to think, that he did not take it from Petrarch's Latin translation, but that he was one of those friends to whom Petrarch used to relate it at Padua. This too seems sufficiently pointed out in the words of the Prologue.

I wol you tell a talè which that I
 Lerned at Padowe of a worthy clerk:—
 Fraunceis Petrark, the laureat poete,
 Highte this clerke, whos rhetorik swete
 Enlumined all Itaille of poetrie.*

Chaucer's tale is also much longer, and more circumstantial, than Boccaccio's. Petrarch's Latin translation from Boccaccio was never printed. It is in the royal library at Paris, in that of Magdalene college at Oxford, and in Bennet college library, with this title: "HISTORIA sive FABULA de nobili Marchione WALTERIO domino terræ Saluciarum, quomodo duxit in uxorem GRISILDEM pauperculam, et ejus constantiam et patientiam mirabiliter et acriter comprobavit: quam de vulgari sermone Saluciarum in Latinum transtulit D. Franciscus Petrarcha*."

* Vie de Petrarch, iii. 797.

† v. 1057. p. 96. Urr. Afterwards Petrarch is mentioned as dead. He died of an apoplexy, Jul. 18, 1374. See v. 2168.

* Viz. "Vita Grisildis per Fr. Petrarcham de vulgari in Latinam linguam traducta." But Rawlinson cites, "Epistola Francisci Petrarchæ de insigni obedientia et fide uxoria Griseldis in Waltherum Ulme, impress." per me R. . . . A.D. 1843. MS. Not in Mattairii Typogr. Hist. i. i. p. 104. In Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum, there is, "Fr. Petrarchæ super Historiam Wal-

terii Marchionis et Griseldis uxoris ejus." 8 B. vi. 17.

[The "Vita Grisildis" and "Epistola," cited by Rawlinson, are the same work which was printed at Ulm in 1473 by John Leiner de Reutlingen. See Panzer Annal. Typogr. ii. 529. Other copies without date were published at a very early period.—PARK.]

* [CLXXVII. 10. fol. 76. Again, ibid. CCLXXV. 14. fol. 163. Again, ibid. CCCCLVIII. 3. with the date 1476, I suppose, from the scribe. And in Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. G. 80.—ADDITIONS.]

The story soon became so popular in France, that the comedians of Paris represented a Mystery in French verse entitled *LE MYSTERE DE GRISEILDIS MARQUIS DE SALUCES*, in the year 1393^v. Lydgate, almost Chaucer's cotemporary, in his manuscript poem entitled the *TEMPLE OF GLASS*², among the celebrated lovers painted on the walls of the temple⁷, mentions Dido, Medea and Jason, Penelope, Alcestis, *PATIENT GRISILDE*, Bel Isoulde and Sir Tristram², Pyramus and Thisbe, Theseus, Lucretia, Canace, Palamon and Emilia⁸.

The pathos of this poem, which is indeed exquisite, chiefly consists in invention of incidents, and the contrivance of the story, which cannot conveniently be developed in this place: and it will be impossible to give any idea of its essential excellence by exhibiting detached parts. The versification is equal to the rest of our author's poetry.

^v It was many years afterwards printed at Paris, by Jean Bonnefons. [This is the whole title: "*LE MYSTERE de Griseildis, Marquis de Saluces, mis en rime François et par personnaiges.*" Without date, in quarto, and in the Gothic type. In the colophon, *Cy finist la vie de Griseildis, &c.*—*ADDITIONS.*] The writers of the French stage do not mention this piece. See p. 28. Their first theatre is that of Saint Maur, and its commencement is placed five years later, in the year 1398. Afterwards Apostolo Zeno wrote a theatrical piece on this subject in Italy. I need not mention that it is to this day represented in England, on a stage of the lowest species, and of the highest antiquity: I mean at a puppet-show. The French have this story in their *Parement des Dames*. See Mem. Lit. Tom. ii. p. 743. 4to.

² And in a *Balade*, translated by Lydgate from the Latin, "*Grisilde's humble patience*" is recorded. Urr. Ch. p. 550. v. 108.

⁷ There is a more curious mixture in Chaucer's *Balade* to King Henry IV. where Alexander, Hector, Julius Cesar, Judas Maccabeus, David, Joshua, Charlemagne, Godfrey of Bulloign, and king Arthur, are all thrown together as antient heroes. v. 281. seq. [These are the nine worthies. The *balade* is Gower's.—*RITSON.*] But it is to be observed, that the

French had a metrical romance called *Judas Macchabée* begun by Gualtier de Belleperche, before 1240. It was finished a few years afterwards by Pierros du Reix. Fauch. p. 197. See also Lydgate, Urr. Chauc. p. 550. v. 89. M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye has given us an extract of an old Provençal poem, in which, among heroes of love and gallantry, are enumerated Paris, Sir Tristram, Ivaine the inventor of gloves and other articles of elegance in dress, Apollonius of Tyre, and king Arthur. Mem. Chev. Extr. de Poës. Prov. ii. p. 154. In a French romance, *Le livre de cuer d'amour espris*, written 1457, the author introduces the blasoning of the arms of several celebrated lovers; among which are king David, Nero, Mark Antony, Theseus, Hercules, Eneas, Sir Lancelot, Sir Tristram, Arthur duke of Bretagne, Gaston du Foix, many French dukes, &c. Mem. Lit. viii. p. 592. edit. 4to. The chevalier Bayard, who died about the year 1524, is compared to Scipio, Hannibal, Theseus, king David, Samson, Judas Maccabeus, Orlando, Godfrey of Bulloign, and monsieur de Palisse, marshal of France. *La Vie et les Gestes du preux Chevalier Bayard, &c.* Printed 1525.

⁸ From *Morte Arthur*. They are mentioned in Chaucer's *Assemblee of Fowles*, v. 290. See also Compl. Bl. Kn. v. 367.

² MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Fairfax. 16.

SECTION XVI.

Chaucer continued. Tale of the Nun's Priest. Its Origin and Allusions. January and May. Its Imitations. Licentiousness of Boccaccio. Miller's Tale. Its singular Humour and Ridiculous Characters. Other Tales of the Comic Species. Their Origin, Allusions, and Respective Merits. Rime of Sir Thopas. Its Design and Tendency.

THE TALE of the NONNES PRIEST is perhaps a story of English growth. The story of the cock and the fox is evidently borrowed from a collection of Esopean and other fables, written by Marie a French poetess, whose LAIS are preserved in MSS. HARL.* Beside the absolute resemblance, it appears still more probable that Chaucer copied from Marie, because no such fable is to be found either in the Greek Esop, or in any of the Latin Esopean compilations of the dark ages†. All the manuscripts of Marie's fables in the British Museum prove, that she translated her work "de l'Anglois en Roman." Probably her English original was Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Esop modernised, and still bearing his name. She professes to follow the version of a king; who, in the best of the Harleian copies, is called LI REIS ALURED‡. She appears, from passages in her LAIS, to have understood English§. I will give her Epilogue to the Fables from MSS. JAMES. viii. p. 23. Bibl. Bodl.

Al finement de cest escrit
 Qu'en romanz ai treite e dit
 Me numerai pour remembraunce
 Marie ai nun sui de France
 Pur cel estre que clerc plusur
 Prendreient sur eus mun labour
 Ne voit que nul sur li sa die
 Eil fait que fol que sei ublie
 Pur amur le cunte Wllame
 Le plus vaillant de nul realme
 Meinlemir de ceste livre feise
 E des Engleis en romanz treire
 Esop apelum cest livre
 Quil translata e fist escrire
 Del Gru en Latin le turna
 Le Reiz Alurcz que mut lama.

* [ut infr. see f. 139.]

† [See MSS. Harl. 978. f. 76.]

‡ [MSS. Harl. 978. supr. citat.]

§ [See Chaucer's Canterb. Tales, vol. iv. p. 179.]

Le translata puis en Engleis
 E jeo lai rimee en Franceis
 Si cum jeo poi plus proprement
 Ore pri a dieu omnipotent, &c.

The figment of Dan Burnell's Ass is taken from a Latin poem entitled *SPECULUM STULTORUM*^a, written by Nigellus de Wireker, monk and precentor of Canterbury cathedral, a profound theologian, who flourished about the year 1200^b. The narrative of the two pilgrims is borrowed from Valerius Maximus^c. It is also related by Cicero, a less known and a less favourite author^d. There is much humour in the description of the prodigious confusion which happened in the farm-yard after the fox had conveyed away the cock.

———— After him they ran,
 And eke with staves many another man.
 Ran Colle our dogge, and Talbot, and Gerlond^e,
 And Malkin with her distaf in hire hond.
 Ran cow and calf, and eke the very hogges.—
 The dokes crieden as men wold hem quelle^f,
 The gees for fere flewen over the trees,
 Out of the hive came the swarme of bees^g.

Even Jack Strawe's insurrection, a recent transaction, was not attended with so much noise and disturbance.

So hidous was the noise, *ah Benedicite!*
 Certes he Jacke Strawe, and his meine,
 Ne maden never shoutes half so shrille, &c.^h

The importance and affectation of sagacity with which dame Partlett communicates her medical advice, and displays her knowledge in physic, is a ridicule on the state of medicine and its professorsⁱ.

In another strain, the cock is thus beautifully described, and not without some striking and picturesque allusions to the manners of the times.

———— A cok highte chaunteclere,
 In all the land of crowing n'as his pere.
 His vois was merier than the mery orgon^k
 On masse-daiës that in the cherches gon.

^a v. 1427. p. 172. Urr.

^b Or John of Salisbury. Printed at Cologn in 1449.

[It is entitled *BURNELLUS, sive Speculum Stultorum*, and was written about the year 1190. See Leyser. *Poet. Med. Ævi*, p. 752. It is a common manuscript. *Burnell* is a nick-name for Balaam's ass in the Chester Whitsun Plays. MSS. Harl. 2013.—ADDITIONS.]

^c v. 1100.

^d See Val. Max. i. 7. And Cic. de *Divinat.* i. 27.

^e names of dogs.

^f kill.

^g v. 1496.

^h v. 1509. This is a proof that the Canterbury Tales were not written till after the year 1381.

ⁱ v. 1070.

^k organ.

Wel sikerer¹ was his crowing in his loge^m
 Than is a klok, or any abbey orloge.—
 His combe was redder than the fin corall,
 Enbattelledⁿ as it were a castel wall,
 His bill was black and as the jet it shone,
 Like asure were his legges, and his tone^o:
 His nailes whiter than the lilie flour,
 And like the burned gold was his colour.^p

In this poem the fox is compared to the three arch-traitors Judas Iscariot, Virgil's Sinon, and Ganilion who betrayed the Christian army under Charlemagne to the Saracens, and is mentioned by archbishop Turpin.^q Here also are cited, as writers of high note or authority, Cato, Physiologus or Pliny* the elder, Boethius on music, the author of the legend of the life of Saint Kenelme, Josephus, the historian of Sir Lancelot du Lake, Saint Austin, bishop Bradwardine, Jeffrey Vinesauf who wrote a monody in Latin verse on the death of king Richard the First, Ecclesiastes, Virgil, and Macrobius.

Our author's JANUARY and MAY, or the MARCHAUNT'S TALE, seems to be an old Lombard story. But many passages in it are evidently taken from the POLYCRATICON of John of Salisbury. *De molestiis et oneribus conjugiorum secundum Hieronymum et alios philosophos. Et de pernicie libidinis. Et de mulieris Ephesine et similium fide*^r. And by the way, about forty verses belonging to this argument are translated from the same chapter of the POLYCRATICON, in the WIFE OF BATH'S Prologue^s. In the mean time it is not improbable, that this tale might have originally been Oriental. A Persian tale is just published which it extremely resembles^t; and it has much of the allegory of an Eastern apologue.

¹ clearer. [surer.—RITSON.]

^m pen; yard.

ⁿ embattelled.

^o toes.

^p v. 96.

^q v. 1341. See also Monk. T. v. 806.

* [Dr. Warton afterwards discovered that by Physiologus, Florinus was intended, and not Pliny; and has corrected his mistake in Section xxvii. first note ¹, near the commencement.]

^r L. viii. c. 11. fol. 193 b. edit. 1513.

^s Mention is made in this Prologue of St. Jerom and Theophrast, on that subject, v. 671. 674. The author of the Polycraticon quotes Theophrastus from Jerom, viz. "Fertur auctore Hieronimo aureolus Theophrasti libellus de non ducenda uxore." fol. 194 a. Chaucer likewise, on this occasion, cites *Valerie*, v. 671. This is not the favorite historian of the middle ages, Valerius Maximus. It is a book written by Walter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford, under the assumed name of Valerius, entitled *Valerius ad Rufinum de non*

ducenda uxore. This piece is in the Bodleian library with a large Gloss. MSS. Digb. 166. ii. 147. Mapes perhaps adopted this name, because one Valerius had written a treatise on the same subject, inserted in St. Jerom's works. Some copies of this Prologue, instead of "*Valerie and Theophrast*," read *Paraphrast*. If that be the true reading, which I do not believe, Chaucer alludes to the gloss above mentioned. *Helowis*, cited just afterwards, is the celebrated Eloisa. Trotulla is mentioned, v. 677. Among the manuscripts of Merton College in Oxford, is "*Trotulla Mulier Salernitana de passionibus mulierum*." There is also extant, "*Trotulla, seu potius Erotis medici muliebrium liber*." Basil. 1586. 4to. See also Montfauc. Catal. MSS. p. 385. And Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xiii. p. 439.

^t By Mr. Dow, ch. xv. p. 252.

[The ludicrous adventure of the Pear Tree, in January and May, is taken from a collection of Fables in Latin elegiacs,

The following description of the wedding-feast of January and May is conceived and expressed with a distinguished degree of poetical elegance.

Thus ben they wedded with solempnite,
 And at the feste sitteth he and she,
 With other worthy folk upon the deis^u:
 Al ful of joye and blisse is the paleis,
 And ful of instruments and of vitaille,
 The mōst daynteous of all Itaille.
 Before hem stood swiche instruments of soun,
 That Orpheus, ne of Thebes Amphion
 Ne maden never swiche a melodie;
 At every cours in cam loude minstralcie,
 That never Joab tromped^w, for to here,
 Ne he Theodamas yet half so clere,
 At Thebes, whan the citee was in doute^y.
 Bacchus the win hem skinketh^a al aboute,
 And Venus laugheth upon every wight,
 For January was become hire knight,
 And wolde bothe assaien his corage
 In libertee and eke in mariage,
 And with hire firebronde in hire hond aboute
 Danceth before the bride and al the route.
 And certainly I dare right wel say this,
 Ymeneus that god of wedding is

written by one Adolphus in the year 1315. Leyser Hist. Poet. Med. Ævi, p. 2008. The same fable is among the Fables of Alphonse, in Caxton's Esop.—ADDITIONS.]

^u I have explained this word, vol. i. p. 38. but will here add some new illustrations of it. Undoubtedly the high table in a public refectory, as appears from these words in Mathew Paris, "Priore prandente ad MAGNAM MENSAM quam DAIS vulgo appellamus." In Vit. Abbat. S. Albani, p. 92. And again the same writer says, that a cup, with a foot, or stand, was not permitted in the hall of the monastery, "Nisi tantum in MAJORI MENSA quam DAIS appellamus." Additam. p. 148. There is an old French word, DAIS, which signifies a throne, or canopy, usually placed over the head of the principal person at a magnificent feast. Hence it was transferred to the table at which he sate. In the antient French *Roman de Garin*;

Au plus haut DAIS sist roy Anseis.

Either at the first table, or, which is much the same thing, under the highest canopy.

[I apprehend that [dais] originally signified the wooden floor [d'ais Fr. de assibus Lat.] which was laid at the upper end of the hall, as we still see it in college halls, &c. That part of the room therefore which was floored with planks, was called the *dais* (the rest being either the bare ground, or at best paved with stone); and being raised above the level of the other parts, it was often called the *high dais*. As the principal table was always placed upon a dais, it began very soon, by a natural abuse of words, to be called itself a *dais*; and people were said to sit at the *dais*, instead of at the table upon the *dais*. Menage, whose authority seems to have led later antiquaries to interpret *dais* a canopy, has evidently confounded *dais* with *ders*, [which] as he observes, meant properly the hangings at the back of the company. But as the same hangings were often drawn over, so as to form a kind of canopy over their heads, the whole was called a *ders*.—T.]

^w "such as Joab never," &c.

^y danger.

^a fill, pour.

Saw never his life so mery a wedded man.
 Hold thou thy pees, thou poet Marcian^a,
 That writest us that ilke wedding mery
 Of hire Philologie and him Mercurie,
 And of the songes that the Muses songe;
 To smal is both thy pen, and eke thy tonge.
 For to descriven of his mariage,
 Whan tendre Youth hath wedded stouping Age.—
 MAIUS that sit with so benigne a chere
 Hire to behold it semed faerie^b:
 Quene Hester loked never with swiche an eye
 On Assuere, so meke a loke hath she:
 I may you not devise al hire beautee,
 But thus moch of hire beautee tel I may
 That she was like the brighte morwe of May,
 Fulfilled of all beautee and plesance.
 This JANUARY is ravished in a trance
 At every time he loketh in hire face,
 But in his herte he gan hire to manace, &c.^c

Dryden and Pope have modernised the two last-mentioned poems; Dryden the tale of the NONNES PRIEST, and Pope that of JANUARY and MAY; intending perhaps to give patterns of the best of Chaucer's Tales in the comic species. But I am of opinion that the MILLER'S TALE has more true humour than either. Not that I mean to palliate the levity of the story, which was most probably chosen by Chaucer in compliance with the prevailing manners of an unpolished age, and agreeable to ideas of festivity not always the most delicate and refined. Chaucer abounds in liberties of this kind, and this must be his apology. So does Boccacio, and perhaps much more, but from a different cause. The licentiousness of Boccacio's tales, which he composed *per cacciar le malincolia delle femine*, to amuse the ladies, is to be vindicated, at least accounted for, on other principles: it was not so much the consequence of popular incivility, as it was owing to a particular event of the writer's age. Just before Boccacio wrote, the plague at Florence had totally changed the customs and manners of the people. Only a few of the women had survived this fatal malady; who having lost their husbands, parents, or friends, gradually grew regardless of those constraints and customary formalities which before of course influenced their behaviour. For want of female attendants, they were obliged often to take men only into their service: and this circumstance greatly contributed to destroy their habits of delicacy, and gave an opening to various freedoms and indecencies unsuitable to the sex, and frequently productive of very serious consequences. As to the monasteries, it is not surprising that Boccacio should have made them the scenes of his most libertine sto-

^a See *supr.* p. 166.^b A phantasy, enchantment.^c v. 1225. Urr.

ries. The plague had thrown open their gates. The monks and nuns wandered abroad, and partaking of the common liberties of life, and the levities of the world, forgot the rigour of their institutions, and the severity of their ecclesiastical characters. At the ceasing of the plague, when the religious were compelled to return to their cloisters, they could not forsake their attachment to these secular indulgences; they continued to practise the same free course of life, and would not submit to the disagreeable and unsocial injunctions of their respective orders. Cotemporary historians give a shocking representation of the unbounded debaucheries of the Florentines on this occasion: and ecclesiastical writers mention this period as the grand epoch of the relaxation of monastic discipline. Boccaccio did not escape the censure of the Church for these compositions. His conversion was a point much laboured; and in expiation of his follies, he was almost persuaded to renounce poetry and the heathen authors, and to turn Carthusian. But, to say the truth, Boccaccio's life was almost as loose as his writings; till he was in great measure reclaimed by the powerful remonstrances of his master Petrarch, who talked much more to the purpose than his confessor. This Boccaccio himself acknowledges in the fifth of his eclogues, which like those of Petrarch are enigmatical and obscure, entitled PHILOSOTROPHOS.

But to return to the MILLER'S TALE. The character of the Clerke of Oxford, who studied astrology, a science then in high repute, but under the specious appearance of decorum, and the mask of the serious philosopher, carried on intrigues, is painted with these lively circumstances.

This clerk was cleped hendy Nicholas^c,
 Of dernè^d love he coude and of solas:
 And therto he was slie, and ful prive,
 And like a maiden meke for to se.
 A chambre had he in that hostelrie^e
 Alone, withouten any compaignie,
 Ful fetisly ydight with herbes sote^f;
 And he himself was swete as is the rote^g
 Of licoris, or any setewale^h.
 His almagesteⁱ, and bokes grete and smale,
 His astrelabre^k longing for hys art,
 His augrim stones^l layen faire apart,

^c the gentle Nicholas.

^d secret.

^e *Hospitium*, one of the old hostels at Oxford, which were very numerous before the foundation of the colleges. This is one of the citizens' houses: a circumstance which gave rise to the story.

^f sweet.

^g root.

^h the herb Valerian.

ⁱ A book of astronomy written by Ptolemy. It was in thirteen books. He

wrote also four books of judicial astrology. He was an Egyptian astrologist, and flourished under Marcus Antoninus. He is mentioned in the *Compnour's Tale*, v. 1025, and the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, v. 324.

^k *asterlabore*; an *astrolabe*.

^l stones for computation. Augrim is *Algorithm*, the sum of the principal rules of common arithmetick. Chaucer was him-

On shelves, couched at his beddes hed;
 His presse^m ycovered with a falding red:
 And all above there lay a gay sautrieⁿ,
 On which he made on nightes melodie
 So swetely that al the chambre rong,
 And *Angelus ad Virginem* he song^o.

In the description of the young wife of our philosopher's host, there is great elegance, with a mixture of burlesque allusions. Not to mention the curiosity of a female portrait, drawn with so much exactness at such a distance of time.

Fayre was this yongè wife, and therewithal
 As any wesel^p hire body gent and smal.
 A seint she wered, barred all of silk^r,
 A barmecloth^a eke, as white as morwe milk,
 Upon hire lendes, ful of many a gore^t.
 White was hire smok, and brouded all before^a,
 And eke behind, on hire culere aboute,
 Of coleblak silk, within, and eke withoute.
 The tapes^w of hire whitè volipere^x
 Were of the samè suit of hire colere^y.
 Hire fillet^z brode of silk, and set full hye,
 And sikerly^a she had a likerous eye.
 Ful smal y pulled^b were hire browes two,
 And thy^c were bent^d and black as any slo.

self an adept in this sort of knowledge. The learned Selden is of opinion, that his *Astrolabe* was compiled from the Arabian astronomers and mathematicians. See his pref. to *Notes on Drayt. Polyolb.* p. 4. where the word *Dulcarnon* (Troil. Cr. iii. 933, 935.) is explained to be an Arabic term for a root in calculation. His Chanon Yeman's Tale proves his intimate acquaintance with the Hermetic philosophy, then much in vogue. There is a statute of Henry the Fifth, against the transmutation of metals, in Statut. an. 4. Hen. V. cap. iv. viz. A.D. 1416. Chaucer, in the *Astrolabe*, refers to two famous mathematicians and astronomers of his time, John Some, and Nicholas Lynne, both Carmelite friars of Oxford, and perhaps his friends, whom he calls "reverent clerkes." *Astrolabe*, p. 440. col. i. Urr. They both wrote calendars, which, like Chaucer's *Astrolabe*, were constructed for the meridian of Oxford. Chaucer mentions Alcabucius, an astronomer, that is, Abdilazi Alchabitius, whose *Isagoge in Astrologiam* was printed at Venice, 1485, 4to. Ib. fol. 440. col. ii. Compare Herbelot. Bibl. Oriental. p. 96:3 b. V. KETAB. *Asthorlab.* p. 141 a. Nicholas Lynne

above-mentioned is said to have made several voyages to the most northerly parts of the world, charts of which he presented to Edward the Third. Perhaps to Iceland, and the coasts of Norway, for astronomical observations. These charts are lost. Hakluyt apud Anderson. Hist. Com. i. p. 191. sub ann. 1360. (See Hakl. Voy. i. 121 seq. ed. 1598.)

^m press.

^a psalter; an instrument like a harp.

^o v. 91. p. 24. Urr.

^p weasel.

^r "A girdle edged with silk." But we have no exact idea of what is here meant by *barrid*. The DOCTOR OF PHISICKE is "girt with a seint of silk with *barris* smale." Prol. v. 138. I once conjectured *barded*. See Hollingsh. Chron. iii. 84. col. ii. 850. col. 1. &c. &c. [See supr. p. 156, note¹.]

^a apron.

^t plait; fold.

ⁿ edged; adorned.

^w tapes; strings.

^x head-dress.

^y collar.

^z knot; top-knot.

^a certainly.

^b "made small or narrow, by plucking."

^c they.

^d arched.

And she was wel more blisful on to see
 Than is the newè perienet tree;^a
 And softer than the wolfe is of a wether:
 And by hire girdle heng a purse of lether,
 Tasseled^b with silk, and perlid^c with latoun^d.
 In all this world to seken up and down,
 There nis no man so wise that coudè thenche
 So gay a popelot^e or swiche a wenche.
 Full brighter was the shining of hire hewe
 Than in the Tour the noble^f yforged newe.
 But of hire song, it was as loud and yerne^g,
 As any swallow sitting on a berne.
 Therto she coude skip, and make a game,
 As any kid or calf folowing his dame.
 Hire mouth was swete as braket^h or the meth,
 Or hord of appels laid in hay or heth.
 Winsing she was as is a joly colt,
 Long as a mast, and upright as a boltⁱ.
 A broche^k she bare upon hire low colere
 As brode as is the bosse of a bokelere^l.
 Hire shoon were laced on hire legges hie, &c.^m

Nicholas, as we may suppose, was not proof against the charms of his blooming hostess. He has frequent opportunities of conversing with her; for her husband is the carpenter of Oseney Abbey near Oxford, and often absent in the woods belonging to the monasteryⁿ. His rival is Absalom, a parish-clerk, the gaiest of his calling, who being amorously inclined, very naturally avails himself of a circumstance belonging to his profession: on holidays it was his business to carry the censer about the church, and he takes this opportunity of casting unlawful glances on the handsomest dames of the parish. His gallantry, agility, affectation of dress and personal elegance, skill in shaving and surgery, smattering in the law, taste for music, and many other accomplish-

^a a young pear-tree. Fr. *Poir jeunet*.

^b tasseled; fringed.

^c I would read *purfild*. [I believe ornamented with latoun in the shape of pearls.—T. An expression used by Francis Thynne in his letter to Speght will explain this term: *Orfrayes* being compounded of the French *or* and *frays*, (or *fraye* English,) is that which to this daye (being now made all of one stuffe or substance) is called *frised* or *perled* cloth of gold.—PRICE.]

^d latoun, or chekelaton, is cloth of gold.

^e "so pretty a puppet." [This may either be considered as a diminutive from *poupée* a puppet, or as a corruption of *papillot*, a young butterfly.—T.]

^f a piece of money.

^g shrill; [brisk, eager.—T.]

^h bragget. A drink made of honey, spices, &c.

ⁱ "straight as an arrow."

^k a jewel. [It seems to have signified originally the tongue of a buckle or clasp, and from thence the buckle or clasp itself. It probably came by degrees to signify any kind of jewel.—T.]

^l buckler.

^m v. 125. Urr.

ⁿ See v. 557.

—I trow that he bewent
 For timber, there our abbot hath him sent:
 For he is wont for timber for to go,
 And dwellin at the grange a day or two.

ments, are thus inimitably represented by Chaucer, who must have much relished so ridiculous a character.

Now was ther of that chirche a parish clerke,
The which that was ycleped Absalon,
Crulle was his here, and as the golde it shone,
And strouted as a fannè large and brode,
Ful streight and even lay his joly shode°.
His rode^p was red, his eyen grey as goos,
With Poules windowes corven on his shoos^q.
In hosen red he went ful fetisly:
Yclad he was ful smal and properly
All in a kirtel^r of a light waget,
Ful faire, and thickè ben the pointes set:
And therupon he had a gay surplise
As white as is the blosme upon the rise^s.
A mery child he was, so god me sàve,
Wel coud he leten blod, and clippe, and shave.
And make a chartre of lond and a quitance;
In twenty manere coud he trip and dance,
After the scole of Oxenforde tho,
And with his legges casten to and fro.
And playen songes on a smal ribible*,
Therto he song sometime a loud quynible^t.

His manner of making love must not be omitted. He serenades her with his guitar.

He waketh al the night, and al the day,
He kembeth his lockes brode, and made him gay.
He woeth her by menes and brocage^u,
And swore he wolde ben hire owen page.
He singeth brokking^w as a nightingale.
He sent hire pinnes, methe, and spiced ale,

° hair.

^p complexion.

^q See p. 158, note ^t. ^r *Calcei fenestrati* occur in antient Injunctions to the clergy. In Eton-college statutes, given in 1446, the fellows are forbidden to wear *sotularia rostrata*, as also *calige*, white, red, or green. Cap. xix. In a chantry, or chapel, founded at Winchester in the year 1318, within the cemetery of the Nuns of the Blessed Virgin, by Roger Inkpenne, the members, that is, a warden, chaplain and clerk, are ordered to go "in meris caligis, et sotularibus non rostratis, nisi forsitan botis uti voluerunt." And it is added, "Vestes deferant non *fibulatas*, sed desuper clausas, vel brevitate non no-

tandas." Registr. Priorat. S. Swithini Winton. MS. ^{supr.} citat. Quatern. 6. Compare Wilkins's Concil. iii. 670. ii. 4.

—ADDITIONS.]

^s jacket.

^t hawthorn [branch].

^u v. 224. A species of guitar. Lydgate, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Fairf. 16. In a poem, never printed, called "Reason and Sensuallite, compyled by Jhon Lydgate."

Lutys, ribibis (l. ribibles), and geternes, More for estatys than tavernes.

^v treble.

^w by offering money; or a settlement.

^x quavering.

And wafres piping hot out of the glede^y,
 And, for she was of toun, he profered mede^z.—
 Sometime to shew his lightnesse and maistrie
 He plaieth herode^a on a scaffold hie.

Again,

Whan that the firstè cocke hath crowe anon,
 Uprist this joly lover Absalon;
 And him arayeth gay at point devise.
 But first he cheweth grein^b and licorise,

^y the coals; the oven.

^z See Rime of Sir Thopas, v. 3337. p. 146. Urr. Mr. Walpole has mentioned some curious particulars concerning the liquors which antiently prevailed in England. Anecd. Paint. i. p. 11. I will add, that cyder was very early a common liquor among our ancestors. In the year 1295, an. 23 Edw. I. the king orders the sheriff of Southamptonshire to provide with all speed four hundred quarters of wheat, to be collected in parts of his bailiwick nearest the sea, and to convey the same, being well winnowed, in good ships from Portsmouth to Winchelsea. Also to put on board the said ships, at the same time, two hundred tons of cyder. Test. R. apud Canterbury. The cost to be paid immediately from the king's wardrobe. This precept is in old French. Registr. Joh. Pontissar. Episc. Winton. fol. 172. It is remarkable that Wickliffe translates, Luc. i. 21. "He schal not drinke wyn ne sydyr." This translation was made about A.D. 1380. At a visitation of St. Swithin's priory at Winchester, by the said bishop, it appears that the monks claimed to have, among other articles of luxury, on many festivals, "Vinum, tam album quam rebeum, claretum, medonem, burgastrum," &c. This was so early as the year 1285. Registr. Priorat. S. Swith. Winton. MS. supr. citat. quatern. 5. It appears also, that the *Hordarius* and *Camerarius* claimed every year of the prior ten *dolia vini*, or twenty pounds in money, A.D. 1337. Ibid. quatern. 5. A benefactor grants to the said convent on the day of his anniversary, "unam pipam vini pret. xx.s." for their refection, A.D. 1286. Ibid. quatern. 10. Before the year 1200, "vina et medones" are mentioned as not uncommon in the abbey of Evesham in Worcestershire. Stevens, Monast. Append. p. 138. The use of mead, *medo*, seems to have been very antient in England. See Mon. Angl. i. 26. Thorne, Chron. sub ann. 1114. Compare Dis-

sertat. i. [It is not my intention to enter into the controversy concerning the cultivation of vines, for making wine, in England. I shall only bring to light the following remarkable passage on that subject from an old English writer on gardening and farming. "We might have a reasonable good wine growyng in many places of this realme: as undoubtedly wee had immediately after the Conquest; tyll partly by slouthfulnesse, not liking any thing long that is painefull, partly by civill discord long continuyng, it was left, and so with tyme lost, as appeareth by a number of places in this realme that keepe still the name of Vineyardes: and uppon many cliffes and hilles, are yet to be scene the rootes and olde remaynes of Vinea. There is besides Nottingham, an auncient house called Chilwell, in which house remayneth yet, as an auncient monument, in a Great Wyndowe of Glasse, the whole Order of planting, prunyng, [pruning,] stamping and pressing of vines. Beside, there [at that place] is yet also growing an old vine, that yields a grape sufficient to make a right good wine, as was lately proved.—There hath, moreover, good experience of late yeears been made, by two noble and honorable barons of this realme, the lorde Cobham and the lorde Wylliams of Tame, who had both growyng about their houses, as good wines as are in many parts of Fraunce," &c. Barnabie Googe's *Four Bookes of Husbandry*, &c. Lond. 1578. 4to. TO THE READER.—ADDITIONS.]

^a Speght explains this "feats of activity, furious parts in a play." Gloss. Ch. Urr. Perhaps the character of *HEROD* in a MYSTERY. [The old reading was "heraudes."]

^b Greyns, or grains, of Paris, or Paradise, occurs in the Romaunt of the Rose, v. 1369. A rent of herring pies is an old payment from the city of Norwich to the king, seasoned among other spices with half an ounce of grains of Paradise. Blomf. Norf. ii. 264.

To smellen sote, or he had spoke with here.
 Under his tonge a trewe love he bere,
 For therby wend he to ben gracious;
 He cometh to the carpenteres hous^c.

In the mean time the scholar, intent on accomplishing his intrigue, locks himself up in his chamber for the space of two days. The carpenter, alarmed at this long seclusion, and supposing that his guest might be sick or dead, tries to gain admittance, but in vain. He peeps through a crevice of the door, and at length discovers the scholar, who is conscious that he was seen, in an affected trance of abstracted meditation. On this our carpenter, reflecting on the danger of being wise, and exulting in the security of his own ignorance, exclaims,

A man wote litel what shal him betide!
 This man is fallen with his astronomie
 In som woodnesse, or in som agonie.
 I thought ay wel how that it shuldè be:
 Men shuldè not know of goddes privetee.^d
 Ya blessed be alway the lewed-man^e,
 That nought but only his beleve can^f.
 So ferd another clerke with astronomie;
 He walked in the felde for to prie
 Upon the sterres what there shuld befallè
 Till he was in a marlèpit yfalle;
 He saw not that. But yet, by seint Thomas,
 Me reweth sore of hendy Nicholas:
 He shall be rated for his studying.

But the scholar has ample gratification for this ridicule. The carpenter is at length admitted; and the scholar continuing the farce, gravely acquaints the former that he has been all this while making a most important discovery by means of astrological calculations. He is soon persuaded to believe the prediction: and in the sequel, which cannot be repeated here, this humorous contrivance crowns the scholar's schemes with success, and proves the cause of the carpenter's disgrace. In this piece the reader observes that the humour of the characters is made subservient to the plot.

I have before hinted, that Chaucer's obscenity is in great measure to be imputed to his age. We are apt to form romantic and exaggerated notions about the moral innocence of our ancestors. Ages of igno-

^c v. 579. It is to be remarked, that in this tale the carpenter swears, with great propriety, by the patroness saint of Oxford, saint Frideswide, v. 340.

And seide now helpin us saint Frideswide.

^d "pry into the secrets of nature."

^e unlearned.

^f "Who knows only what he believes;" or, his Creed.

This carpenter to blissin him began,

rance and simplicity are thought to be ages of purity. The direct contrary, I believe, is the case. Rude periods have that grossness of manners which is not less friendly to virtue than luxury itself. In the middle ages, not only the most flagrant violations of modesty were frequently practised and permitted, but the most infamous vices. Men are less ashamed as they are less polished. Great refinement multiplies criminal pleasures, but at the same time prevents the actual commission of many enormities: at least it preserves public decency, and suppresses public licentiousness.

The REVE'S TALE, or the MILLER of TROMPINGTON, is much in the same style, but with less humour¹. This story was enlarged by Chaucer from Boccaccio^k. There is an old English poem on the same plan, entitled, *A ryght pleasant and merye history of the Mylner of Abington, with his Wife and faire Daughter, and two poore Scholars of Cambridge*^l. It begins with these lines.

Faire lordinges, if you list to heere
A mery jest^m your minds to cheere.

This piece is supposed by Wood to have been written by Andrew Borde, a physician, a wit, and a poet, in the reign of Henry the Eighthⁿ. It was at least evidently written after the time of Chaucer.

¹ See also The Shipman's Tale, which was originally taken from some comic French troubadour. But Chaucer had it from Boccaccio. The story of Zenobia, in the Monkes Tale, is from Boccaccio's Cas. Vir. Illustr. (See Lydgr. Boch. viii. 7.) That of Hugolin of Pisa in the same Tale, from Dante. That of Pedro of Spain, from archbishop Turpin, ibid. Of Julius Cesar, from Lucan, Suetonius, and Valerius Maximus, ibid. The idea of this Tale was suggested by Boccaccio's book on the same subject.

^k Decamer. Giom. ix. Nov. 6. [But both Boccaccio and Chaucer probably borrowed from an old CONTE, or FABLEAU, by an anonymous French rhymmer, *De Gombert et des deux Clercs*. See *Fabliaux et Contes*. Paris, 1756. tom. ii. p. 115-124. The Shipman's Tale, as I have hinted, originally came from some such French FABLEOUR, through the medium of Boccaccio.—ADDITIONS.]

^l A manifest mistake for Oxford, unless we read Trumpington for Abingdon, or retaining Abingdon we might read Oxford for Cambridge. [There is, however, Abington, with a mill-stream, seven miles from Cambridge.] Imprint. at London by Rycharde Jones, 4to. Bl. Let. It is in Bibl. Bodl. Selden, C. 39. 4to. This book was probably given to that library, with many other petty black letter histories, in prose and verse, of a similar cast,

by Robert Burton, author of the Anatomy of Melancholy, who was a great collector of such pieces. One of his books now in the Bodleian is the History of Tom Thumb; whom a learned antiquary, while he laments that antient history has been much disguised by romantic narratives, pronounces to have been no less important a personage than king Edgar's dwarf.
^m story.

ⁿ See Wood's Athen. Oxon. BORDE. And Hearne's Bened. Abb. i. Prefat. p. xl. lv. I am of opinion that Solere-Hall, in Cambridge, mentioned in this poem, was Aula Solarii; the hall, with the upper story, at that time a sufficient circumstance to distinguish and denominate one of the academical hospitia. Although Chaucer calls it, "a grete college," v. 881. Thus in Oxford we had Chimney-hall, Aula cum Camino, an almost parallel proof of the simplicity of their antient houses of learning. Twyne also mentions Solere-hall, at Oxford. Also Aula Solarii, which I doubt not is properly Solarii. Compare Wood Ant. Oxon. ii. 11. col. i. 13. col. i. 12. col. ii. Caius will have it to be Clare-hall. Hist. Acad. p. 57. Those who read Scholars-hall (of Edw. III.) may consult Wacht. V. SOLLER. In the mean time, for the reasons assigned, one of these two halls or colleges at Cambridge, might at first have been commonly called Soler-hall. A

It is the work of some tasteless imitator, who has sufficiently disguised his original, by retaining none of its spirit. I mention these circumstances, lest it should be thought that this frigid abridgement was the ground-work of Chaucer's poem on the same subject. In the class of humorous or satirical tales, the *SOMPNOUR'S TALE*, which exposes the tricks and extortions of the Mendicant friars, has also distinguished merit. This piece has incidentally been mentioned above with the *PLOWMAN'S TALE*, and *Pierce Plowman*.

Genuine humour, the concomitant of true taste, consists in discerning improprieties in books as well as characters. We therefore must remark under this class another tale of Chaucer, which till lately has been looked upon as a grave heroic narrative. I mean the *RIME OF SIR THOPAS*. Chaucer, at a period which almost realized the manners of romantic chivalry, discerned the leading absurdities of the old romances: and in this poem, which may be justly called a prelude to *Don Quixote*, has burlesqued them with exquisite ridicule. That this was the poet's aim, appears from many passages. But, to put the matter beyond a doubt, take the words of an ingenious critic. "We are to observe," says he, "that this was Chaucer's own Tale: and that, when in the progress of it, the good sense of the host is made to break in upon him, and interrupt him, Chaucer approves his disgust, and changing his note, tells the simple instructive Tale of *MELIBOEUS*, a moral tale virtuous, as he terms it; to show what sort of fictions were most expressive of real life, and most proper to be put into the hands of the people. It is further to be noted, that the *Boke of The Giant Olyphant, and Chylde Thopas*, was not a fiction of his own, but a story of antique fame, and very celebrated in the days of chivalry; so that nothing could better suit the poet's design of discrediting the old romances, than the choice of this venerable legend for the vehicle of his ridicule upon them." But it is to be remembered, that Chaucer's design was intended to ridicule the frivolous descriptions, and other tedious imperinencies, so common in the volumes of chivalry with which his age was overwhelmed, not to degrade in general or expose a mode of fabling, whose sublime extravagances constitute the marvellous graces of his own *CAMBUSCAN*; a composition which at the same time abundantly demonstrates, that the manners of romance are better calculated to answer the purposes of pure poetry, to captivate the imagination, and to produce surprise, than the fictions of classical antiquity.

hall near Brazen-nose college, Oxford, was called Glazen-hall, having glass windows, antiently not common. See *Twyne Miscel. quædam, &c. ad calc. Apol. Antiq. Acad. Oxon.*

° See Dr. Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance. Dialogues, &c. iii. 218. edit. 1765.* [With regard to "The boke of The Giant Olyphant and Chylde Thopas,"

Mr. Tyrwhitt has observed: "I can only say that I have not been so fortunate as to meet with any traces of such a story of an earlier date than the *Canterbury Tales*." And Mr. Ritson, in language at once elegant and expressive, has pronounced the whole statement "a lye."—*PRICE.*]

SECTION XVII.

Chaucer continued. General view of the Prologues to the Canterbury Tales. The Prioress. The Wife of Bath. The Frankeleyn. The Doctor of Physicke. State of medical erudition and practice. Medicine and astronomy blended. Chaucer's physician's library. Learning of the Spanish Jews. The Sompnour. The Pardoner. The Monke. Qualifications of an abbot. The Frere. The Parsoun. The Squire. English crusades into Lithuania. The Reve. The Clarke of Ozenford. The Serjeant of Lawe. The Host. Supplemental Tale, or History of Beryn. Analysed and examined.

BUT Chaucer's vein of humour, although conspicuous in the CANTERBURY TALES, is chiefly displayed in the Characters with which they are introduced. In these his knowledge of the world availed him in a peculiar degree, and enabled him to give such an accurate picture of antient manners, as no cotemporary nation has transmitted to posterity. It is here that we view the pursuits and employments, the customs and diversions, of our ancestors, copied from the life, and represented with equal truth and spirit, by a judge of mankind, whose penetration qualified him to discern their foibles or discriminating peculiarities; and by an artist, who understood that proper selection of circumstances, and those predominant characteristics, which form a finished portrait. We are surprised to find, in so gross and ignorant an age, such talents for satire, and for observation on life; qualities which usually exert themselves at more civilised periods, when the improved state of society, by subtilising our speculations, and establishing uniform modes of behaviour, disposes mankind to study themselves, and renders deviations of conduct, and singularities of character, more immediately and necessarily the objects of censure and ridicule. These curious and valuable remains are specimens of Chaucer's native genius, unassisted and unalloyed. The figures are all British, and bear no suspicious signatures of Classical, Italian, or French imitation. The characters of Theophrastus are not so lively, particular, and appropriated. A few traits from this celebrated part of our author, yet too little tasted and understood, may be sufficient to prove and illustrate what is here advanced.

The character of the PRIORESSE is chiefly distinguished by an excess of delicacy and decorum, and an affectation of courtly accomplishments. But we are informed, that she was educated at the school of Stratford at Bow near London, perhaps a fashionable seminary for breeding nuns.

There was also a nonne a Prioeresse
 That of hire smiling was ful simple and coy ;
 Hire gretest othe n'as but by seint Eloy^b, &c.
 And Frenche she spake full fayre and fetisly,
 After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
 For Frenche of Paris was to hire unknowe.
 At metè^c was she wel ytaughte withalle ;
 She lette no morsel from hire lippes falle,
 Ne wette hire fingres in hire saucè depe ;
 Wel coude she carie a morsel, and wel kepe,
 Thatte no drope ne fell upon hire brest ;
 In curtesie was sette ful moche hire lest^d.

^b *Seyntè Loy*, i. e. Saint Lewis. [Sanctus Eligius.—T. This saint is mentioned by Lyndsay in his *Monarchy*.] The same oath occurs in the *Freere's Tale*, v. 300. p. 88. Urr.

^c dinner. [The Prioeresse's exact behaviour at table, is copied from *Rom. Rose*, 14178–14199.

Et bien se garde, &c.

To speak French is mentioned above, among her accomplishments. There is a letter in old French from queen Philippa, and her daughter Isabell, to the Priour of Saint Swithin's at Winchester, to admitt one Agnes Patshull into an eleemosynary sisterhood belonging to his convent. The Priour is requested to grant her "Une Lyvere en votre Maison dieu de Wyncestere et estre un des soers," for her life. Written at *Windsor*, Apr. 25. The year must have been about 1350. Registr. Priorat MS. supr. citat. Quatern. xix. fol. 4. I do not so much cite this instance to prove that the Priour must be supposed to understand French, as to show that it was now the court language, and even on a matter of business. There was at least a great propriety, that the queen and princess should write in this language, although to an ecclesiastic of dignity. In the same Register, there is a letter in old French from the queen Dowager Isabell to the Priour and Convent of Winchester; to show, that it was at her request, that king Edward the Third her son had granted a church in Winchester diocese, to the monastery of Leedes in Yorkshire, for their better support, "a trouver sis chaigoignes chantans tous les jours en la chapele du Chastel de Ledes, pour laime madame Alianore reyne d'Angleterre," &c. A.D. 1341. Quatern. vi.

The Prioeresse's greatest oath is by Saint Eloy. I will here throw together some

of the most remarkable oaths in the *Canterbury Tales*. The Host, swears by *my father's soule*. Urr. p. 7. 783. Sir THOMAS, by *ale and breade*. p. 146. 3377. ARCITE, by *my pan*, i. e. *head*. p. 10. 1167. THESEUS, by *mightie Mars the red*. p. 14. 1749. Again, *as he was a trew knight*. p. 9. 961. The CARPENTER's wife, by *saint Thomas of Kent*. p. 26. 183. The SMITH, by *Christes foote*. p. 29. 674. The CAMBRIDGE SCHOLAR, by *my father's kinn*. p. 31. 930. Again, by *my croune*. ib. 933. Again, for *godes benes*, or *benison*. p. 32. 965. Again, by *seint Cuthberde*. ib. 1019. Sir JOHAN of BOUNDIS, by *seint Martyne*. p. 37. 107. GAMELYN, by *goddis boke*. p. 38. 181. GAMELYN's brother, by *saint Richere*. ibid. 273. Again, by *Cristis ore*. ib. 279. A FRANK-ELEYN, by *saint Jame that in Galis is*, i. e. saint James of Galicia. p. 40. 549. 1514. A PORTER, by *Goddis berde*. ib. 581. GAMELYN, by *my hals*, or neck. p. 42. 773. The MAISTIR OUTLAWE, by the *gode rode*. p. 45. 1265. The HOSTE, by the *precious corpus Madrian*. p. 160. 4. Again, by *saint Paulis bell*. p. 168. 893. The MAN of LAWE, *Depardeux*. p. 49. 39. The MARCHAUNT, by *saint Thomas of Inde*. p. 66. 745. The SOMPNOUR, by *goddis armis two*. p. 82. 833. The HOSTE, by *cockis bonis*. p. 106. 2235. Again, by *naylis* and by *blode*, i. e. of Christ. p. 130. 1802. Again, by *saint Damian*. p. 131. 1824. Again, by *saint Runion*. ib. 1834. Again, by *Corpus domini*. ib. 1838. The RIOTTOUR by *Goddis digne bones*. p. 135. 2211. The HOSTE, to the Monke, by *your father kin*. p. 160. 43. The MONKE, by his *porthose*, or breviary. p. 139. 2639. Again, by *God and saint Martin*. ib. 2656. The HOSTE, by *armis, blode and bonis*. p. 24. 17.—ADDITIONS.]

^d pleasure, desire.

Hire overlippè wiped she so clene,
 That in hire cuppe was no ferthing sene
 Of gresè, whan she dronken hadde hire draught,
 Ful semely after hire mete she raught^e.—
 And peined hire to contrefeten chere
 Of court, and bene statelich of manere^f.

She has even the false pity and sentimentality of many modern ladies.

She was so charitable and so pitous,
 She woldè wepe if that she saw a mous
 Caughte in a trappe, if it were ded or bledde.
 Of smalè houndes hadde she that she fed
 With rosted flesh, and milk, and wastel brede^g :
 But sore wept she if on of hem were dede,
 Or if men smote it with a yerdè^h smert :
 And all was conscience and tendre herteⁱ.

The WIFE OF BATH is more amiable for her plain and useful qualifications. She is a respectable dame, and her chief pride consists in being a conspicuous and significant character at church on a Sunday.

Of clothmaking^k she haddè swiche an haunt
 She passed hem of Ipres and of Gaunt^l.
 In all the parish, wif ne was there non
 That to the offering bifore hire shulde gon ;
 And if ther did, certain so wroth was she,
 That she was out of alle charite.
 Hire coverchiefs^m weren ful fine of ground,
 I dorste swere they weyeden a pound,
 That on the sonday were upon hire hede :
 Her hosen weren of fine scarlet rede,
 Full streite iteyed, and shoon ful moist and newe :
 Bold was hire face, and fayre and rede of hew.
 She was a worthy woman all hire live :
 Housbondes at the chirche doreⁿ had she had five.^o

^e literally, *stretched* [reached].

^f Prol. v. 124.

^g bread of a finer sort.

^h stick.

ⁱ v. 143.

^k It is to be observed, that she lived in the neighbourhood of Bath ; a country famous for clothing to this day.

^l See vol. i. p. 177, note ⁷.

^m head-dress.

ⁿ At the southern entrance of Norwich cathedral, a representation of the ESPOUSALS, or sacrament of marriage, is carved in stone ; for here the hands of the couple

were joined by the priest, and great part of the service performed. Here also the bride was endowed with what was called *Dos ad ostium ecclesie*. This ceremony is exhibited in a curious old picture engraved by Mr. Walpole, where king Henry the Seventh is married to his queen, standing at the façade or western portal of a magnificent Gothic church. Anecd. Paint. i. 31. Compare Marten Rit. Eccl. Anecd. ii. p. 630. And Hearne's Antiquit. Glastonb. Append. p. 310.

^o v. 449.

The FRANKLEIN is a country gentleman, whose estate consisted in free land, and was not subject to feudal services or payments. He is ambitious of showing his riches by the plenty of his table: but his hospitality, a virtue much more practicable among our ancestors than at present, often degenerates into luxurious excess. His impatience if his sauces were not sufficiently poignant, and every article of his dinner in due form and readiness, is touched with the hand of Pope or Boileau. He had been a president at the sessions, knight of the shire, a sheriff, and a coroner^p.

An housholder, and that a grete, was he :
 Seint Julian he was in his contree^q.
 His brede, his ale, was alway after on ;
 A better envyned^r man was no wher non.
 Withouten bake mete never was his hous
 Of fish and flesh, and that so plenteous,
 It snewed^s in his hous of mete and drinke,
 Of alle deintees that men coud of thinke.
 After the sondry sesons of the yere,
 So changed he his mete^t, and his soupere.
 Ful many a fat partrich hadde he in mewe,
 And many a breme, and many a luce^u, in stewe.
 Wo was his coke, but if his saucè were.
 Poinant and sharpe, and ready all his gere !
 His table dormant^w in his halle alway,
 Stole redy covered, all the longè day.^x

The character of the Doctor of PHISICKE preserves to us the state of medical knowledge, and the course of medical erudition then in fashion. He treats his patients according to rules of astronomy: a science which the Arabians engrafted on medicine.

For he was grounded in astronomie:
 He kept his patient a ful gret dele
 In houres by his magike naturel.^y

Petrarch leaves a legacy to his physician John de Dondi, of Padua, who was likewise a great astronomer, in the year 1370^z. It was a long time before the medical profession was purged from these superstitions. Hugo de Evesham, born in Worcestershire, one of the most famous physicians in Europe about the year 1280, educated in both the universities of England, and at others in France and Italy, was eminently

^p An office antiently executed by gentlemen of the greatest respect and property.

^q Simon the leper, at whose house our Saviour lodged in Bethany, is called, in the Legends, *Julian the good herborow*, and bishop of Bethphage. In the Tale of Beryn, St. Julian is invoked to revenge a

traveller who had been traitorously used in his lodgings. See Urr. Ch. p. 599. v. 625.

^r [stored with wine.—T.]

^s snowed. ^t dinner.

^u pike. ^w never removed.

^x v. 356. ^y v. 416.

^z See Acad. Inscript. xx. 443.

skilled in mathematics and astronomy^a. Pierre d'Apono, a celebrated professor of medicine and astronomy at Padua, wrote commentaries on the problems of Aristotle, in the year, 1310. Roger Bacon says, "astronomiæ pars melior medicina^b." In the statutes of New-College at Oxford, given in the year 1387, medicine and astronomy are mentioned as one and the same science. Charles the Fifth king of France, who was governed entirely by astrologers, and who commanded all the Latin treatises which could be found relating to the stars, to be translated into French, established a college in the university of Paris for the study of medicine and astrology^c. There is a scarce and very curious book, entitled, "*Nova medicinæ methodus curandi morbos ex mathematica scientia deprompta, nunc denuo revisa, &c.* Joanne Hagartho Virdungo, medico et astrologo doctissimo, auctore, Haganoæ excus. 1518^d." Hence magic made a part of medicine. In the MARCHAUNTS second tale, or HISTORY OF BERYN, falsely ascribed to Chaucer, a chirurgical operation of changing eyes is partly performed by the assistance of the occult sciences.

—The whole science of all surgery,
Was unyd, or the chaunge was made of both eye,
With many sotill enchantours, and eke nygrymauncers,
That sent wer for the nonis, maistris, and scoleris.^e

Leland mentions one William Glatisaunt, an astrologer and physician, a fellow of Merton College in Oxford, who wrote a medical tract, which, says he, "*nescio quid MAGIÆ spirabat*." I could add many other proofs^f.

The books which our physician studied are then enumerated.

Well knew he the old Esculapius,
And Dioscorides, and eke Rufus,
Old Hippocras, Hali, and Gallien,
Serapion, Rasis, and Avicen,
Averrois, Damascene, and Constantin,
Bernard, and Gattisden, and Gilbertin.

Rufus, a physician of Ephesus, wrote in Greek, about the time of Trajan. Some fragments of his works still remain^h. Haly was a famous Arabic astronomer, and a commentator on Galen, in the eleventh century, which produced so many famous Arabian physiciansⁱ. John Serapion, of the same age and country, wrote on the practice of physic^k.

^a Pitg. p. 370. Bale, iv. 50. xiii. 86.

^b Bacon, Op. Maj. edit. Jebb, p. 158. See also p. 176. 182.

^c Montfaucon, Bibl. Manuscript. tom. ii. p. 791 b. ^d In quarto.

^e v. 2989. Urr. Ch.

^f Lel. apud Tann. Bibl. p. 262. And Lel. Script. Brit. p. 400.

^g See Ames's Hist. Print. p. 147.

^h Conring. Script. Com. Sæc. i. cap. 4. p. 66. 67. The Arabians have translations of him. Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 972 b. 977 b.

ⁱ Id. ibid. Sæc. xi. cap. 5. p. 114. Haly, called Abbas, was likewise an eminent physician of this period. He was called "*Simia Galeni*." Id. ibid.

^k Id. ibid. p. 113, 114.

Avicen, the most eminent physician of the Arabian school, flourished in the same century^l. Rhasis, an Asiatic physician, practised at Cordova in Spain, where he died in the tenth century^m. Averroes, as the Asiatic schools decayed by the indolence of the Caliphs, was one of those philosophers who adorned the Moorish schools erected in Africa and Spain. He was a professor in the university of Morocco. He wrote a commentary on all Aristotle's works, and died about the year 1160. He was styled the most *Peripatetic* of all the Arabian writers. He was born at Cordova of an antient Arabic familyⁿ. John Damascene, secretary to one of the Caliphs, wrote in various sciences, before the Arabians had entered Europe, and had seen the Grecian philosophers^o. Constantinus Afer, a monk of Cassino in Italy, was one of the Saracen physicians who brought medicine into Europe, and formed the Salernitan school, chiefly by translating various Arabian and Grecian medical books into Latin^p. He was born at Carthage; and learned grammar, logic, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and natural philosophy, of the Chaldees, Arabians, Persians, Saracens, Egyptians, and Indians, in the schools of Bagdat. Being thus completely accomplished in these sciences, after thirty-nine years study, he returned into Africa, where an attempt was formed against his life. Constantine having fortunately discovered this design, privately took ship and came to Salerno in Italy, where he lurked some time in disguise. But he was recognised by the Caliph's brother then at Salerno, who recommended him as a scholar universally skilled in the learning of all nations, to the notice of Robert duke of Normandy. Robert entertained him with the highest marks of respect: and Constantine, by the advice of his patron, retired to the monastery of Cassino, where being kindly received by the abbot Desiderius, he translated in that learned society the books above mentioned, most of which he first imported into Europe. These versions are said to be still extant. He flourished about the year 1086^q. Bernard, or Bernardus Gordonius, appears to have been Chaucer's contemporary. He was a professor of medicine at Montpelier, and wrote many treatises in that faculty^r. John Gatisden was a fellow of Merton

^l Conring. ut supr. See Pard. T. v. 2407. Urr. p. 136.

^m Conring. ut supr. Sæc. x. cap. 4. p. 110. He wrote a large and famous work, called *Continens*. Rhasis and Almasor, (f. Albumasar, a great Arabian astrologer,) occur in the library of Peterborough Abbey, Matric. Libr. Monast. Burgi S. Petri. Gunton. Peterb. p. 187. See Hearne, Ben. Abb. Præf. lix.

ⁿ Conring. ut supr. Sæc. xii. cap. 2. p. 118.

^o Voss. Hist. Gr. L. ii. c. 24.

^p Petr. Diacon. de Vir. illustr. Monast. Cassin. cap. xxiii. See the Dissertations. He is again mentioned by our author in the Marchaunt's Tale, v. 1326. p. 71. Urr.

And lectuaries had he there full fine,
Soche as the cursid monk *Dan Constantine*
Hath written in his boke de Coitu.

The title of this book is "De Coitu, quibus prosit aut obsit, quibus medicaminibus et alimentis acuatur impediaturve." Inter Op. Basil. 1536. fol.

^q See Leo Ostiensis, or P. Diac. Auctar. ad Leon. Chron. Mon. Cassin. lib. iii. c. 35. p. 445. Scriptor. Italic. tom. iv. Murator. In his book *De Incantationibus*, one of his inquiries is, *An invencrim in libris GRÆCORUM hoc qualiter in INDORUM libris est invenire*, &c. Op. tom. i. ut supr.

^r Petr. Lambec. Prodrom. Sæc. xiv. p. 274. edit. ut supr.

College, where Chaucer was educated, about the year 1320^a. Pits says, that he was professor of physic in Oxford^b. He was the most celebrated physician of his age in England; and his principal work is entitled *ROSA MEDICA*, divided into five books, which was printed at Paris in the year 1492^c. Gilbertine, I suppose, is Gilbertus Anglicus, who flourished in the thirteenth century, and wrote a popular compendium of the medical art^d. About the same time, not many years before Chaucer wrote, the works of the most famous Arabian authors, and among the rest those of Avicenne, Averroes, Serapion, and Rhasis, above mentioned, were translated into Latin^e. These were our physician's library. But having mentioned his books, Chaucer could not forbear to add a stroke of satire so naturally introduced,

His studie was but litel on the bible.^f

The following anecdotes and observations may serve to throw general light on the learning of the authors who compose this curious library. The Aristotelic or Arabian philosophy continued to be communicated from Spain and Africa to the rest of Europe chiefly by means

^a It has been before observed, that at the introduction of philosophy into Europe by the Saracens, the clergy only studied and practised the medical art. This fashion prevailed a long while afterwards. The Prior and Convent of St. Swithin's at Winchester granted to Thomas of Shaftesbury, clerk, a corrody, consisting of two dishes daily from the Prior's kitchen, bread, drink, robes, and a competent chamber in the monastery, for the term of his life. In consideration of all which concessions, the said Thomas paid them fifty marcs: and moreover is obliged, "deservire nobis in *Arte medicinae*." Dat. in dom. Capitul. Feb. 15. A. D. 1319." Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. MS. supr. citat. The most learned and accurate Fabricius has a separate article on *Theologi Medici*. Bibl. Gr. xii. 739. seq. See also Gianon. Istor. Neapol. l. x. ch. xi. § 491. In the Romance of Sir Guy, a monk heals the knight's wounds. Signat. G. liii.

There was a *monke* beheld him well
That could of *teach crafte* some dell.

In G. of Monmouth, who wrote in 1128, Eops intending to poison Ambrosius, introduces himself as a physician; but in order to sustain this character with due propriety, he first shaves his head, and assumes the habit of a monk. lib. viii. c. 14. John Arundale, afterwards bishop of Chichester, was chaplain and first physician to Henry the Sixth, in 1458. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. 777. Faricius abbot of Abingdon, about 1110, was eminent for

his skill in medicine; and a great cure performed by him is recorded in the register of the abbey. Hearne's Bened. Abb. Præf. xlvii. King John, while sick at Newark, made use of William de Wodestoke, abbot of the neighbouring monastery of Croxton, as his physician. Bever. Chron. MSS. Harl. apud Hearne, Præf. ut supr. p. xlix. Many other instances may be added. The physicians of the university of Paris were not allowed to marry till the year 1452. Menagian. p. 333. In the same university, antiently at the admission to the degree of doctor in physic, they took an oath that they were not married. MSS. Br. Twyne, 8. p. 249. [See Freind's Hist. of Physick, ii. 257.—ADDITIONS.]

^b p. 414.

^c Tanner, Bibl. p. 312. Leland styles this work, "opus luculentum juxta ac eruditum." Script. Brit. p. 355.

^d Conring. ut supr. Sæc. xiii. cap. 4. p. 127. And Leland. Script. Brit. p. 291. who says, that Gilbert's *Practica et Compendium Medicinæ* was most carefully studied by many "ad quæstum properantes." He adds, that it was common, about this time, for English students abroad to assume the surname *Anglicus*, as a plausible recommendation. [See more of Gilbertus Anglicus, *ibid.* p. 356.—ADDITIONS.]

^e Conring. ut supr. Sæc. xiii. cap. 4. p. 126. About the same time, the works of Galen and Hippocrates were first translated from Greek into Latin; but in a most barbarous style. *Id.* *ibid.* p. 127.

^f v. 440.

of the Jews; particularly to France and Italy, which were overrun with Jews about the tenth and eleventh centuries. About these periods, not only the courts of the Mahometan princes, but even that of the pope himself, were filled with Jews. Here they principally gained an establishment by the profession of physic; an art then but imperfectly known and practised in most parts of Europe. Being well versed in the Arabic tongue, from their commerce with Africa and Egypt, they had studied the Arabic translations of Galen and Hippocrates; which had become still more familiar to the great numbers of their brethren who resided in Spain. From this source also the Jews learned philosophy; and Hebrew versions made about this period from the Arabic, of Aristotle and the Greek physicians and mathematicians, are still extant in some libraries⁷. Here was a beneficial effect of the dispersion and vagabond condition of the Jews: I mean the diffusion of knowledge. One of the most eminent of these learned Jews was Moses Maimonides, a physician, philosopher, astrologer, and theologian, educated at Cordova in Spain under Averroes. He died about the year 1208. Averroes being accused of heretical opinions, was sentenced to *live with the Jews in the street of the Jews* at Cordova. Some of these learned Jews began to flourish in the Arabian schools in Spain, as early as the beginning of the ninth century. Many of the treatises of Averroes were translated by the Spanish Jews into Hebrew: and the Latin pieces of Averroes now extant were translated into Latin from these Hebrew versions. I have already mentioned the school or university of Cordova. Leo Africanus speaks of "*Platea bibliothecariorum Cordouæ*." This, from what follows, appears to be a street of booksellers. It was in the time of Averroes, and about the year 1220. One of our Jew philosophers having fallen in love, turned poet, and his verses were publicly sold in this street⁸. My author says, that renouncing the dignity of the Jewish doctor, he took to writing verses⁹.

The SOMPNOUR, whose office it was to summon uncanonical offenders into the archdeacon's court, where they were very rigorously punished, is humorously drawn as counteracting his profession by his example: he is libidinous and voluptuous, and his rosy countenance belies his occupation. This is an indirect satire on the ecclesiastical proceedings of those times. His affectation of Latin terms, which he had picked up from the decrees and pleadings of the court, must have formed a character highly ridiculous.

And whan that he wel dronken had the win,
Than wold he speken no word but Latine.

⁷ Euseb. Renaudot. apud Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xii. 254.

⁸ Leo African. de Med. et Philosoph. Hebr. c. xxviii. xxix.

⁹ Leo, ibid. "Amore capitur, et digni-

TATE DOCTORUM POSTHABITA cœpit edere carmina." See also Simon. in Suppl. ad Leon. Mutinens. de Ritib. Hebr. p. 104.

A few termes coude he two or three,
 That he had lerned out of som decree.
 No wonder is, he herd it all the day :
 And eke ye knowen wel, how that a jay
 Can clepen watte* as wel as can the pope :
 But whoso wolde in other thing him grope^b,
 Than hadde he spent all his philosophie,
 Ay *questio quid juris* wolde he crie.^d

He is with great propriety made the friend and companion of the PARDONERE, or dispenser of indulgences, who is just arrived from the pope, "brimful of pardons come from Rome al hote;" and who carries in his wallet, among other holy curiosities, the virgin Mary's veil, and part of the sail of Saint Peter's ship.^e

The MONKE is represented as more attentive to horses and hounds than to the rigorous and obsolete ordinances of Saint Benedict. Such are his ideas of secular pomp and pleasure, that he is even qualified to be an abbot.^f

An outrider that loved venerie^g,
 A manly man, to ben an abbot able :
 Ful many a deinte hors hadde he in stable.—
 This ilk^h monk lette old thinges pace,
 And held after the new world the trace.
 He yave not of the text a pulled henⁱ
 That saith, that hunters ben not holy men.^k

He is ambitious of appearing a conspicuous and stately figure on horseback. A circumstance represented with great elegance.

And whan he rode, men mighte his bridel here
 Gingeling in a whistling wind, as clere
 And eke as loude, as doth the chapel bell.^l

* [So edit. 1561. See Johnson's Dictionary, in MAGPIE.—ADDITIONS.]

^b examine.

^d v. 639.

^e v. 670 seq.

^f There is great humour in the circumstances which qualify our monk to be an abbot. Some time in the thirteenth century, the prior and convent of Saint Swithin's at Winchester, appear to have recommended one of their brethren to the convent of Hyde as a proper person to be preferred to the abbacy of that convent, then vacant. These are his merits. "Est enim confrater ille noster in glosanda sacra pagina bene callens, in scriptura [transcribing] peritus, in capitalibus literis appingendis bonus artifex, in regula S. Benedicti instructissimus, psallendi doc-

tissimus," &c. MS. Registr. ut supr. p. 205. These were the ostensible qualities of the master of a capital monastery. But Chaucer, in the verses before us, seems to have told the real truth, and to have given the real character as it actually existed in life. I believe that our industrious *confrere*, with all his knowledge of glossing, writing, illuminating, chanting, and Benedict's rules, would in fact have been less likely to succeed to a vacant abbey, than one of the genial complexion and popular accomplishments here inimitably described.

^g hunting.

^h same.

ⁱ "He did not care a straw for the text," &c.

^k v. 176 seq.

^l See vol. i. p. 167.

The gallantry of his riding dress, and his genial aspect, is painted in lively colours.

I saw his sleeves purfiled^m at the hond,
 With grisⁿ, and that the finest of the lond.
 And for to fasten his hode under his chinne
 He hadde of gold ywrought a curious pinne,
 A love-knotte in the greter end ther was.
 His hed was balled, and shone as any glas,
 And eke his face as it hadde ben anoint :
 He was a lord ful fat, and in good point.
 His eyen stepe, and rolling in his hed,
 That stemed as a forneis of a led.
 His botes souple, his hors in gret estat,
 Now certainly he was a fayre prelat !
 He was not pale as a forpined gost ;
 A fat swan loved he best of any rost.
 His palfrey was as broune as is a berry.^o

The FRERE, or friar, is equally fond of diversion and good living ; but the poverty of his establishment obliges him to travel about the country, and to practise various artifices to provide money for his convent, under the sacred character of a confessor.

A frere there was, a wanton and a mery ;
 A limitour^p, a ful solempne man :
 In all the ordres four^q is non that can
 So moche of daliance, and fayre langage.—
 Ful swetely herde he confession :
 Ful plesant was his absolution.
 His tippet was ay farsed ful of knives
 And pinnes for to given fayre wives.
 And certainly he had a mery note :
 Wel coude he singe and plaien on a rote^r.

^m fringed.

ⁿ fur.

^o v. 193.

^p A friar that had a particular grant for begging or hearing confessions within certain limits. See *supr.* p. 88.

^q of Mendicants.

^r In Urry's Glossary this expression, *on a rote*, is explained, *by rote*. But a rote is a musical instrument. Lydgate, MSS. Fairfax, Bibl. Bodl. 16.

For ther was Rotys of Almayne,
 And eke of Arragon and Spayne.

Again, in the same manuscript,

Harpy, fithes, and eke rotys,
 Wel according to ther notys :

where *fithes* is *fiddles*, as in the Prol. Cl. Oxenf. v. 298. So in the *Roman d'Alexandre*, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. ut *supr.* fol. i. b. col. 2.

Rote, harpe, viole, et gigne, et siphonie.

I cannot help mentioning in this place, a pleasant mistake of bishop Morgan, in his translation of the New Testament into Welch, printed 1567. He translates the *VIALS* of *wrath*, in the Revelation, by *Crythan*, i. e. *Crouds* or *Fiddles*, Rev. v. 8. The Greek is *φιάλαι*. Now it is probable that the bishop translated only from the English, where he found *VIALS*, which he took for *VIOLS*.

Of yeddinges^a he bare utterly the pris.—
 Ther n'as no man no wher so vertuous ;
 He was the beste begger in all his hous^t.—
 Somewhat he lisped for his wantonnesse,
 To make his English swete upon his tonge ;
 And in his harping, whan that he hadde songe,
 His eyen twinkeled in his hed aright
 As don the sterres in a frosty night.^u

With these unhallowed and untrue sons of the church is contrasted the PARSON, or parish-priest : in describing whose sanctity, simplicity, sincerity, patience, industry, courage, and conscientious impartiality, Chaucer shows his good sense and good heart. Dryden imitated this character of the GOOD PARSON, and is said to have applied it to bishop Ken.

The character of the SQUIRE teaches us the education and requisite accomplishments of young gentlemen in the gallant reign of Edward the Third. But it is to be remembered, that our squire is the son of a knight, who has performed feats of chivalry in every part of the world ; which the poet thus enumerates with great dignity and simplicity.

At Alisandre^r he was whan it was wonne,
 Ful often time he hadde the bord begonne^w,
 Aboven allè nations in Pruce^x.
 In Lettowe^y hadde he reysed and in Ruce^z :
 No cristen man so ofte of his degre
 In Gernade, at the siege eke hadde he be
 Of Algesir^a, and ridden in Belmarie^b.
 At Leyes^c was he, and at Satalie^d,

^a yielding, i. e. dalliance. [The *Prompt. Parv.* makes *yedding* to be the same as *geste*, which it explains thus: *geest or romance, gestio*. So that of *yeddinges* may perhaps mean of story-telling.—T.]
^t convent. ^u v. 208.

^w See this phrase explained vol. i. p. 174. note ^t. I will here add a similar expression from Gower, Conf. Amant. lib. viii. fol. 177 b. edit. Berthel. 1554.

—Bad his marshall of his hall
 To setten him in such degre,
 That he upon him myght se.
 The kyng was soone sette and served :
 And he which had his prise deserved,
 After the kyngis own worde,
 Was made *begyn* a myddle *borde*.

That is, "he was seated in the middle of the table, a place of distinction and dignity."
^x Prussia.

^y Lithuania.

^z Russia.

^a A city of Spain ; perhaps Gibraltar. [Algesiras ; a Spanish town on the opposite side of the bay of Gibraltar.—PRICE.]

^b Speght supposes it to be that country in Barbary which is called Benamarin. It is mentioned again in the Knight's Tale, v. 2632. p. 20. Urr.

Ne in *Balmarie* ther is no lion,
 That huntid is, &c.

By which at least we may conjecture it to be some country in Africa. Perhaps a corruption for *Barbarie*. [Froissart reckons it among the kingdoms of Africa : Thunes, Bovgie, Maroch, *Bellemarine*, Tremessen. The battle of Benamarin is said by a late author of *Viage de Espanna*, p. 73. n. 1. to have been so called : "por haber quedallo en ella Albohacen, Rey de Marruccos del linage de Aben Marin." Perhaps therefore the dominions of that family in Africa might be called abusively Benamarin, and by a further corruption Belmarie.—T.]

^c Some suppose it to be Lavissa, a city on the continent, near Rhodes. Others Lybissa, a city of Bithynia.

^d A city in Anatolia, called Atalia,

Whan they were wonne : and in the gretè see :
 At many a noble armee hadde he be :
 At mortal batailles had he ben fiftene,
 And foughten for our faith at Tramissene^a
 In lystes thries, and ay slain his fo.
 This ilkè worthy Knight hadde ben also
 Sometime with the lord of Palatie^f :
 Agen^g another hethen in Turkie.
 And evermore he hadde a sovereigne pris,
 And though that he was worthy he was wise.^h

The poet in some of these lines implies, that after the Christians were driven out of Palestine, the English knights of his days joined the knights of Livonia and Prussia, and attacked the pagans of Lithuania, and its adjacent territories. Lithuania was not converted to christianity till towards the close of the fourteenth century. Prussian targets are mentioned, as we have before seen, in the KNIGHT'S TALE. Thomas duke of Gloucester, youngest son of king Edward the Third, and Henry earl of Derby, afterwards king Henry the Fourth, travelled into Prussia : and in conjunction with the grand Masters and Knights of Prussia and Livonia, fought the infidels of Lithuania. Lord Derby was greatly instrumental in taking Vilna, the capital of that country, in the year 1390^l. Here is a seeming compliment to some of these expeditions. This invincible and accomplished champion afterwards tells the heroic tale of PALAMON and ARCITE. His son the SQUIER, a youth of twenty years, is thus delineated.

And he hadde be sometime in chevachie^k
 In Flandres, in Artois, and in Picardie :
 And borne him wel, as of so litel space,
 In hope to stonden in his ladies grace.
 Embrouded was he as it were a mede
 Alle ful of freshe floures white and rede.

Many of these places are mentioned in the history of the Crusades.

[The gulf and castle of Satalia are mentioned by Benedictus Abbas, in the Crusade under the year 1191. "Et cum rex Franciæ recessisset ab Antiochet, statim intravit gulfum SATHALIE.—SATHALIE Castellum est optimum, unde gulfus ille nomen accepit; et super gulfum illum sunt duo Castella et Villæ, et utrumque dicitur SATALIA. Sed unum illorum est desertum, et dicitur Vetus SATALIA quod piratæ destruxerunt, et alterum Nova SATALIA dicitur, quod Manuel imperator Constantinopolis firmavit." Vit. et Gest. Henr. et Ric. II. p. 680. Afterwards he mentions *Mare Græcum*, p. 683. That is, the Mediterranean from Sicily to Cyprus.

I am inclined, in the second verse following, to read "Greke sea." *Leyis* is the town of Layas in Armenia.—ADDITIONS.]

^a "In the holy war at Thrasimene, a city in Barbary."

^f Palathia, a city in Anatolia. See Froissart, iii. 40.

^g against.

^h v. 51.

^l See Hakluyt's *Voyages*, i. 122 seq. edit. 1598. See also Hakluyt's account of the conquest of Prussia by the Dutch Knights Hospitalaries of Jerusalem, *ibid.*

^k Chivalry, riding, exercises of horsemanship, Compl. Mar. Ven. v. 144.

Ciclinius riding in his *chivauchie*
 From Venus —————

Singing he was or floytyng alle the day,
 He was as freshe as is the moneth of May.
 Short was his gowne with sleeves long and wide,
 Wel coude he sitte on hors, and fayre ride.
 He coude songes make, and wel endite,
 Juste, and eke dance, and well pourtraie, and write.*

To this young man the poet, with great observance of decorum, gives the tale of Cambuscan, the next in knightly dignity to that of Palamon and Arcite. He is attended by a yeoman, whose figure revives the ideas of the forest laws.

And he was cladde in cote and hode of grene :
 A sheff of peacocke arwes bright and kene.¹
 Under his belt he bare ful thriftily :
 Wel coude he dresse his takel yemanly :
 His arwes drouped not with fetheres lowe ;
 And in his hond he bare a mighty bowe.
 Upon his arm he bare a gaie bracer^m,
 And by his side a swerd and a bokeler.—
 A Cristofreⁿ on his brest of silver shene :
 A horne he bare, the baudrik was of grene.^o

The character of the REVE, an officer of much greater trust and authority during the feudal constitution than at present, is happily pictured. His attention to the care and custody of the manors, the produce of which was then kept in hand for furnishing his lord's table, perpetually employs his time, preys upon his thoughts, and makes him lean and choleric. He is the terror of bailiffs and hinds; and is remarkable for his circumspection, vigilance, and subtlety. He is never in arrears, and no auditor is able to over-reach or detect him in his accounts: yet he makes more commodious purchases for himself than for his master, without forfeiting the good will or bounty of the latter. Amidst these strokes of satire, Chaucer's genius for descriptive paint-

* v. 85.

¹ Comp. Gul. Waynflete, episc. Winton. an. 1471. (supr. citat.) Among the stores of the bishop's castle of Farnham. "*Arcus cum chordis.* Et red. comp. de xxiv. arcubus cum xxiv. chordis de remanentia.—*Sagitta magna.* Et de cxliv. sagittis magnis barbatis cum pennis pavonum." In a *Computus* of bishop Gerways, episc. Winton. an. 1266. (supr. citat.) among the stores of the bishop's castle of Taunton, one of the heads or styles is, *Cauda pavonum*, which I suppose were used for feathering arrows. In the articles of *Arma*, which are part of the episcopal stores of the said castle, I find enumerated one thousand four hundred and twenty-one great arrows for cross-

bows, remaining over and above three hundred and seventy-one delivered to the bishop's vassals *tempore guerre*. Under the same title occur cross-bows made of horn. Arrows with feathers of the peacock occur in Lydgate's Chronicle of Troy, B. iii. cap. 22. sign. O iii. edit. 1555. fol.

—Many good archers
 Of Boeme, which with their arrows kene,
 And with fethers of pecocke freshe and shene, &c.

^m armour for the arms.

ⁿ A saint who presided over the weather. The patron of field sports.

^o v. 103.

ing breaks forth in this simple and beautiful description of the REVE's rural habitation.

His wonning^p was ful fayre upon an heth,
With grene trees yshadewed was his place.^q

In the CLERKE OF OXENFORDE our author glances at the inattention paid to literature, and the unprofitableness of philosophy. He is emaciated with study, clad in a thread-bare cloak, and rides a steed lean as a rake.

For he hadde geten him yet no benefice,
Ne was nought worldly to have an office:
For him was lever^r han at his beddes hed
A twenty bokes, clothed in black or red,
Of Aristotle and his philosophie,
Then robes riche, or fidel^s, or sautrie:
But allbe that he was a philosophre,
Yet hadde he but litel gold in cofre.^t

His unwearied attention to logic had tintured his conversation with much pedantic formality, and taught him to speak on all subjects in a precise and sententious style.* Yet his conversation was instructive: and he was no less willing to submit than to communicate his opinion to others.

Souning in moral vertue was his speche,
And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche.^u

The perpetual importance of the SERJEANT OF LAWE, who by habit or by affectation has the faculty of appearing busy when he has nothing to do, is sketched with the spirit and conciseness of Horace.

No wher so besy a man as he ther n'as,
And yet he semed besier than he was.^v

^p dwelling.

^q v. 608.

^r rather.

^s fiddle. See *supr.* p. 208, note^r.

^t v. 293. Or it may be explained, "Yet he could not find the philosopher's stone."

^u [This opinion is founded on the following passage:

Not a word spake he more than was nede
And that was said in forme and reverence
And short and quicke and ful of high sentence.

Mr. Tyrwhitt has given a happier and unquestionably a correcter interpretation of these lines: "In forme and reverence:" with propriety and modesty. In the next line, "ful of high sentence" means only, I apprehend, full of high or excellent

sense. Mr. Warton will excuse me for suggesting these explanations of this passage in lieu of those which he has given. The credit of good letters is concerned that Chaucer should not be supposed to have made a pedantic formality and a precise sententious style on all subjects the characteristics of a scholar.—TYRWHITT.]

^v v. 300.

^w v. 323. He is said to have "ofin yben at the *parvise*." v. 312. It is not my design to enter into the disputes concerning the meaning or etymology of *parvis*: from which *parvisia*, the name for the public schools in Oxford, is derived. But I will observe, that *parvis* is mentioned as a court or portico before the church of Notre Dame at Paris, in John de Meun's part of the Roman de la Rose v. 12529.

There is some humour in making our lawyer introduce the language of his pleadings into common conversation. He addresses the hoste,

Hoste, quoth he, *de pardeux jeo assent*.^x

The affectation of talking French was indeed general, but it is here appropriated and in character.

Among the rest, the character of the HOSTE, or master of the Tabarde inn where the pilgrims are assembled, is conspicuous. He has much good sense, and discovers great talents for managing and regulating a large company; and to him we are indebted for the happy proposal of obliging every pilgrim to tell a story during their journey to Canterbury. His interpositions between the tales are very useful and enlivening; and he is something like the chorus on the Grecian stage. He is of great service in encouraging each person to begin his part, in conducting the scheme with spirit, in making proper observations on the merit or tendency of the several stories, in settling disputes which must naturally arise in the course of such an entertainment, and in connecting all the narratives into one continued system. His love of good cheer, experience in marshalling guests, address, authoritative deportment, and facetious disposition, are thus expressively displayed by Chaucer.

Gret chere made our Hoste everich on,
And to the souper sette he us anon;
And served us with vitaille of the beste:
Strong was his win, and wel to drinke us leste⁷.
A semely man our Hostè was with alle
For to han ben a marshal in a halle.

A Paris n'eust hommes ne femme
Au *parvis* devant Nostre Dame.

The passage is thus translated by Chaucer,
Rom. R. v. 7157.

Ther n'as no wight in all Paris
Before our Ladie at *Parvis*.

The word is supposed to be contracted from *Paradise*. This perhaps signified an ambulatory. Many of our old religious houses had a place called *Paradise*. In the year 1300, children were taught to read and sing in the *Parvis* of St. Martin's church at Norwich. Blomf. Norf. ii. 748. Our Serjeant is afterwards said to have received many *fees and robes*, v. 319. The serjeants and all the officers of the superior courts of law antiently received winter and summer robes from the king's wardrobe. He is likewise said to cite cases and decisions, "that from the time of king William were full," v. 326. For this line see the very learned and inge-

nious Mr. Barrington's Observations on the antient Statutes.

[This subject is better discussed (says Mr. Douce) in Staveley's History of Churches, p. 157. He thinks the term is from *parvis pueris*, i. e. the children who were taught in a certain part of the church so appropriated; as appears from the quotation above cited in the note from Blomfield. Herbert the press-historian adds, that Minster-church in the isle of Thanet, and St. Dunstan's in the East, London, have portions of them assigned for schools; and no doubt but there are several others which have the same.—I can add from my own knowledge, that the chapel at Hughlington in the county of Lincoln was appropriated to the purposes of a school, and that King-street chapel, Westminster, has a portion of its structure set apart for such purpose; for I received the greater share of my education in both those places.—PARK.]

^x v. 309.

⁷ "we liked."

A largè man he was, with eyen stepe,
 A fairer burgeis is ther non in Chepe^a.
 Bold of his speche, and wise, and wel ytaught,
 And of manhood him lacked righte naught.
 Eke therto was he right a mery man, &c.^a

Chaucer's scheme of the *CANTERBURY TALES* was evidently left unfinished. It was intended by our author, that every pilgrim should likewise tell a Tale on their return from Canterbury^b. A poet who lived soon after the *CANTERBURY TALES* made their appearance, seems to have designed a supplement to this deficiency, and with this view to have written a Tale called the *MARCHAUNT'S SECOND TALE*, or the *HISTORY OF BERYN*. It was first printed by Urry, who supposed it to be Chaucer's^c. In the Prologue, which is of considerable length, there is some humour and contrivance; in which the author, happily enough, continues to characterise the pilgrims, by imagining what each did, and how each behaved, when they all arrived at Canterbury. After dinner was ordered at their inn, they all proceed to the cathedral. At entering the church one of the monks sprinkles them with holy water. The Knight with the better sort of the company goes in great order to the shrine of Thomas a Becket. The Miller and his companions run staring about the church: they pretend to blazon the arms painted in the glass windows, and enter into a dispute in heraldry: but the Host of the Tabarde reproves them for their improper behaviour and impertinent discourse, and directs them to the martyr's shrine. When all had finished their devotions, they return to the inn. In the way thither they purchase toys for which that city was famous, called *Canterbury brochis*, and here much facetiousness passes betwixt the Frere and the Sompnour, in which the latter vows revenge on the former, for telling a Tale so palpably levelled at his profession, and protests he will retaliate on their return by a more severe story. When dinner is ended, the Host of the Tabarde thanks all the company in form for their several Tales. The party then separate till supper-time by agreement. The Knight goes to survey the walls and bulwarks of the city, and explains to his son the Squier the nature and strength of them. Mention is here made

^a Cheapside.

^b Prol v. 749.

^c Or rather, two on their way thither, and two on their return. Only Chaucer himself tells two tales. The poet says, that there were twenty-nine pilgrims in company; but in the *CHARACTERS* he describes more. Among the *TALES* which remain, there are none of the Prioress's Chaplains, the Haberdasher, Carpynter, Webbe, Dyer, Tapiser, and Hoste. The Chanon's Yeman has a *TALE*, but no *CHARACTER*. The Plowman's Tale is certainly supposititious. See *supr.* p. 101. And *Obs. Spens.* ii. 217. It is omitted in the best manuscript of the *Canterbury*

Tales, MSS. Harl. 1758. fol. membran. These *TALES* were supposed to be *spoken*, not *written*. But we have in the Plowman's, "For my *WRITING* me allow," v. 3309. Urr. And in other places. "For my *WRITING* if I have blame."—"Of my *WRITING* have me excus'd." etc. See a Note at the beginning of the *Cant. Tales*, MSS. Laud. K. 50. Bibl. Bodl. written by John Barcham. But the discussion of these points properly belongs to an editor of Chaucer. [See Mr. Tyrwhitt's *Introductory Discourse* to the *Canterbury Tales*. —PRICE.]

^c Urry. Chauc. p. 595.

of great guns. The Wife of Bath is too weary to walk far; she proposes to the Prioress to divert themselves in the garden, which abounds with herbs proper for making salves. Others wander about the streets. The Pardoner has a low adventure, which ends much to his disgrace. The next morning they proceed on their return to Southwark: and our genial master of the Tabarde, just as they leave Canterbury, by way of putting the company into good humour, begins a panegyric on the morning and the month of April, some lines of which I shall quote, as a specimen of our author's abilities in poetical description^c.

Lo! how the seson of the yere, and Averell^d shouris,
Doith^e the bushis burgyn^f out blossomes and flouris.
Lo! the prymerosys of the yere, how fresh they bene to sene,
And many othir flouris among the grassis grene.
Lo! how they springe and sprede, and of divers hue,
Beholdith and seith, both white, red, and blue.
That lusty bin and comfortabyll for mannys sight,
For I say for myself it makith my hert to light^g.

On casting lots, it falls to the Marchaunt to tell the first tale, which then follows. I cannot allow that this Prologue and Tale were written by Chaucer. Yet I believe them to be nearly coeval.

SECTION XVIII.

Chaucer continued. State of French and Italian Poetry; and their influence on Chaucer. Rise of Allegorical Composition in the Dark Ages. Love-courts, and Love-fraternities, in France. Tales of the Troubadours. Dolopathos. Boccacio, Dante, and Petrarch. Decline of Provencial Poetry. Succeeded in France by a new species. Froissart. The Floure and the Leafe. Floral Games in France. Allegorical Beings.

It is not my intention to dedicate a volume to Chaucer, how much soever he may deserve it; nor can it be expected, that, in a work of this general nature, I should enter into a critical examination of all Chaucer's pieces. Enough has been said to prove, that in elevation and elegance, in harmony and perspicuity of versification, he surpasses his predecessors in an infinite proportion; that his genius was universal, and adapted to themes of unbounded variety; that his merit was not less in painting familiar manners with humour and propriety, than in moving the pas-

^c There is a good description of a magical palace, v. 1973—2076.

^d April.
^f shoot.

^g make.
^h v. 690.

sions, and in representing the beautiful or the grand objects of nature with grace and sublimity; in a word, that he appeared with all the lustre and dignity of a true poet, in an age which compelled him to struggle with a barbarous language, and a national want of taste; and when to write verses at all, was regarded as a singular qualification. It is true, indeed, that he lived at a time when the French and Italians had made considerable advances and improvements in poetry: and although proofs have already been occasionally given of his imitations from these sources, I shall close my account of him with a distinct and comprehensive view of the nature of the poetry which subsisted in France and Italy when he wrote; pointing out, in the mean time, how far and in what manner the popular models of those nations contributed to form his taste, and influence his genius.

I have already mentioned the troubadours of Provence, and have observed that they were fond of moral and allegorical fables^a. A taste for this sort of composition they partly acquired by reading Boethius, and the *PSYCHOMACHIA* of Prudentius, two favorite classics of the dark ages; and partly from the Saracens their neighbours in Spain, who were great inventors of apologues. The French have a very early metrical romance *DE FORTUNE ET DE FELICITE*, a translation from Boethius's book *DE CONSOLATIONE*, by Reynault de Louens a Dominican friar^b. From this source, among many others of the Provencal poems, came the Tournament of *ANTICHRIST* above-mentioned, which contains a combat of the Virtues and Vices^c; the *Romaunt* of Richard de Lisle, in which *MODESTY* fighting with *LUST*^d is thrown into the river Seine at Paris; and, above all, the *ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE*, translated by Chaucer, and already mentioned at large in its proper place. Visions were a branch of this species of poetry, which admitted the most licentious excursions of fancy in forming personifications, and in feigning imaginary beings and ideal habitations. Under these we may rank Chaucer's *HOUSE OF FAME*, which I have before hinted to have been probably the production of Provence[†].

^a See vol. i. p. 147 et seq.

^b See Mem. Lit. tom. xviii. p. 741. 4to. and tom. vii. 293. 294. I have before mentioned John de Meun's translation of Boethius. It is in verse. John de Langres is said to have made a translation in prose, about 1336. It is highly probable that Chaucer translated Boethius from some of the French translations. In the Bodleian library there is an *EXPLANATIO* of Boethius's *Consolation* by our countryman Nicholas Trivett, who died before 1329.

^c See *supr.* p. 59.

[The *Tournoiement de l'Antichrist* is not a Provencal poem.—DOUCE.]

^d *PUTERIE*. Properly Bawdry, Obscenity. *MODESTY* is drowned in the river, which gives occasion to this conclusion, "Dont

vien que plus n'y a HONTE dans Paris." The author lived about the year 1300.

† [The ingenious editor of the *Canterbury Tales* treats the notion, that Chaucer imitated the Provencal poets, as totally void of foundation. He says, "I have not observed in any of his writings a single phrase or word which has the least appearance of having been fetched from the South of the Loire. With respect to the manner and matter of his compositions, till some clear instance of imitation be produced, I shall be slow to believe, that in either he ever copied the poets of Provence; with whose works, I apprehend, he had very little, if any acquaintance." vol. i. Append. Pref. p. xxxvi. I have advanced the contrary doctrine, at least by implica-

But the principal subject of their poems, dictated in great measure by the spirit of chivalry, was love; especially among the troubadours of rank and distinction, whose castles being crowded with ladies, presented perpetual scenes of the most splendid gallantry. This passion they spiritualised into various metaphysical refinements, and filled it with abstracted notions of visionary-perfection and felicity. Here too they were perhaps influenced by their neighbours the Saracens, whose philosophy chiefly consisted of fantastic abstractions. It is manifest, however, that nothing can exceed the profound pedantry with which they treated this favorite argument. They defined the essence and characteristics of true love with all the parade of a Scotist in his professorial chair; and bewildered their imaginations in speculative questions concerning the most desperate or the most happy situations of a sincere and sentimental heart*. But it would be endless, and indeed ridiculous, to describe at length the systematical solemnity with which they clothed this passion†. The ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE, which I have just alleged as a proof of their allegorising turn, is not less an instance of their affectation in writing on this subject; in which the poet, under the agency of allegorical personages, displays the gradual approaches and impediments to fruition, and introduces a regular disputation conducted with much formality between Reason and a lover. Chaucer's TESTAMENT OF LOVE is also formed on this philosophy of

tion: and I here beg leave to explain myself on a subject materially affecting the system of criticism that has been formed on Chaucer's works. I have never affirmed, that Chaucer imitated the Provencal bards; although it is by no means improbable, that he might have known their tales. But as the peculiar nature of the Provencal poetry entered deeply into the substance, cast, and character of some of those French and Italian models, which he is allowed to have followed, he certainly may be said to have copied, although not immediately, the *matter* and *manner* of these writers. I have called his House of Fame originally a Provencal composition. I did not mean that it was written by a Provencal troubadour; but that Chaucer's original was compounded of the capricious mode of fabling, and that extravagant style of fiction, which constitute the essence of the Provencal poetry. As to the *Floure* and the *Leafe*, which Dryden pronounces to have been composed *after their manner*, it is framed on the old allegorising spirit of the Provencal writers, refined and disfigured by the fopperies of the French poets in the fourteenth century. The ideas of these fablers had been so strongly imbibed, that they continued to operate long after Petrarch had introduced a more rational method of composition.—ADDITIONS.]

* In the mean time the greatest liberties and indecencies were practised and encouraged. These doctrines did not influence the manners of the times. In an old French tale, a countess in the absence of her lord having received a knight into her castle, and conducted him in great state to his repose, will not suffer him to sleep alone: with infinite politeness she orders one of her damsels, *la plus cortoise et la plus bele*, into his bed-chamber, *avec ce chevalier gesir*. Mem. Cheval. ut supr. tom. ii. p. 70. Not. 17.

† This infatuation continued among the French down to modern times. "Les gens de qualité," says the ingenious M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye, "conservoient encore ce goût que leurs pères avoient pris dans nos anciennes cours: ce fut sans doute pour complaire à son fondateur, que l'Académie Française traita, dans ses premières séances, plusieurs sujets qui concernoient l'AMOUR; et l'on vit encore dans l'hôtel du Longueville les personnes le plus qualifiées et le plus spirituelles du siècle de Louis XIV. se disputer à qui commenteroit et raffineroit le mieux sur la délicatesse du cœur et des sentimens, à qui feroit, sur ce chapitre, les distinctions le plus subtiles." Mem. Cheval. ut supr. tom. ii. P. v. pag. 17.

Gallantry. It is a lover's parody of Boethius's book *DE CONSOLATIONE* mentioned above. His poem called *LA BELLE DAME SANS MERCY*^g, and his *ASSEMBLE OF LADIES*, are from the same school^h. Chaucer's *PRIORESSE* and *MONKE*, whose lives were devoted to religious reflection and the most serious engagements, and while they are actually travelling on a pilgrimage to visit the shrine of a sainted martyr, openly avow the universal influence of love. They exhibit, on their apparel, badges entirely inconsistent with their profession, but easily accountable for from these principles. The Prioress wears a bracelet on which is inscribed, with a crowned A, *Amor vincit omnia*ⁱ. The Monke ties his hood with a true-lover's knot.^k The early poets of Provence, as I before hinted, formed a society called the *COURT OF LOVE*, which gave rise to others in Gascony, Languedoc, Poitou, and Dauphiny: and Picardy, the constant rival of Provence, had a similar institution called *Plaids et Jeux sous l'Ormel*. These establishments consisted of ladies and gentlemen of the highest rank, exercised and approved in courtesy, who tried with the most consummate ceremony, and decided with supreme authority, cases in love brought before their tribunal. Martial d'Avergne, an old French poet, for the diversion and at the request of the countess of Beaujeu, wrote a poem entitled *ARRESTA AMORUM*, or the *Decrees of Love*, which is a humorous description of the *Plaids* of Picardy. Fontenelle has recited one of their processes, which conveys an idea of all the rest^l. A queen of France was appealed to from an unjust sentence pronounced in the love-pleas, where the countess of Champagne presided. The queen did not choose to interpose in a matter of so much consequence, nor to reverse the decrees of a court whose decision was absolute and final. She answered, "God forbid, that I should presume to contradict the sentence of the countess of Champagne!" This was about the year 1206. Chaucer has a poem called the *COURT OF LOVE*, which is nothing more than the love-court of Provence^m: it contains the twenty statutes which that court prescribed to be universally observed under the severest penaltiesⁿ. Not long afterwards, on the same principle, a society was esta-

^g Translated or imitated from a French poem of Alain Chartier, v. 11.

Which Maistir Alayne made of remembrance
Chief secretary to the king of France.

He was secretary to Charles the Sixth and Seventh. But he is chiefly famous for his prose. [Alain Chartier was certainly living near fifty years after Chaucer's death, which makes it quite incredible, that the latter should have translated any thing of his. In MS. Harl. 372. *La belle Dame sans Mercy* is attributed to Sir Richard Ros.—TYRWHITT. Mr. Tyrwhitt also rejects the *Assemblée of Ladies* from the list of Chaucer's works.—PRICE.]

^h So is Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, as we shall see hereafter.

ⁱ v. 162.

^k v. 197.

^l Hist. Theat. Franc. p. 15. tom. iii. Œuvr. Paris, 1742.

^m See also Chaucer's *Ten Commandments of Love*, p. 554. Urr.

ⁿ Vie de Petrarque, tom. ii. Not. xix. p. 60. Probably the *Cour d'Amour* was the origin of that called *La Cour Amoureuse*, established under the gallant reign of Charles the Sixth, in the year 1410. The latter had the most considerable families of France for its members, and a parade of grand officers, like those in the royal household and courts of law. See Hist. Acad. Inscript.

blished in Languedoc, called the *Fraternity of the Penitents of Love*. Enthusiasm was here carried to as high a pitch of extravagance as ever it was in religion. It was a contention of ladies and gentlemen, who should best sustain the honour of their amorous fanaticism. Their object was to prove the excess of their love, by showing with an invincible fortitude and consistency of conduct, with no less obstinacy of opinion, that they could bear extremes of heat and cold. Accordingly the resolute knights and esquires, the dames and damsels, who had the hardiness to embrace this severe institution, dressed themselves during the heat of summer in the thickest mantles lined with the warmest fur. In this they demonstrated, according to the antient poets, that love works the most wonderful and extraordinary changes. In winter, their love again perverted the nature of the seasons: they then clothed themselves in the lightest and thinnest stuffs which could be procured. It was a crime to wear fur on a day of the most piercing cold; or to appear with a hood, cloak, gloves, or muff. The flame of love kept them sufficiently warm. Fires, all the winter, were utterly banished from their houses; and they dressed their apartments with evergreens. In the most intense frost their beds were covered only with a piece of canvass. It must be remembered, that in the mean time they passed the greater part of the day abroad, in wandering about from castle to castle; insomuch that many of these devotees, during so desperate a pilgrimage, perished by the inclemency of the weather, and died martyrs to their profession^p.

The early universality of the French language greatly contributed to facilitate the circulation of the poetry of the troubadours in other countries. The Frankish language was familiar even at Constantinople and its dependent provinces in the eleventh century, and long afterwards. Raymond Montaniero, an historian of Catalonia, who wrote about the year 1300, says that the French tongue was as well known in the Morea and at Athens as at Paris: "E parlavan axi belle Francis com dins en Paris^q." The oldest Italian poetry seems to be founded on that of Provence. The word SONNET was adopted from the French into the Italian versification. It occurs in the ROMAN DE LA ROSE, "Lais d'amour et SONNETS courtois^r." Boccacio

Tom. vii. p. 287 seq. 4to. See also Hist. Langued. tom. iii. p. 25 seq.

The most uniform and unembarrassed view of the establishment and usages of this COURT, which I can at present recollect, is thrown together from scattered and scarce materials by the ingenious author of *Vie de Petrarque*, tom. ii. p. 45 seq. Not. xix. But for a complete account of these institutions, and other curious particulars relating to the antient manners and antient poetry of the French, the public waits with impatience for the history of the Provençal poets written by Mons. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye, who has copied most of their

manuscripts with great care and expense. [The only authentic source of information on this subject is a work written about the year 1170, and published (among other places) at Dorpmund 1610. *Erotica seu Amatoria Andreæ capellarii regis*, &c. See Roquefort's *Poesies des Troubadours*; von Aretins *Ausprüche der Minnegerichte*, München 1813; and No. II. of the *Retrospective Review*.—PRICE.]

^p See D. Vaisette, *Hist. du Languedoc*, tom. iv. p. 184 seq.

^q Hist. Arragon. c. 261.

^r v. 720.

copied many of his best Tales from the troubadours*. Several of Dante's fictions are derived from the same fountain. Dante has honoured some of them with a seat in his Paradise[†]; and in his tract *DE VULGARI ELOQUENTIA*, has mentioned Thiebault king of Navarre as a pattern for writing poetry[‡]. With regard to Dante's capital work the *INFERNO*, Raoul de Houdane, a Provencal [French] bard about the

* Particularly from Rutebeuf and Herbers. Rutebeuf was living in the year 1310. He wrote tales and stories of entertainment in verse. It is certain that Boccaccio took, from this old French minstrel, Nov. x. Giorn. ix. and perhaps two or three others. Herbers lived about the year 1200. [1260. See Roquefort ut supr. p. 172.] He wrote a French romance, in verse, called the *Seven Sages of Greece, or Dolopathos*. He translated it from the Latin of Dom Johans, a monk of the abbey of Haute-selve.

[Uns blancs moine de bele vie
De Halte-Selve l'abeie
A ceste histoire novelée
Par bel latin l'a ordénée
Herbers le velt en romans traire
Et de romans un livre faire.]

It has great variety, and contains several agreeable stories, pleasant adventures, emblems, and proverbs. Boccaccio has taken from it four Tales, viz. Nov. ii. Giorn. iii. Nov. iv. Giorn. vii. Nov. viii. Giorn. viii. and the Tale of the Boy who had never seen a woman, since finely touched by Fontaine. An Italian book called *Erastus* is compiled from this *Roman of the Seven Sages*. It is said to have been first composed by Sandaber the Indian, a writer of proverbs; that it afterwards appeared successively in Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, and Greek; was at length translated into Latin by the monk above mentioned, and from thence into French by Herbers. It is very probable that the monk translated it from some Greek manuscript of the dark ages, which Huet says was to be found in some libraries. Three hundred years after the *Roman of Herbers*, it was translated into Dutch, and again from the Dutch into Latin. There is an English abridgement of it, which is a story-book for children. See Mem. Lit. Tom. ii. p. 731. 4to. Fauchet, p. 106. 160. Huet, Orig. Fab. Rom. 136. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. x. 339. Massieu, Poës. Fr. p. 137. Crescimben. Volg. Poës. Vol. i. L. v. p. 332.

[The ground-work of *DOLOPATHOS* is a Greek story-book called *SYNTIPAS*, often cited by Du Cange, whose copy appears to have been translated from the Syriac. See Gloss. Med. et Infim. Græ-

citat.—Ind. Auctor. p. 33. Among the Harleian manuscripts is another, which is said to be translated from the Persic. MSS. Harl. 5560. Fabricius says, that *Syntipas* was printed at Venice, *lingua vulgari*. Bibl. Gr. x. 515. On the whole, the plan of *Syntipas* appears to be exactly the same with that of *Les Sept Sages*, the Italian *Erasto*, and our own little story-book the *Seven Wise Masters*; except that, instead of Dioclesian of Rome, the king is called Cyrus of Persia; and, instead of one Tale, each of the Philosophers tells two. The circumstance of Persia is an argument, that *Syntipas* was originally an oriental composition. See what is collected on this curious subject, which is intimately concerned with the history of the invention of the middle ages, by the learned editor of the *Canterbury Tales*, vol. iv. p. 329. There is a translation, as I am informed by the same writer, of this Romance in octosyllable verse, probably not later than the age of Chaucer. MSS. Cotton. Galb. E. ix. It is entitled "The Proces of the seven Sages," and agrees entirely with *Les Sept Sages de Rome* in French prose. MSS. Harl. 3860. See also MSS. C. C. Coll. Oxon. 252. in membran. 4to. The Latin book, called *Historia Septem Sapientum Romæ*, is not a very scarce manuscript: it was printed before 1500. I think there are two old editions among More's books at Cambridge; particularly one printed in quarto at Paris, in 1493.—*ADDITIONS*.] [See the Introduction to the *Seven Wise Masters* in Mr. Ellis's *Specimens of English Metrical Romances*, and Mr. Weber's edition of the same romance.—*PRICE*.]

Many of the old French minstrels deal much in Tales and novels of humour and amusement, like those of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. They call them *Fabliaux*.

[It is from these *Fabliaux* that Boccaccio has borrowed many of his Tales, and not from the troubadours, who were, more properly speaking, the poets of Provence.—*DOUCE*.]

[†] See vol. i. p. 122. Compare Crescimben. Volg. Poës. L. i. c. xiv. p. 162.

[‡] See p. 43. 45. And Commed. Infern. cant. xxii.

year 1180, wrote a poem entitled, *LE VOYE OU LE SONGE d'ENFER*^a. Both Boccaccio and Dante studied at Paris, where they much improved their taste by reading the songs of Thiebauld king of Navarre, Gaces Brules, Chatelain de Coucy, and other antient French fabulists^w. Petrarch's refined ideas of love are chiefly drawn from those amorous reveries of the Provencials which I have above described; heightened perhaps by the Platonic system, and exaggerated by the subtilising spirit of Italian fancy. Varchi and Pignatelli have written professed treatises on the nature of Petrarch's love. But neither they, nor the rest of the Italians, who, to this day, continue to debate a point of so much consequence, consider how powerfully Petrarch must have been influenced to talk of love in so peculiar a strain by studying the poets of Provence. His *TRIONFO DI AMORE* has much imagery copied from Anselm Fayditt, one of the most celebrated of these bards. He has likewise many imitations from the works of Arnaud Daniel, who is called the most eloquent of the troubadours^x. Petrarch, in one of his sonnets, represents his mistress Laura sailing on the river Rhone, in company with twelve Provencial ladies, who at that time presided over the COURT OF LOVE^y.

Pasquier observes, that the Italian poetry arose as the Provencial declined^z. It is a proof of the decay of invention among the French in the beginning of the fourteenth century, that about that period they began to translate into prose their old metrical romances; such as the fables of king Arthur, of Charlemagne, of Oddegir the Dane, of Renaud of Montauban, and other illustrious champions, whom their early writers had celebrated in rhyme^a. At length, about the year 1380, in the place of the Provencial a new species of poetry succeeded in France, consisting of Chants Royaux^b, Balades, Rondeaux, and Pa-

^a Fauch. Rec. p. 96.

^w See Fauchet, Rec. p. 47. 116. And Huet, Rom. p. 121. 108.

^x See vol. i. p. 122. He lived about 1189. Recherch. par Beauchamps, p. 5. Nostradamus asserts, that Petrarch stole many things from a troubadour called Richard seigneur de Barbezieux, who is placed under 1383. Petrarch however was dead at that time.

^y Sonnet cxxxviii. Dodici Donne, &c. The academicians della Crusca in their Dictionary, quote a manuscript entitled, *Libro d'Amore* of the year 1408. It is also referred to by Crescimbeni in his Lives of the Provencial Poets. It contains verdicts or determinations in the Court of Love.

^z Pasq. Les Recherch. de la France. vii. 5. p. 609. 611. edit. 1633. fol.

^a These translations, in which the originals were much enlarged, produced an infinite number of other romances in prose; and the old metrical romances soon became unfashionable and neglected.

The romance of Perceforrest, one of the largest of the French romances of chivalry, was written in verse about 1220. It was not till many years afterwards translated into prose. M. Falconet, an ingenious inquirer into the early literature of France, is of opinion, that the most antient romances, such as that of the Round Table, were first written in Latin prose; it being well known that Turpin's Charlemagne, as it is now extant, was originally composed in that language. He thinks they were translated into French rhymes, and at last into French prose, *tels que nous les avons aujourduy*. See Hist. Acad. Inscript. vii. 293. But part of this doctrine may be justly doubted.

^b With regard to the *Chant royal*, Pasquier describes it to be a song in honour of God, the holy Virgin, or any other argument of dignity, especially if joined with distress. It was written in heroic stanzas, and closed with a *l'Envoi*, or stanza containing a recapitulation, dedication, or the like. Chaucer calls the

storales^c. This was distinguished by the appellation of the New Poetry; and Froissart, who has been mentioned above chiefly in the character of an historian, cultivated it with so much success, that he has been called its author. The titles of Froissart's poetical pieces will alone serve to illustrate the nature of this New Poetry; but they prove, at the same time, that the Provencal cast of composition still continued to prevail. They are, *The Paradise of Love, A Panegyric on the Month of May, the Temple of Honour, The Flower of the Daisy, Amorous Lays, Pastorals, the Amorous Prison, Royal Ballads in honour of our Lady, The Ditty of the Amorous Spinett*, Virelais, Rondeaux, and The Plea of the Rose and Violet.*^d Whoever examines Chaucer's smaller pieces† will perceive that they are altogether formed on this plan, and often compounded of these ideas. Chaucer himself declares, that he wrote

———— Many an hymne for your holidiaies

^e That hightin balades, rondils, virelaies^f.

But above all, Chaucer's FLOURE AND THE LEAFE, in which an air of rural description predominates, and where the allegory is principally conducted by mysterious allusions to the virtues or beauties of the vegetable world, to flowers and plants, exclusive of its general romantic and allegoric vein, bears a strong resemblance to some of these subjects. The poet is happily placed in a delicious arbour, interwoven with eglan-

Chant royal above mentioned, a *Kyngis Note*. Mill. T. v. 111. p. 25. His *Complaint of Venus, Cuckow and Nightingale*, and *La belle Dame sans Mercy*, have all a *l'Envoi*, and belong to this species of French verse. His *l'Envoi* to the *Complaint of Venus*, or *Mars and Venus*, ends with these lines, v. 79:

And eke to me it is a grete penaunce,
Sith rime in English hath soche scarcite,
To follow word by word the curiosite
Of gransonflour of them that make in
Fraunce.

Make signifies to write poetry; and here we see that this poem was translated from the French. See also Chaucer's *Dreame*, v. 2204. Petrarch has the *Envoi*. I am inclined to think, that Chaucer's *Assemble of Fowles* was partly planned in imitation of a French poem written by Gace de la Vigne, Chaucer's cotemporary, entitled *Roman d'Oiseaux*, which treats of the nature, properties, and management of all birds of chase. But this is merely a conjecture, for I have never seen the French poem. At least there is an evident similitude of subject.

^c About this time, a Prior of St. Genievieve at Paris wrote a small treatise entitled, *L'Art de Dictier BALLADES ET RONDELLES*. See Mons. Beauchamps Rech. Theatr. p. 88. M. Maassieu says this is the first ART OF POETRY printed

in France. Hist. Poes. Fr. p. 222. See *L'Art Poetique* du Jaques Felloutier du Mons. Lyon, 555. 8vo. Liv. 11. ch. i. De l'ODE.

* [It is difficult to conceive what idea Mr. Warton intended to convey to his readers in translating *L'amoureuse Espinette* by "Spinett." The word most probably means a "little thorn," though its origin is uncertain. In vol. vii. of the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, p. 287, there is an account of a manuscript describing a society called "La Cour amoureuse des Rois des Epinettes."—DOUCE.]

^d Basquier, ubi supr. p. 612. who calls such pieces MIGNARDISES.

[† Mr. Todd has given a list of the fragments of Chaucer from a MS. in the Pepsian collection at Magdalen college Cambridge. See his "Illustrations" &c. p. 116.—PARK.]

^e Here is an elleipsis. He means, *And poems*.

^f Prol. Leg. G. W. v. 422. He mentions this sort of poetry in the *Frankelien's Tale*, v. 2493. p. 109. Urr.

Of which matere [love] madin he many layes,
Songis, Complaintis, Roundils, Virelayes.
Compare Chaucer's *Dreame*, v. 973. In the *Floure and Lease* we have the words of a French *Roundeau*, v. 177.

tine. Imaginary troops of knights and ladies advance : some of the ladies are crowned with flowers, and others with chaplets of agnus castus, and these are respectively subject to a *Lady of the Flower*, and a *Lady of the Leaf*^g. Some are clothed in green, and others in white, Many of the knights are distinguished in much the same manner. But others are crowned with leaves of oak or of other trees : others carry branches of oak, laurel, hawthorn, and woodbine^h. Besides this profusion of vernal ornaments, the whole procession glitters with gold, pearls, rubies, and other costly decorations. They are preceded by minstrels clothed in green and crowned with flowers. One of the ladies sings a bargaret, or pastoral, in praise of the daisy.

A bargaretⁱ in praising the daisie,
For as methought among her notis swete
She said *si douce est le margaruite*.^k

This might have been Froissart's song : at least this is one of his subjects. In the mean time a nightingale, seated in a laurel-tree, whose shade would cover a hundred persons, sings the whole service, "longing to May." Some of the knights and ladies do obeysance to the leaf, and some to the flower of the daisy. Others are represented as worshipping a bed of flowers. Flora is introduced "of these flouris goddesse." The lady of the leaf invites the lady of the flower to a banquet. Under these symbols is much morality couched. The leaf signifies perseverance and virtue : the flower denotes indolence and pleasure.

^g In a decision of the COURT OF LOVE cited by Fontenelle, the judge is called *Le Marquis des fleurs et violettes*. Font. ubi sup. p. 15.

^h v. 270.

ⁱ Rather *Bergerette*. A song *du Berger*, of a shepherd.

[Hence also perhaps the Barginet (or pastoral) of Antimachus in England's Helicon, 1600. Barginet is mentioned as a dance by Sir T. Elyot and G. Gascoigne, whence Mr. Steevens conjectured that the phrase might be equivalent to our Nancy Dawson's jig, and might signify a short metrical performance as well as a dance. See note on the term in Cens. Lit. i. 422. —PARK.]

^k v. 350. A panegyric on this flower is again introduced in the Prologue to the Leg. of G. Wom. v. 180.

The long daie I shope me for to abide
For nothing ellis, and I shall not lie
But for to lokin upon the *daisie*,
That wel by reason men it callè maie
The *Daisie*, or els the *eye of the daie* :
The emprise, and the floure, of flouris al,
&c.

Speght supposes that he means to pay a compliment to Lady Margaret, countess of Pembroke, king Edward's daughter,

one of his patronesses. See the *Balade* beginning *In Fevrere*, &c. p. 556. Urr. v. 688. Froissart's song in praise of the daisy might have the same tendency ; for he was patronised both by Edward and Philippa. *Margaruite* is French for *Daisy*. Chaucer perhaps intends the same compliment by the "*Margarite perle*," Test. Love, p. 483. col. i. &c. Urr. See also Prol. Leg. G. Wom. v. 218. 224. That Prologue has many images like those in the Flower and the Leaf. It was evidently written after that poem.

[See *Le dit de la fleur de lis et de la Marguerite*, by Guillaume Machaut, Acad. Inscript. xx. p. 381. x. 669. infr. citat. On the whole, it may be doubted whether either Froissart, or Chaucer, means Margaret, countess of Pembroke. For compare Append. Pref. Canterb. Tales, vol. i. p. xxxiv. I add, that in the year 1547, the poetical pieces of Margaret de Valois, queen of Navarre, were collected and published under the title of *MARGUERITE de la Marguerites des princesses, tres illustre Royne de Navarre*, by John de la Haye, her valet de chambre. It was common in France to give the title of *MARGUERITES* to studied panegyrics, and flowery compositions of every kind, both in prose and verse.—ADDITIONS.]

Among those who are crowned with the leaf, are the knights of king Arthur's round table, and Charlemagne's Twelve Peers; together with the knights of the order of the Garter now just established by Edward the Third¹.

But these fancies seem more immediately to have taken their rise from the FLORAL GAMES instituted in France in the year 1324^m, which filled the French poetry with images of this sortⁿ. They were founded by Clementina Isaure countess of Tholouse, and annually celebrated in the month of May. She published an edict, which assembled all the poets of France in artificial arbours dressed with flowers; and he that produced the best poem was rewarded with a violet of gold. There were likewise inferior prizes of flowers made in silver. In the mean time the conquerors were crowned with natural chaplets of their own respective flowers. During the ceremony, degrees were also conferred. He who had won a prize three times was created a doctor *en gaye Science*, the name of the poetry of the Provencial troubadours. The instrument of creation was in verse^o. This institution, however fantastic, soon became common through the whole kingdom of France; and these romantic rewards, distributed with the most impartial attention to merit, at least infused an useful emulation, and in some measure revived the languishing genius of the French poetry.

The French and Italian poets, whom Chaucer imitates, abound in allegorical personages: and it is remarkable, that the early poets of Greece and Rome were fond of these creations. Homer has given us, STRIFE, CONTENTION, FEAR, TERROR, TUMULT, DESIRE, PERSUASION, and BENEVOLENCE. We have in Hesiod, DARKNESS, and many others, if the Shield of Hercules be of his hand. COMUS occurs in the Agamemnon of Æschylus; and in the Prometheus of the same poet, STRENGTH and FORCE are two persons of the drama, and perform the capital parts. The fragments of Ennius indicate, that his poetry consisted much of personifications. He says, that in one of the Carthaginian wars, the gigantic image of SORROW appeared in every place: "Omnibus endo locis ingens apparet imago TRISTITIAS." Lucretius has drawn the great and terrible figure of SUPERSTITION, "Quæ caput e cœli regionibus ostendebat." He also mentions, in a beautiful procession of the Seasons, CALOR ARIDUS, HYEMS, and ALGUS. He introduces MEDICINE *muttering with silent fear*, in the midst of the deadly pestilence at Athens. It seems to have escaped the many critics who have written on Milton's noble but romantic allegory of SIN and DEATH, that he took the person of Death from the Alcestis of his favourite tragedian, Euripides, where ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ is a principal agent in the drama. As knowledge and learning increase, poetry begins to deal less in imagination; and these fantastic beings give way to real manners and living characters.

¹ v. 516. 517. 519.

^m Mem. Lit. tom. vii. p. 422. 4to.

ⁿ Hence Froissart in the *Epinette Amoureuse*, describing his romantic amusements, says he was delighted with

Violettes en leur saisons

Et roses blanches et vermeilles, &c.

See Mem. Lit. tom. x. p. 665. 287. 4to.

^o Recherches sur les poètes couronnés, Mem. Lit. tom. x. p. 567. 4to.

SECTION XIX.

John Gower. His character and poems. His tomb. His Confessio Amantis. Its subject and plan. An unsuccessful imitation of the Roman de la Rose. Aristotle's Secretum Secretorum. Chronicles of the middle ages. Colonna. Romance of Lancelot. The Gesta Romanorum. Shakespeare's caskets. Authors quoted by Gower. Chronology of some of Gower's and Chaucer's poems. The Confessio Amantis preceded the Canterbury Tales. Estimate of Gower's genius.

IF Chaucer had not existed, the compositions of John Gower, the next poet in succession, would alone have been sufficient to rescue the reigns of Edward the Third and Richard the Second from the imputation of barbarism. His education was liberal and uncircumscribed, his course of reading extensive, and he tempered his severer studies with a knowledge of life. By a critical cultivation of his native language, he laboured to reform its irregularities, and to establish an English style^a. In these respects he resembled his friend and cotemporary Chaucer^b; but he participated no considerable portion of Chaucer's spirit, imagination, and elegance. His language is tolerably perspicuous, and his versification often harmonious; but his poetry is of a grave and sententious turn. He has much good sense, solid reflection, and useful observation; but he is serious and didactic on all occasions: he preserves the tone of the scholar and the moralist on the most lively topics. For this reason he seems to have been characterised by Chaucer with the appellation of the MORALL Gower^c. But his talent is not confined to

^a See supra, p. 128 of this volume.

^b It is certain that they both lived and wrote together. But I have considered Chaucer first, among other reasons hereafter given, as Gower survived him. Chaucer died October 25, 1400, aged 72 years. Gower died, 1402.

[Mr. Todd has since made it appear, from the will of Gower, that he was living in the early part of 1408, and died in that year; the probate of administration granted to his wife Agnes, being signed Oct. 24. His various bequests prove that he died rich. See Illustrations of the Lives and Writings of Gower and Chaucer, p. xvii. The above testamentary document was first printed in the Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain, by Richard Gough, esq. It is considered by Mr. Todd as contributive of new facts in the history of the poet, and illustrating also, in some degree, the manners of the time as well as his rank in

society: but it is too long for introduction here, and Mr. Todd's very ingenious and curious volume is likely to be in many hands.—PARK.]

^c Troil. and Cress. ad calc. pag. 333. edit. Urr. ut supr.

[Bulleyn in his 'Dialogue both pleasant and pitefull,' 1573, introduces a visionary description of old "morall Goore," with pen in hand, commending honest love without lust, and pleasure without pride, &c. Hawes, in his Pastime of Pleasure, also praises "moral Gower." And the dedication to Henry VIII. before Bertholet's edition of the Confessio Amantis, superadds to his established moral epithet, the terms "worthy olde writer," and "noble autour." This latter title may have been conferred by legal courtesy, because he was trained to the Bar; since Waterhous has told us, in his Commentary on Sir John Fortescue's

English verse only. He wrote also in Latin; and copied Ovid's *Elegiacs* with some degree of purity, and with fewer false quantities and corrupt phrases, than any of our countrymen had yet exhibited since the twelfth century.

Gower's capital work, consisting of three parts, only the last of which properly furnishes matter for our present inquiry, is entitled *SPECULUM MEDITANTIS*, *VOX CLAMANTIS*, *CONFESSIO AMANTIS*. It was finished, at least the third part, in the year 1393^d. The *SPECULUM MEDITANTIS*, or the *Mirroure of Meditation*, is written in French rhymes, in ten books*. This tract, which was never printed, displays the general nature of virtue and vice, enumerates the felicities of conjugal fidelity by examples selected from various authors, and describes the path which the reprobate ought to pursue for the recovery of the divine grace. The *VOX CLAMANTIS**, or the *Voice of one crying in the Wilderness*, which was also never printed, contains seven books of Latin elegiacs. This work is chiefly historical, and is little more than a metrical chronicle of the insurrection of the Commons in the reign of king Richard the Second. The best and most beautiful manuscript of it is in the library of All Souls college at Oxford; with a dedication in Latin verse, addressed by the author, when he was old and blind, to archbishop Arundel^f. The *CONFESSIO AMANTIS*, or the *Lover's Confession*, is an English poem, in eight books, first printed by Caxton, in the year 1483. It was written at the command of Richard the Second; who, meeting our poet Gower rowing on the Thames near London, invited him into the royal barge, and after much conversation requested him to *book some new thing*^g.

treatise 'De Laudibus Legum Angliæ,' that in his time "none were admitted of the Inns of Court, but men as of bloud so of fortune." Fortescutus Illustratus, 1663. —PARK.]

^d Confess. Amant. Prol. fol. 1 a. col. 1. Imprinted at London, in Flete-strete, by Thomas Berthelette, the xii. daie of March, ann. 1554. folio. This edition is here always cited.

^e Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. NE. F. 8. 9. And MSS. Fairf. 3. [Gower's Speculum Meditantis has never, I believe, been seen by any of our poetical antiquaries; nor does it exist in the Bodleian Library. Campbell, the author of Gower's article in the Biographia Brit., and Warton, who profess to give an account of its contents, were deceived by the ambiguity of a reference in Tanner; and, instead of the work in question, describe a much shorter poem or *balade*, by the same author. —ELLIS.]

[At the end of these MSS. is subjoined a notice in Latin, of Gower's three principal works: and so much as relates to the *speculum* is given by Mr. Ellis. —PARK.]

* [Gower's Vox Clamantis, says Ritson, might have deserved publication, in a historical view, if he had not proved an ingrate to his lawful sovereign, and a sycophant to the usurper of his throne. See Bibliogr. Poetica, p. 25. Ritson also censures him with great austerity for a supposed rupture between himself and Chaucer, the praise of whom was subtracted from the 2nd edition of Confessio Amantis; but as none of the printed copies appeared till long after the decease of Gower, how does he become censurable for the imputed omission? —PARK.]

^f MSS. Num. 26. It occurs more than once in the Bodleian Library; and, I believe, often in private hands. There is a fine manuscript of it in the British Museum. It was written in the year 1397, as appears by the following line, MSS. Bodl. 294.

Hos ego BIS DENO Ricardi regis in anno.

^g TO THE READER, in Berthelette's edition. From the PROLOGUE. See supra, p. 125 et seq. Note^f.

This tripartite work is represented by three volumes on Gower's curious tomb in the conventual church of Saint Mary Overey in Southwark, now remaining in its antient state; and this circumstance furnishes me with an obvious opportunity of adding an anecdote relating to our poet's munificence and piety, which ought not to be omitted. Although a poet, he largely contributed to rebuild that church in its present elegant form, and to render it a beautiful pattern of the lighter Gothic architecture: at the same time he founded, at his tomb, a perpetual chantry.

It is on the last of these pieces, the *CONFESSIO AMANTIS*, that Gower's character and reputation as a poet are almost entirely founded. This poem, which bears no immediate reference to the other two divisions, is a dialogue between a lover and his confessor, who is a priest of Venus, and, like the mystagogue in the *PICTURE* of Cebes, is called Genius. Here, as if it had been impossible for a lover not to be a good Catholic, the ritual of religion is applied to the tender passion, and Ovid's *Art of Love* is blended with the breviary. In the course of the confession, every evil affection of the human heart, which may tend to impede the progress or counteract the success of love, is scientifically subdivided; and its fatal effects exemplified by a variety of apposite stories, extracted from classics and chronicles. The poet often introduces or recapitulates his matter in a few couplets of Latin long and short verses. This was in imitation of Boethius.

This poem is strongly tinged with those pedantic affectations concerning the passion of love, which the French and Italian poets of the fourteenth century borrowed from the troubadours of Provence, and which I have above examined at large. But the writer's particular model appears more immediately to have been John of Meun's celebrated *ROMAN DE LA ROSE*. He has, however, seldom attempted to imitate the picturesque imageries, and expressive personifications, of that exquisite allegory. His most striking portraits, which yet are conceived with no powers of creation, nor delineated with any fertility of fancy, are *IDLENESS*, *AVARICE*, *MICHERIE* or Thieving, and *NEGLECT*, the secretary of *SLOTH*^b. Instead of boldly clothing these qualities with corporeal attributes, aptly and poetically imagined, he coldly yet sensibly describes their operations, and enumerates their properties. What Gower wanted in invention, he supplied from his common-place book; which appears to have been stored with an inexhaustible fund of instructive maxims, pleasant narrations, and philosophical definitions. It seems to have been his object to crowd all his erudition into this elaborate performance. Yet there is often some degree of contrivance and art in his manner of introducing and adapting subjects of

^b Lib. iv. f. 62 a. col. 1. Lib. v. f. 94 a. col. 1. Lib. iv. f. 68 a. col. 1. Lib. v. f. 119 a. col. 2.

a very distant nature, and which are totally foreign to his general design.

In the fourth book our confessor turns chemist; and discoursing at large on the Hermetic science, develops its principles, and exposes its abuses, with great penetration¹. He delivers the doctrines concerning the vegetable, mineral, and animal stones, to which Falstaff alludes in Shakespeare^k, with amazing accuracy and perspicuity^l; although this doctrine was adopted from systems then in vogue, as we shall see below. In another place he applies the Argonautic expedition in search of the golden fleece, which he relates at length, to the same visionary philosophy^m. Gower very probably conducted his associate Chaucer into these profound mysteries, which had been just opened to our countrymen by the books of Roger Baconⁿ.

In the seventh book, the whole circle of the Aristotelic philosophy is explained; which our lover is desirous to learn, supposing that the importance and variety of its speculations might conduce to sooth his anxieties by diverting and engaging his attention. Such a discussion was

¹ Lib. iv. f. 76 b. col. 2.

^k Falstaff mentions a philosopher's or chemist's *two stones*. See Hen. IV. Part II. act iii. sc. 2. Our author abundantly confirms Dr. Warburton's explication of this passage, which the rest of the commentators do not seem to have understood. See Ashm. Theatr. Chemic. p. 484. edit. Lond. 1652. 4to.

[The nations bordering upon the Jews, attributed the miraculous events of that people to those external means and material instruments, such as symbols, ceremonies, and other visible signs or circumstances, which by God's special appointment, under their mysterious dispensation, they were directed to use. Among the observations which the Oriental Gentiles made on the history of the Jews, they found that the Divine will was to be known by certain appearances in precious stones. The Magi of the East, believing that the preternatural discoveries obtained by means of the Urim and Thummim, a contexture of gems in the breast-plate of the Mosaic priests, were owing to some virtue inherent in those stones, adopted the knowledge of the occult properties of gems as a branch of their magical system. Hence it became the peculiar profession of one class of their sages, to investigate and interpret the various shades and co-

ruscations, and to explain, to a moral purpose, the different colours, the dews, clouds, and imageries, which gems, differently exposed to the sun, moon, stars, fire, or air, at particular seasons, and inspected by persons particularly qualified, were seen to exhibit. This notion being once established, a thousand extravagancies arose, of healing diseases, of procuring victory, and of seeing future events, by means of precious stones, and other lucid substances. See Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 9. 10. These superstitions were soon ingrafted into the Arabian philosophy, from which they were propagated all over Europe, and continued to operate even so late as the visionary experiments of Dee and Kelly¹. It is not in the mean time at all improbable, that the Druidical doctrines concerning the virtues of stones were derived from these lessons of the Magi: and they are still to be traced among the traditions of the vulgar, in those parts of Britain and Ireland, where Druidism retained its latest establishments. See Martin's West. Isles, p. 167. 225. And Aubrey's Miscell. p. 128. Lond. 8vo.—ADDITIONS.]

¹ Lib. iv. f. 77 a. col. 1.

^l Lib. v. f. 101 a. seq.

^m See supra, p. 191, Note ¹.

ⁿ When king Richard the First, in 1191, took the Isle of Cyprus, he is said to have found the castles filled with rich furniture of gold and silver, "*necnon lapidibus pretiosis, et plurimam virtutem habentibus.*" G. Vines. Iter Hierosol. cap. xli. p. 328. Hist. Anglic. Script. vol. ii. Oxon. 1687.

not very likely to afford him much consolation ; especially, as hardly a single ornamental digression is admitted, to decorate a field naturally so destitute of flowers. Almost the only one is the following description of the chariot and crown of the sun ; in which the Arabian ideas concerning precious stones are interwoven with Ovid's fictions and the classical mythology.

Of goldè glistrende°, spoke and whele,
 The Sonne his carte^p hath, faire and wele ;
 In which he sit, and is croned
 With bright stones environed ;
 Of which, if that I speke shall
 There be tofore^q, in speciall^r,
 Set in the front of his corone,
 Thre stones, which no persone
 Hath upon erth : and the first is
 By name cleped Leucachatis ;
 That other two cleped thus
 Astroites and Ceraunus,
 In his corone ; and also byhynde,
 By olde bokes, as I fynd,—
 There ben of worthy stones thre,
 Set eche of hem in his degree ;
 Whereof a Cristelle is that one,
 Which that corone is sett upon :
 The second is an Adamant ;
 The third is noble and avenant^s,
 Which cleped is Idriades—
 And over this yet natheless^t,
 Upon the sidis of the werke,
 After the writyng of the clerke^u,
 There sitten five stones mo^w ;
 The Smaragdine is one of tho^x,
 Jaspis, and Helitropius,
 And Vandides, and Jacinctus.
 Lo ! thus the corone is beset,
 Whereof it shineth wel the bet^y.
 And in such wise, his light to sprede,
 Sit, with his diademe on heade,
 The Sonne, shinende in his carte :
 And for to lead him swithe^z and smarte,
 After the bright daies lawe,
 There ben ordained for to drawe

° glittering.
^q before.
^a beautiful.

^p chariot.
^r above all.
^t still further.

^s the philosopher. ^w more.
^x them. ^y much better.
^z swift.

Four hors his chare, and him withall,
 Whereoff the names tell I shall:
 Eritheus the first is hote^a,
 The whiche is redde, and shineth hote;
 The second Acteos the bright,
 Lampes the third courser hight,
 And Philogeus is the ferth^b,
 That bringen light unto this erth
 And gone so swift upon the heven, &c.^c

Our author closes this course of the Aristotelic philosophy with a system of politics^d; not taken from Aristotle's genuine treatise on that subject, but from the first chapter of a spurious compilation entitled, *SECRETUM SECRETORUM ARISTOTELIS*^e, addressed under the name of Aristotle to his pupil Alexander the Great, and printed at Bononia in the year 1516. A work, treated as genuine, and explained with a learned gloss, by Roger Bacon^f; and of the highest reputation in Gower's age, as it was transcribed, and illustrated with a commentary, for the use of king Edward the Third, by his chaplain Walter de Millemete, prebendary of the collegiate church of Glaseney in Cornwall^g. Under this head, our author takes an opportunity of giving advice to a weak yet amiable prince, his patron king Richard the Second, on a subject of the most difficult and delicate nature, with much freedom and dignity. It might also be proved, that Gower, through this detail of the sciences, copied in many other articles the *SECRETUM SECRETORUM*; which is a sort of an abridgement of the Aristotelic philosophy, filled with many Arabian innovations and absurdities, and enriched with an appendix concerning the choice of wines, phlebotomy, justice, public notaries, tournaments, and physiognomy, rather than from the Latin translations of Aristotle. It is evident that he copied from this work the doctrine of the three chemical stones, mentioned above^h. That part of our author's astronomy, in which he speaks of the magician Nectabanus instructing Alexander the Great, when a youth, in the knowledge of the fifteen stars, and their respective plants and precious stones, appropriated to the operations of natural magicⁱ, seems to be borrowed from Callisthenes, the fabulous writer of the life of Alexan-

^a named.

^b fourth.

^c Lib. vii. f. 145 b. col. 1. 2.

^d Lib. vii. f. 151 a.

^e See supr. vol. i. p. 135. Note ^x.

^f See Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 15. col. 1.

^g Tanner, Bibl. p. 527. It is cited by Bradwardine, a famous English theologian, in his grand work *De Causa Dei*. He died 1349.

^h There is an Epistle under the name of Alexander the Great, *De Lapide Philosophorum*, among the *Scriptores Chemic*

artis auriferae, Basil. 1593. tom. i. And edit. 1610. See below, Note ^k.

I have mentioned a Latin romance of Alexander's life, as printed by Frederick Corsellis, about 1468. sup. vol. i. p. 134. On examination, that impression is said to be finished December 17, 1468. Unluckily, the seventeenth day of December was a Sunday that year. A manifest proof that the name of Corsellis was forged. [The 17th December, 1468, was a Saturday.—RITSON.]

ⁱ Lib. vii. f. 148 a. seq.

der^k. Yet many wonderful inventions, which occur in this romance of Alexander, are also to be found in the *SECRETUM SECRETORUM*: particularly the fiction of Alexander's Stentorian horn, mentioned above, which was heard at the distance of sixty miles^l, and of which Kircher has given a curious representation in his *PHONURGIA*, copied from an antient picture of this gigantic instrument, belonging to a manuscript of the *SECRETUM SECRETORUM*, preserved in the Vatican library^m.

It is pretended by the mystic writers, that Aristotle in his old age reviewed his books, and digested his philosophy into one system or body, which he sent, in the form of an epistle, to Alexander. This is the supposititious tract of which I have been speaking; and it is thus described by Lydgate, who has translated a part of it.

Title of this boke LAPIS PHILOSOPHORUM
Namyd also DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM,
Of philosophres SECRETUM SECRETORUM.—
The which booke direct to the kyng
Alysaundre, both in the werre and peesⁿ,
Lyke^o his request and royall commanding,
Fulle accomplishid by *Aristotiles*.
Feeble of age. — — — —

Then follows a rubric "How Aristotile declareth to kynge Alysaundre of the stony^p." It was early translated into French prose^q, and printed in English, "The SECRET OF ARISTOTYLE, with the GOVERNABLE OF PRINCES and every maner of estate, with rules for helth of body and soul, very gode to teche children to rede English, newly translated out of French, and emprented by Robert and William Copland, 1528^r." This work will occur again under Occleve and Lidgate. There is also another forgery consecrated with the name of Aristotle, and often quoted by the astrologers, which Gower might have used: it is *DE REGIMINIBUS COELESTIBUS*, which had been early translated from Arabic into Latin^r.

^k Or from fictitious books attributed to Alexander the Great, *De septem Herbis septem Planetarum*, &c. See Fabric. Bibl. Gr. tom. li. p. 206. See supra, vol. i. p. 132. and vol. ii. p. 8. Note^r. Callisthenes is mentioned twice in this poem, Lib. vii. f. 139 b. col. 2; and vi. f. 139 b. col. 2. See a chapter of Callisthenes and Alexander, in Lydgate's Fall of Princes, B. iv. ch. l. seq. fol. 99. edit. ut infr.

^l See supra, vol. i. p. 135.

^m Pag. 140. See *Secretum Secretorum*, Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. D. i. 5. cap. penult. lib. 5.

ⁿ peace.

^o according to.

^p MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. B. 24. K. 53. Part of this manuscript is printed by Ash-

mole, Theatr. Chemic. ut supr. p. 397. See Julius Bartolocc. tom. i. Bibl. Rabbinic. p. 475. and Joann. a Lent, Theol. Judaic. p. 6.

^q Mém. de Litt. tom. xvii. p. 737. 4to.

^r Octavo. A work called Aristotle's Politiques, or Discourses of Government, from the French of Louis le Roy, printed by Adam Islip, in folio, in the year 1527, and dedicated to Sir Robert Sidney, is Aristotle's genuine work. In Gresham college library there is "Alexandri M. Epistolæ ad preceptorem Aristotelem, *Anglice factæ*." MSS. 52. But I believe it Occleve's or Lydgate's poem on the subject, hereafter mentioned.

^s Hotting. Bibl. Orient. p. 255. See Pic. Mirandulan. contra Astrolog. lib. i. p. 284.

Considered in a general view, the *CONFESSIO AMANTIS* may be pronounced to be no unpleasing miscellany of those shorter tales which delighted the readers of the middle age. Most of these are now forgotten, together with the voluminous chronicles in which they were recorded. The book which appears to have accommodated our author with the largest quantity of materials in this article, was probably a chronicle entitled *PANTHEON, OR MEMORIÆ SECLORUM*, compiled in Latin, partly in prose and partly in verse, by Godfrey of Viterbo, a chaplain and notary to three German emperors, who died in the year 1190^t. It commences, according to the established practice of the historians of this age, with the creation of the world, and is brought down to the year 1186. It was first printed at Basil in the year 1569^u. The learned Muratori has not scrupled to insert the five last sections of this universal history in the seventh tome of his writers on Italy^w. The subject of this work, to use the laborious compiler's own expressions, is the Old and New Testament; and all the emperors and kings, which have existed from the beginning of the world to his own times: of whom the origin, end, names, and achievements are commemorated^x. The authors which our chronicler professes to have consulted for the gentile story, are only Josephus, Dion Cassius, Strabo, Orosius, Hegeippus^y, Suetonius, Solinus, and Julius Africanus: among which, not one of the purer Roman historians occurs. Gower also seems to have used another chronicle written by the same Godfrey, never printed, called *SPECULUM REGUM*, or the *MIRROUR OF KINGS*, which is almost as multifarious as the last; containing a genealogy of all the potentates, Trojan and German, from Noah's flood to the reign of the emperor Henry the Sixth, according to the chronicles of the venerable Bede, Eusebius, and Ambrosius^z. There are, besides, two ancient collectors of marvellous and delectable occurrences to which our author is indebted, Cassiodorus and Isidorus. These are mentioned as two of the chroniclers which Caxton used in compiling his *CRONICLES OF ENGLAND*^a. Cassiodorus^b wrote, at the command of the Gothic king Theodoric, a work named *CHRONICON BREVE*, commencing with our first parents, and deduced

^t See *supra*, p. 133. et seq. Note ^e. And Jacob. Quetif. i. p. 740.

^u In folio. Again, among *Scriptor. de Reb. Germanicis*, by Pistorius, Francof. fol. 1584. And Hanov. 1613. Lastly in a new edit. of Pistorius's collection by Struvius, Ratisbon, 1726. fol. There is a chronicle, I believe, sometimes confounded with Godfrey's Pantheon, called the *PANTALEONE*, from the creation to the year 1162, about which time it was compiled by the Benedictine monks of St. Pantaleon at Cologne, printed by Eccard, with a German translation, in the first volume of *SCRIPTORES MEDIÆ ÆVI*, p. 683. 945. It was continued to the year 1237, by Godfridus, a Pantaleonist monk. This

continuation, which has considerable merit as a history, is extant in Freherus, *Rer. Germanicar. tom. i. edit. Struvian. p. 335.*

^w p. 346.

^x in proem.

^y See *supra*, p. 4.

^z See Lambecc. ii. p. 274.

^a Bale, apud Lewis's Caxton, p. xvii. post. pref. And in the prologue to the *Fructus Temporum*, printed at St. Alban's in 1483, one of the authors is "Cassiodorus of the actys of emperours and bisshopps."

^b See *Confes. Amant. lib. vii. f. 156 b. col. 1.* And our author to king Henry, Urry's Ch. p. 542. v. 330.

to the year 519, chiefly deduced from Eusebius's ecclesiastic history, the chronicles of Prosper and Jerom, and Aurelius Victor's Origin of the Roman nation^c. An Italian translation by Lodovico Dolce was printed in 1561^d. Isidorus, called Hispalensis, cited by Davie and Chaucer^e, in the seventh century framed from the same author a CRONICON, from Adam to the time of the emperor Heraclius, first printed in the year 1477, and translated into Italian under the title of CRONICA D'ISIDORO, so soon after as the year 1480^f.

These comprehensive systems of all sacred and profane events, which in the middle ages multiplied to an excessive degree, superseded the use of the classics and other established authors, whose materials they gave in a commodious abridgement; and in whose place, by selecting those stories only which suited the taste of the times, they substituted a more agreeable kind of reading: nor was it by these means only, that they greatly contributed to retard the acquisition of those ornaments of style, and other arts of composition, which an attention to the genuine models would have afforded, but by being written without any ideas of elegance, and in the most barbarous phraseology. Yet productive as they were of these and other inconvenient consequences, they were not without their use in the rude periods of literature. By gradually weaning the minds of readers from monkish legends, they introduced a relish for real and rational history; and kindling an ardour of inquiring into the transactions of past ages, at length awakened a curiosity to obtain a more accurate and authentic knowledge of important events by searching the original authors. Nor are they to be entirely neglected in modern and more polished ages. For, besides that they contain curious pictures of the credulity and ignorance of our ancestors, they frequently preserve facts transcribed from books which have not descended to posterity. It is extremely probable, that the plan on which they are all constructed, that of deducing a perpetual history from the creation to the writer's age, was partly taken from Ovid's Metamorphoses, and partly from the Bible.

In the mean time there are three histories of a less general nature, which Gower seems more immediately to have followed in some of his tales. These are Colonna's Romance of Troy, the Romance of Sir Lan- celot, and the GESTA ROMANORUM.

From Colonna's Romance, which he calls *The Tale of Troie, The*

^c It has often been printed. See Opera Cassiodori, duobus tomis, Rothomag. 1679. fol.

^d Compendio di Sesto Ruffo, con la CRONICA DI CASSIODORO, de Fatti de Romani, &c. In Venetia, per il Giolto, 1561. 4to.

^e See supra, p. 14, Note ^y.

^f Stampata nel Friuli. [It is sometimes called *Chronica DE SEX MUNDI ÆTATIBUS, IMAGO MUNDI, and ABBREVIATIO TEMPORUM*. It was continued by Isidorus

Pacensis from 610 to 754. This continuation was printed in 1634, fol. Pampelon. under the title "*Epitome Imperatorum vel Arabum Ephemeridos una cum Hispaniæ Chronico*."

Isidore has likewise left a history or chronicle of the Goths, copied also by our author, from the year 176, to the death of king Sisebut in the year 628. It was early printed. See it in Grotius's *Collectio Rerum Gothicarum*, pag. 707. Amst. 1655. 8vo.

Boke of Troie^a, and sometimes *The Cronike*^b, he has taken all that relates to the Trojan and Grecian story, or, in Milton's language, THE TALE OF TROY DIVINE. This piece was first printed at Cologne in the year 1477¹. At Cologne an Italian translation appeared in the same year, and one at Venice in 1481. It was translated into Italian so early as 1324, by Philipp Ceffi, a Florentine^k. By some writers it is called the British as well as the Trojan story¹; and there are manuscripts in which it is entitled the history of Medea and Jason^m. In most of the Italian translations it is called LA STORIA DELLA GUERRA DI TROJA. This history is repeatedly called the TROIE BOKE by Lydgate, who translated it into English verseⁿ.

As to the romance of Sir Lancelot, our author, among others on the subject, refers to a volume of which he was the hero: perhaps that of Robert Borron, altered soon afterwards by Godefroy de Leigny, under the title of LE ROMAN DE LA CHARETTE, and printed with additions at Paris by Antony Verard, in the year 1494.

For if thou wilt the *bokes* rede
Of LAUNCELOT and other mo,
Then might thou seen how it was tho
Of armes, for this wolde atteine
To love, which, withouten peine

^a Of Palamedes and Nauplius, "The boke of Troie whoso rede." Lib. ii. fol. 52 b. col. 2. The story of Jason and Medea, "whereof the tale in speciall is in the boke of Troie write." Lib. v. fol. 101 a. col. 2. Of the Syrens seen by Ulysses, "which in the tale of Troie I finde." Lib. i. f. 10 b. col. 1. Of the eloquence of Ulysses, "As in the boke of Troie is funde." Lib. vii. f. 150 a. col. 1. &c. &c. See supra, vol. i. p. 129 et seq. Note ^c.

^b In the story of the Theban chief Capaneus, "This knight as the CRONIQUE seine." Lib. i. f. 18 b. col. 2. Of Achilles and Teucer, "In a CRONIQUE I fynde thus." Lib. iii. fol. 62 a. col. 1. Of Peleus and Phocus, "As the CRONIQUE seithe." Lib. iii. f. 61 b. col. 1. Of Ulysses and Penelope, "In a CRONIQUE I finde writte." Lib. iv. f. 63 b. col. 2. He mentions also the CRONIQUE for tales of other nations. "In the CRONIQUE as I finde, Cham was he which first the letters fonde, and wrote in Hebreu with his honde, of naturall philosophie." Lib. iv. fol. 76 a. col. 1. For Darius's four questions, Lib. vii. fol. 151 b. col. 1. For Perillus's brazen bull, f. &c. &c. See below.

¹ In quarto. HISTORIA TROJANA, a Guidone de Columnpa Messanensi Judice edita 1287. Impressa per Arnoldum Thurnburnem Coloniae commorantem, 1477. Die penult. Nov. I am mistaken in what I have said,

supra, vol. i. p. 130. There is another edition at Oxford by Rood, 1480, 4to. two at Strasburg, 1486, and 1489, fol. Ames calls him Columella. Hist. Print. p. 204.

^k See Haym's Bibl. Italian. p. 35. edit. Venez. 1741. 4to. I am not sure whether Haym's Italian translation in the year 1477 is not the Latin of that year. They are both in quarto, and by Arnaldo Terbone. A Florence edition of the translation in 1610, quarto, is said to be most scarce.

¹ Sandius and Hallerwood, in their Supplement to Vossius's Latin Historians, suppose Colonna's Trojan and British chronicle the same. In Theodoric Engelhusen's Chronica Chronicorum, compiled about the year 1420, where the author speaks of Troy, he cites Colonna de Bello Trojano. In the Preface he mentions Colonna's Chronica Britannorum. See Engelhusen's first edition, Helmsl. 1671. 4to. Or rather, Scriptor. Brunsvic. Leibnitii, p. 977. See also Fabyan and other historians.

^m See supra, vol. i. p. 140. It will occur again under Lydgate.

ⁿ Tragedies of Bochas, B. i. ch. xvi. How the translatoure wrote a booke of the siege of Troy, called TROYE BOKE. And ib. St. 7. 17. 20. edit. Wayland. fol. xxx. b. xxxi. a. And in Lydg. Destr. of Troy.

Maie not be gette of idleness:
 And that I take to witenesse
 An *old Cronike* in speciall
 The which in to memoriall
 Is write for his *loves sake*,
 How that a knight shall undertake°.

He alludes to a story about Sir Tristram, which he supposes to be universally known, related in this romance.

In everie mans mouth it is
 How Tristram was of love dronke
 With Bele Isolde, whan this dronke
 The drinke which Bragweine him betoke,
 Er that kyng Marke, &c.^p

And again, in the assembly of lovers.

Ther was Tristram which was beloved
 With Bele Isolde, and Lancelot
 Stood with Gonnor°, and Galahot
 With his lady^r. — — — —

The oldest edition of the GESTA ROMANORUM, a manuscript of which I have seen in almost Saxon characters*, I believe to be this. *Incipiunt Hystorie NOTABILES, collecte ex GESTIS ROMANORUM, et quibusdam aliis libris cum applicationibus eorundem*°. It is without date or place, but supposed by the critics in typographical antiquities to have been printed before or about the year 1473. Then followed a second edition at Louvain by John de Westfalia, with this title: *Ex GESTIS ROMANORUM HISTORIE NOTABILES de viciis virtutibusque tractantes cum applicationibus moralisatis et mysticis*. At the end this colophon appears; GESTA ROMANORUM cum quibusdam aliis historiis eisdem annexis ad moralitates dilucide reducta hic finem habent. Quæ diligenter, correctis aliorum viciis, impressit Joannes de Westfalia, alma in Univers. Louvaniensi^t. This edition has twenty-nine chapters more

° Lib. iv. f. 74 a. col. 2.

^p Lib. vi. f. 130 b. col. 2.

* Geneura, Arthur's queen.

^r Lib. viii. f. 188 a. col. 1.

* [It is to be regretted Warton did not make a reference to this MS. of the *Gesta* written in what he supposed to be Saxon characters. As the work itself was not composed till after the middle of the 13th century, it is very clear that Warton is here speaking at random.—M.]

^t Princip. "Pompeius regnavit dives, &c. Fin." "Quidam vero princeps nomine Cleonicus, &c. Karissimi, iste princeps est xps, &c. Oscula blandientis, &c." It is in folio, in double columns, without

initials, pages, signatures, or catchwords. *ANGLIE* is mentioned in chapters 155. 161.

^t Princip. "De DILECTIONE, cap. i. Pompeius regnavit dives valde, &c.—MORALIZATIO. De MISERICORDIA, cap. ii. De ADULTERIO, in cap. clxxxi." It is in quarto, with signatures to K k. The initials are written in red ink. Mr. Farmer of Cambridge has this edition. [Now in the King's library, British Museum.—M.] [Ritson (MS. note) acutely remarks, "It is by no means certain that Gower had consulted the GESTA ROMANORUM; where the story of Julius is related, in a very different manner, of an anonymous

than there are in the former ; and the first of these additional chapters is the story of Antiochus, related in our author. It is probably of the year 1473. Another followed soon afterwards, *Ex GESTIS ROMANORUM HISTORIE NOTABILES moralizate per Girardum Lieu. Goudæ, 1480*^u. The next ^w is at Louvain, *GESTA ROMANORUM, cum applicationibus moralisatis ac mysticis*. At the end,—*Ex GESTIS ROMANORUM cum pluribus applicatis HISTORIIS de virtutibus et vitiis mystice ad intellectum transumptis recollectorii finis. Anno nostræ salutis 1494. In die sancti Adriani martyris*^x.

It was one of my reasons for giving these titles and colophons so much at large, that the reader might more fully comprehend the nature and design of a performance which operated so powerfully on the present state of our poetry. Servius says that the Eneis was sometimes called *GESTA POPULI ROMANI*^y. Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote about the year 450, mentions a work called the *GESTORUM VOLUMEN*, which, according to custom, was solemnly recited to the emperor^z. Here perhaps we may perceive the ground-work of the title.

In this mixture of moralisation and narrative, the *GESTA ROMANORUM* somewhat resembles the plan of Gower's poem. In the rubric of the story of Julius and the poor knight, our author alludes to this book in the expression, *Hic secundum GESTA, &c.*^a When he speaks of the emperors of Rome paying reverence to a virgin, he says he found this custom mentioned, "Of Rome among the *GESTES* olde^b." Yet he adds, that the *GESTES* took it from Valerius Maximus. The story of Tarquin and his son Arrous is ushered in with this line, "So as these olde *GESTES* seyne^c." The tale of Antiochus, as I have hinted, is in the *GESTA ROMANORUM*; although for some parts of it Gower was perhaps indebted to Godfrey's *PANTHEON* above mentioned^d. The foundation of Shakespeare's story of the three caskets in the *MERCHANT OF VENICE*, is to be found in this favourite collection: this is likewise in our author, yet in a different form, who cites a *Cronike*^e for his au-

thor:—"secundum gesta seems to mean merely "according to the chronicles."—*PARK.*]

^u In quarto.

^v But I think there is another Goudæ, 1489 fol. [Mr. Douce enumerates eight editions between those of Goudæ and Louvain, among which is one printed by Gerard Leeu in 1490. This latter is probably the edition alluded to by Warton. See Douce's Illustration of Shakspeare, vol. ii. p. 358.—*PRICE.*]

^w In quarto. Again, Paris, 1499, 4to. Hagen, 1508, fol. Paris, 1521, octavo. And undoubtedly others. It appeared in Dutch so early as the year 1484, fol.

^y And *Æneid*. vi. 752.

^z "Imperatori de more recitatum." Hist. xxix. 1. In the title of the *SAINT ALBANS CHRONICLE*, printed 1483. *Titus*

Livyus de GESTIS ROMANORUM is recited.

^a Lib. viii. f. 153 a. col. 1. And in other rubrics. In the rubric there is also *GESTA ALEXANDRI*, lib. iii. f. 61 a. col. 1. And in the story of Sardanapalus, "These olde *GESTES* tellen us," lib. iii. 167 a. col. 1.

^b Lib. v. f. 118 a. col. 2.

^c Lib. vii. f. 169 a. col. 1.

^d See *supra*, p. 133. et seq. Note ^g.

^e He refers to a *CRONIKE* for other stories, as the story of Lucius king of Rome, and the king's fool. "In a *CRONIKE* it telleth us." Lib. vii. f. 165 a. col. 2. Of the translation of the Roman empire to the Lombards. "This made an emperor anon, whose name, the *CHRONICLE* telleth, was Othes." Prol. fol. 5 b. col. 2. Of Constantine's leprosy. "For in *CRONIKE* thus I rede." Lib. iii. f. 46 b. col. 2.

thority. I make no apology for giving the passage somewhat at large, as the source of this elegant little apologue, which seems to be of Eastern invention, has lately so much employed the searches of the commentators on Shakespeare, and that the circumstances of the story, as it is told by Gower, may be compared with those with which it appears in other books.

The poet is speaking of a king whose officers and courtiers complained that, after a long attendance, they had not received adequate rewards, and preferments due to their services. The king, who was no stranger to their complaints, artfully contrives a scheme to prove whether this defect proceeded from his own want of generosity, or their want of discernment.

Anone he lette two cofres^f make,
Of one semblance, of one make,
So lyche^g, that no life thilke throwe
That one maie fro that other knowe.
Thei were into his chambre brought,
But no man wote why they be brought,
And netheles the kynge hath bede,
That thei be sette in privie stede,
As he that was of wisdoms sligh,
Whan he therto his tyme sigh^h,
All privilycheⁱ, that none it wiste,
His own hondes that one chist^k
Of *fine golde* and of *fine perie*^l,
(The which oute of his tresurie
Was take) anone he filde full;
That other cofre of *strawe* and *mulle*^m,
With *stones mened*, he filde also:
Thus be thei full both tho.

The king assembles his courtiers, and showing them the two chests, acquaints them, that one of these is filled with gold and jewels; that they should choose which of the two they liked best, and that the contents should instantly be distributed among them all. A knight by common consent is appointed to choose for them, who fixes upon the chest filled with straw and stones.

For which he also cites "the *bokes of Latine*," ib. f. 45 a. col. 1. In the story of Caius Fabricius. "In a *CRONIQUE* I fynde thus." Lib. vii. 157 a. col. 2. Of the soothsayer and the emperor of Rome. "As in *CRONIQUE* it is witholde."—"Which the *CHRONIQUE* hath authorized." Lib. vii. f. 154 b. col. 1. f. 155 b. col. 2. Of the emperor's son who serves the Soldan of Persia. "There was as the *CRONIQUE*

seith, an emperour," &c. Lib. ii. f. 41 b. col. 1. For the story of Carmidotolrus consul of Rome, he refers to these *olde bokes*. Lib. vii. f. 157 b. col. 2. &c. &c.

^f coffers; chests.

^g like.

^h saw.

ⁱ privily.

^k chest.

^l gems.

^m rubbish.

This kyng then in the same stede",
 Anone that other cofre undede,
 Whereas thei sawen grete richesse
 Wile more than thei couthen gesse.
 "Lo," saith the kyng, "now maie ye see
 That there is no default in mee:
 Forthy°, myself I will I acquite,
 And beareth your own wite
 Of that fortune hath you refused."°

It must be confessed, that there is a much greater and a more beautiful variety of incidents in this story as it is related in the *GESTA ROMANORUM*, which Shakespeare has followed, than in Gower: and was it not demonstrable, that this compilation preceded our author's age by some centuries, one would be tempted to conclude, that Gower's story was the original fable in its simple unimproved state. Whatever was the case, it is almost certain that one story produced the other.

A translation into English of the *GESTA ROMANORUM* was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, without date*. In the year 1577, one Richard Robinson published *A Record of ancient Historyes, in Latin GESTA ROMANORUM, perused, corrected, and bettered, by R. Robinson, London, 1577*†. Of this translation there were six impressions before the year 1601‡. The later editions, both Latin and English, differ considerably from a manuscript belonging to the British Museum§, which contains

* place.

° therefore.

† Lib. v. f. 86 a. col. 1. seq. The story which follows is somewhat similar, in which the emperor Frederick places before two beggars two pasties, one filled with capons, the other with florins. *ibid.* b. col. 2.

* [An unique copy of this edition, (which Dibdin and Douce sought for in vain) is preserved in St. John's College, Cambridge. See some account of it in the *Retrospective Review*, vol. ii., and *Hartshorne's Book Rarities of Cambridge*. This edition forms the basis of those subsequently modernised by Robinson and later revisers, down to the year 1689.—M.]

† In twelves. See among the Royal Manuscripts, Brit. Mus. "Richard Robinson's Eupolemia, Archippus and Panoplia; being an account of his Patrons and Benefactions, &c. 1603." See fol. 5. MSS. Reg. 18. A lxvi. This R. Robinson, I believe, published *Part of the harmony of king David's harp*. A translation of the first twenty-one psalms, for J. Wolfe, 1582. 4to. A translation of Leland's *Assertio Arthuri*, for the same, 1582. 4to. *The aunccient order societie, &c. of prince Arthure, and his knightly armury of the*

round table, in verse, for the same, 1583. 4to.

‡ There is an edition, in black letter, so late as 1689.

§ MSS. Harl. 2270. 1. See *ibid.* cap. xcix. for this story. Tit. "*Liber Asceticus cui titulus Gesta Romanorum, cum Reductionibus sive Moralitatibus eorundem.*" There is an English translation, *ibid.* MSS. Harl. 7333. This has the *Jeb's bond* and the *Caskets*. In the same library there is a large collection of legendary tales in different hands, written on parchment, 8vo. MSS. Harl. 2316. One of these is, "De vera Amicitia, et de Passione Christi: Narratio a Petro Alphonso." 18 fol. 8 b. The history of the two friends here related, is told more at large in the *Gesta Romanorum*, where the friends are two knights. Peter Alphonso lived about 1110. This tale, I think, is Lydgate's *fabula duorum mercatorum*, MSS. Harl. 2251. 33. fol. 56. "In Egypt whilom," &c. See also 2255. 17. fol. 72. Manuscripts of these *GESTA* occur thrice in the Bodleian library. MSS. Bodl. B. 3. 10. *Ibid.* super O. 1. Art. 17. And Hyper. Bodl. (Cod. Grav.) B. 55. 3. viz. *Narrationes breves e Gestiis ROMANORUM et aliorum*. But this last

not only the story of the CASKETS in Shakespeare's *MERCHANT of VENICE*, but that of the *JEW'S BOND* in the same play[†]. I cannot exactly ascertain the age of this piece, which has many fictitious and fabulous facts intermixed with true history; nor have I been able to discover the name of its compiler.

It appears to me to have been formed on the model of Valerius Maximus, the favourite classic of the monks. It is quoted and commended as a true history, among many historians of credit, such as Josephus, Orosius, Bede, and Eusebius, by Herman Korner, a Dominican friar of Lubec, who wrote a *CHRONICA NOVELLA*, or history of the world, in the year 1435[‡].

In speaking of our author's sources, I must not omit a book translated by the unfortunate Antony Widville, first earl of Rivers, chiefly with a view of proving its early popularity. It is the *Dictes or Sayings of Philosophers*, which lord Rivers translated from the French of William de Thignonville, provost of the city of Paris about the year 1408, entitled *Les dictes moraux des philosophes, les dictes des sages et les secrets d'Aristote*[§]. The English translation was printed by Caxton, in the year 1477. Gower refers to this tract, which first existed in Latin, more than once; and it is most probable that he consulted the Latin original^{||}.

It is pleasant to observe the strange mistakes which Gower, a man of great learning, and the most general scholar of his age, has committed in this poem, concerning books which he never saw, his violent anachronisms, and misrepresentations of the most common facts and characters. He mentions the Greek poet Menander, as one of the first historians, or "first enditours of the olde cronike," together with Esdras, Solinus, Josephus, Claudius Sulpicius, Termegis, Pandulfe, Frigidilles, Ephiloquorus, and Pandas. It is extraordinary that Moses should not here be mentioned, in preference to Esdras. Solinus is ranked so high, because he recorded nothing but wonders[¶]; and Josephus, on account

seems rather a deforation. In Hereford cathedral, 73. In Worcester cathedral, 80. In (late) Buracough's (rector of Totness) MSS. Cod. 82. 1. [now MS. Harl. 2270?—M.] In (late) Sir Symonds D'Ewes's MSS. Cod. 150. 2. [now Harl. 219.—M.] In Trinity college Dublin, G. 326. At Oxford, Saint John's college, twice, C. 31. 2. G. 41. Magdalen college, twice, Cod. Lat. 13. 60. Lincoln college Libr. Theol. 60. See what is said of *Gests*, *supr.* vol. i. p. 69. Among the manuscript books written by Lopus de Castellione, a Florentine civilian, and a great translator from Greek into Latin, about the year 1350, Balusius mentions *De Origine Urbis Romæ, et de Gestis Romanorum*. What this piece is I cannot ascertain. Apud Fabric. Bibl. Med. Inf. Latinitat. iv. 722. Compare de Gestis

Imperatorum Liber, MSS. Harl. 5259. i. ch. xlviii.

[†] See Eccard's Corp. Histor. tom. ii. p. 432—1343. Lips. 1723. fol.

[‡] See Mem. de Litt. xvii. 745. 4to.

[§] Among these other "*tales wise of philosophers* in this wise I rede," &c. Lib. vii. f. 143 a. col. 1. f. 142 b. col. 2. &c. See Walpole's Cat. royal and noble authors. There is another translation, done in 1450, dedicated to Sir John Fastolfe, knight, by his son-in-law *Stevyn Scrope, Squyer*. MSS. Harl. 2265. William de Thignonville is here said to have translated this book into French for the use of king Charles the Sixth.

^{||} Our author has a story from Solinus concerning a monstrous bird, lib. iii. f. 62 b. col. 2. See *supr.* vol. i. p. 91. Note^o.

of his subject, had long been placed almost on a level with the Bible. He is seated on the first pillar in Chaucer's HOUSE OF FAME. His Jewish History, translated into Latin by Rufinus in the fourth century, had given rise to many old poems and romances^y; and his MACCABAICS, or History of the seven Maccabees martyred with their father Eleazar under the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, a separate work, translated also by Rufinus, produced the JUDAS MACCABEE of Belleperche in the year 1240, and at length enrolled the Maccabees among the most illustrious heroes of romance^z. On this account too, perhaps, Esdras is here so respectably remembered. I suppose Sulpicius is Sulpicius Severus, a petty annalist of the fifth century, Termegis is probably Trismegistus, the mystic philosopher, certainly not an historian, at least not an antient one. Pandulf seems to be Pandulph of Pisa, who wrote lives of the popes, and died in the year 1198^a. Frigidile is perhaps Fregedaire, a Burgundian, who flourished about the year 641, and wrote a chronicon from Adam to his own times; often printed, and containing the best account of the Franks after Gregory of Tours^b. Our author, who has partly suffered from ignorant transcribers and printers, by Ephiloquorus undoubtedly intended Eutropius. In the next paragraph, indeed, he mentions Herodotus; yet not as an early historian, but as the first writer of a system of the metrical art, "of metre, of ryme, and of cadence^c." We smile, when Hector in Shakespeare quotes Aristotle: but Gower gravely informs his reader, that Ulysses was a *clerke*, accomplished with a knowledge of all the sciences, a great rhetorician and magician: that he learned rhetoric of Tully, magic of Zoroaster, astronomy of Ptolemy, philosophy of Plato, divination of the prophet Daniel, proverbial instruction of Solomon, botany of Macer, and medicine of Hippocrates^d. And in the seventh book, Aristotle, or the *philosophe*, is introduced reciting to his scholar Alexander the Great, a disputation between a Jew and a Pagan, who meet between Cairo and Babylon, concerning their respective religions:

^y See *supra*, p. 4. 105. There is JOSEPHUS *de la BATAILLE JUDAÏQUE traduit de Latin en François*, printed by Verard at Paris, 1480. fol. I think it is a poem. All Josephus's works were printed in the old Latin translation, at Verona, 1480. fol. and frequently soon afterwards. They were translated into French, German, Spanish, and Italian, and printed, between the years 1492 and 1554. See the *Collana Greca*, in Haym's *Bibliothec.* p. 6. 7. A French translation was made in 1460 or 1463. *Cod. Reg.* Paris. 7015.

^z See *supra*, p. 4. In the British Museum there is "Maccabeorum et Josephi Historiarum Epitome, metrice." 10 A. viii. 5. MSS. Reg. See MSS. Harl. 5713.

^a See the story, in our author, of pope

Boniface supplanting Celestine. "In a CRONYKE of tyme ago." *Lib. ii. f. 42 a. col. 2.*

^b See Ruinart. *Dissertat. de Fredegario ejusque Operibus.* tom. ii. *Hist. Franc.* p. 443. There is also Fridegodus, a monk of Dover, who wrote the lives of some sainted bishops about the year 960; and a Frigeridus, known only by a reference which Gregory of Tours makes to the *twelfth book of his History*, concerning the times preceding Valentinian the Third, and the capture of Rome by Totila. *Gregor. Turonens. Hist. Francor. lib. ii. cap. 8. 9.* If this last be the writer in the text, a manuscript of Frigeridus's History might have existed in Gower's age, which is now lost.

^c *Lib. vi. f. 76 b. col. 1.*

^d *Lib. vi. f. 135 a. col. 1.*

the end of the story is to show the cunning, cruelty, and ingratitude of the Jew, which are at last deservedly punished^e. But I believe Gower's apology must be, that he took this narrative from some christian legend, which was feigned, for a religious purpose, at the expense of all probability and propriety.

The only classic Roman writers which our author cites are Virgil, Ovid, Horace, and Tully. Among the Italian poets, one is surprised he should not quote Petrarch: he mentions Dante only, who in the rubric is called "a certain poet of Italy named Dante," *quidam poeta Italia qui DANTE vocabatur*^f. He appears to have been well acquainted with the Homilies of pope Gregory the great^g, which were translated into Italian, and printed at Milan, so early as the year 1479. I can hardly decipher, and must therefore be excused from transcribing, the names of all the renowned authors which our author has quoted in alchemy, astrology, magic, palmistry, geomancy, and other branches of the occult philosophy. Among the astrological writers, he mentions Noah, Abraham, and Moses. But he is not sure that Abraham was an author, having never seen any of that patriarch's works: and he prefers Trismegistus to Moses^h. Cabalistical tracts were however extant, not only under the names of Abraham, Noah, and Moses, but of Adam, Abel, and Enochⁱ. He mentions, with particular regard, Ptolemy's *ALMAGEST*; the grand source of all the superstitious notions propagated by the Arabian philosophers concerning the science of divination by the stars^k. These infatuations seem to have completed their triumph over human credulity in Gower's age, who probably was an ingenious adept in the false and frivolous speculations of this admired species of study.

Gower, amidst his graver literature, appears to have been a great reader of romances. The lover, in speaking of the gratification which his passion receives from the sense of hearing, says, that to hear his lady speak is more delicious than to feast on all the dainties that could be compounded by a cook of Lombardy. They are not so restorative

As bin the wordes of hir mouth;
For as the wyndes of the South
Ben most of all debonaire,
So when hir lust^l to speak faire,
The vertue of her goodly speche
Is verily myne hartes leche^m.

^e Lib. vii. f. 156 b. col. 2.

^f Lib. vii. f. 154 b. col. 1.

^g Prolog. f. 2 b. col. 1. Lib. v. f. 93 a. col. 1. 2. f. 94 a. col. 1.

^h Lib. vii. f. 134 b. col. 1. vii. f. 149 b. col. 1.

ⁱ See *supra*, p. 168. Note^k. And Morhof. Polyhist. tom. ii. p. 455 seq. edit. 1747.

^k Mabillon mentions, in a manuscript of the *Almagest* written before the year 1240, a drawing of Ptolemy, holding a mirror, not an optical tube, in his hand, and contemplating the stars. Itin. Germanic. p. 49.

^l she chooses.

^m physician.

These are elegant verses. To hear her sing is paradise. Then he adds,

Full oft tyme it falleth so,
My ereⁿ with a good pitance
Is fed of *redyng* of romance
Of IDOYNE and AMADAS,
That whilom were in my cas ;
And eke of *other*, *many a score*,
That loved long ere I was bore^o.
For when I of her^p loves rede,
Myn ere with the tale I fede;
And with the lust of her histoire,
Sometime I draw into memoire,
Howe sorrowe may not ever last,
And so hope comith in at last^q.

The romance of IDOYNE and AMADAS is recited as a favourite history among others, in the prologue to a collection of legends called CURSOR MUNDI, translated from the French^r. I have already observed our poet's references to Sir LANCELOT's romance.

Our author's account of the progress of the Latin language is extremely curious. He supposes that it was invented by the old Tuscan prophetess Carmens; that it was reduced to method, to composition, pronounciation, and prosody, by the grammarians Aristarchus, Donatus, and Didymus; adorned with the flowers of eloquence and rhetoric by Tully; then enriched by translations from the Chaldee, Arabic, and Greek languages, more especially by the version of the Hebrew Bible into Latin by Saint Jerom, in the fourth century; and that at length, after the labours of many celebrated writers, it received its final consummation in Ovid, the poet of lovers. At the mention of Ovid's name, the poet, with the dexterity and address of a true master of transition, seizes the critical moment of bringing back the dialogue to its proper argument^s.

The CONFESSIO AMANTIS was most probably written after Chaucer's TROILUS AND CRESSIDA. At the close of the poem, we are presented with an assemblage of the most illustrious lovers^t. Together with the renowned heroes and heroines of love, mentioned either in romantic or classical history, we have David and Bathsheba, Samson and Delilah, and Solomon with all his concubines. Virgil, also, Socrates, Plato, and Ovid, are enumerated as lovers. Nor must we be surprised to find Aristotle honoured with a place in this gallant group; for whom, says the poet, the queen of Greece made such a syllogism as destroyed all his logic. But, among the rest, Troilus and Cressida are introduced;

ⁿ ear.

^o born.

^q Lib. vi. f. 133 a. col. 2.

^p their.

^r See supr. vol. i. p. 127. Note ^t.

^s Lib. iv. f. 77 b. col. 2.

^t Lib. viii. f. 158 a. col. 2.

seemingly with an intention of paying a compliment to Chaucer's poem on their story, which had been submitted to Gower's correction^u. Although this famous pair had been also recently celebrated in Boccacio's *FILOSTRATO*^v. And in another place, speaking of his absolute devotion to his lady's will, he declares himself ready to acquiesce in her choice, whatsoever she shall command; whether, if when tired of dancing and caroling, she should choose to play at chess^w, or read *TROILUS AND CRESSIDA*. This is certainly Chaucer's poem.

That when her list on nights wake
In chambre, as to carol and daunce,
Methinke I maie me more avaunce,
If I may gone upon hir honde,
Than if I wynne a kynges londe.
For whan I maie her hand beclip^w,
With such gladness I daunce and skip,
Methinketh I touch not the floore;
The roe which renneth on the moore
Is than nought so light as I.—
And whan it falleth other gate^x,
So that hir liketh not to daunce,
But on the dyes to cast a chaunce,
Or aske of love some demaunde;
Or els that her list commaunde
To rede and here of *TROILUS*^y.

That this poem was written after Chaucer's *FLOURE AND LEAF*, may be partly collected from the following passage, which appears to be an imitation of Chaucer, and is no bad specimen of Gower's most poetical manner. Rosiphele, a beautiful princess, but setting love at defiance, the daughter of Herupus king of Armenia, is taught obedience to the laws of Cupid by seeing a vision of Ladies.

Whan come was the moneth of Maie,
She wolde walke upon a daie,
And that was er the son arist^z,
Of women but a fewe it wist^a;

^u Chaucer's *Tr. and Cress.* Urr. edit. p. 333.

^v See *supr.* p. 162.

^w [Sir Herbert Croft surmises, with good reason, that this play was not *chess*. See line 13 in the verses here cited; and again in another passage of the same poem, fol. 7 b. col. 2.

He that playeth at the *dyes*, &c.

Herbert, the typographical antiquary, suggests the probability of hazard or back-

gammon, and refers to the following line, in proof:

But on the dyes to cast a chaunce.
PARK.]

^x clasp.

^y way.

^z Lib. iv. f. 78 b. col. 1.

^a arose.

^a "But a few of her women knew of this."

And forth she went prively,
 Unto a parke was faste by,
 All softe walkenede on the gras,
 Tyll she came there^b the launde was,
 Through which ran a great rivere,
 It thought her fayre ; and said, here
 I will abide under the shawe ;
 And bad hir women to withdrawe :
 And ther she stood alone stille
 To think what was in her wille.
 She sighe^c the swete floures sprynge,
 She herde glad fowles synge ;
 She sigh beastes in her kynde,
 The buck, the doo, the hert, the hynde,
 The males go with the femele :
 And so began there a quarele^d
 Betwene love and her owne herte
 Fro whiche she couthe not asterte.
 And as she cast hir eie aboute,
 She sigh, clad in one suit, a route
 Of ladies where thei comen ride
 Alonge under the wooddè side ;
 On fayre ambulende^e hors thei set,
 That were al whyte, fayre, and gret ;
 And everichone ride on side^f,
 The sadels were of such a pride,
 So riche sighe she never none ;
 With perles and golde so wel begone,
 In kirtels and in copes riche
 Thei were clothed all aliche^g,
 Departed even of white and blewe,
 With all lustes^h that she knewe
 Thei wer embroudred over all :
 Herⁱ bodies weren longe and small,
 The beautee of hir fayre face,
 There mai none erthly thing deface :
 Corownes on their heades thei bare,
 As eche of hem a quene were.
 That all the golde of Cresus hall
 The least coronall of all
 Might not have boughte, after the worth
 Thus comen thei ridend forthe.

^b there where.^c saw.^e ambling.^d dispute.^f A mark of high rank.^g alike.^h lists ; colours.ⁱ their.

The kynges doughter, whiche this sigh,
For pure abasshe drewe hir adrigh,
And helde hir close undir the bough.

At length she sees riding in the rear of this splendid troop, on a horse lean, galled, and lame, a beautiful lady in a tattered garment, her saddle mean and much worn, but her bridle richly studded with gold and jewels; and round her waist were more than a hundred halters. The princess asks the meaning of this strange procession; and is answered by the lady on the lean horse, that these are spectres of ladies, who, when living, were obedient and faithful votaries of love. "As to myself," she adds, "I am now receiving my annual penance for being a rebel to love."

For I whilom no love had;
My horse is now feble and badde,
And al to torn is myn araie;
And everie year this freshe Maie
These lustie ladies ride aboute,
And I must nedes sew^k her route,
In this manner as ye nowe see,
And trusse her halters forth with mee,
And am but her horse-knave^l.

The princess then asks her, why she wore the rich bridle, so inconsistent with the rest of her furniture, her dress, and horse? The lady answers, that it was a badge and reward for having loved a knight faithfully for the last fortnight of her life.

Now have ye herde all mine answer;
To god, madam, I you betake,
And warneth all, for my sake,
Of love, that thei be not idell,
And bid hem thinke of my bridell.
And with that worde, all sodenly
She passeth, as it were a skie^m,
All clean out of the ladies sightⁿ.

My readers will easily conjecture the change which this spectacle must naturally produce in the obdurate heart of the princess of Armenia. There is a farther proof that the FLOURE AND LEAFE preceded the CONFESSIO AMANTIS. In the eighth book, our author's lovers are crowned with the Flower and Leaf.

Myn eie I caste all aboutes,
To knowe amonge hem who was who:
I sigh where lustie YOUTH tho,

^k follow.

^l their groom.

^m a shadow; Σκία, *umbra*.

ⁿ Lib. iv. f. 70 seq.

As he which was a capitayne
 Before all others on the playne,
 Stode with his route wel begon :
 Her heades kempt, and thereupon
 Garlondes not of *one* colour,
 Some of the *lese*, some of the *floure*,
 And some of grete perles were :
 The new guise of Beme^o was there, &c.^p

I believe on the whole, that Chaucer had published most of his poems before this piece of Gower appeared. Chaucer had not however at this time written his TESTAMENT OF LOVE: for Gower, in a sort of Epilogue to the CONFESSIO AMANTIS, is addressed by Venus, who commands him to greet Chaucer as her favourite poet and disciple, as one who had employed his youth in composing songs and ditties to her honour. She adds at the close,

For thy, now in his *daies olde*,
 Thou shalt hym tell this message,
 That he upon his *later* age
 To sette *an ende* of all his werke
 As he, which is myne owne clerke,
 Do make his TESTAMENT OF LOVE,
 As thou hast done thy SHRIFTE above :
 So that my court it maie recorde^q.

Chaucer at this time was sixty-five years of age. The Court of Love, one of the pedantries of French gallantry, occurs often. In an address to Venus, "Madame, I am a man of thyne, that in thy COURTE hath served long^r." The lover observes, that for want of patience, a man ought "amonge the women alle, in LOVES COURTE, by *judgement* the name beare of paciant^s." The confessor declares, that many persons are condemned for disclosing secrets, "In LOVES COURTE, as it is said, that lette their tonges gone untide^t." By *Thy* SHRIFTE, the author means his own poem now before us, the Lover's CONFESSION.

There are also many manifest evidences which lead us to conclude, that this poem preceded Chaucer's CANTERBURY'S TALES, undoubtedly some of that poet's latest compositions, and probably not begun till after the year 1382. The MAN OF LAWES TALE is circumstantially borrowed from Gower's CONSTANTIA^u: and Chaucer, in that TALE, apparently censures Gower, for his manner of relating the stories of Canace and Apollonius in the third and eighth books of the CONFESSIO

^o Boeme; Bohemia.

^p Lib. vii. f. 188 a. col. 1. See supr. p. 223.

^q Lib. viii. f. 190 b. col. 1.

^r Lib. i. f. 8 b. col. 1.

^s Lib. iii. f. 51 a. col. 1.

^t Lib. iii. f. 52 a. col. 1. See supr. p.

218. In the same strain we have Cupid's *parlement*. Lib. viii. f. 187 b. col. 2.

^u Conf. Amant. Lib. ii. f. 30 b. col. 2. See particularly, *ibid.* f. 35 b. col. 2 a. col. 1. And compare Ch. Man of L. T. v. 5505. "Some men wold sayn, &c." That is, GOWER.

AMANTIS^v. The WIFE OF BATHES TALE is founded on Gower's Florent, a knight of Rome, who delivers the king of Sicily's daughter from the incantations of her step-mother^x. Although the GESTA ROMANORUM might have furnished both poets with this narrative. Chaucer, however, among other great improvements, has judiciously departed from the fable, in converting Sicily into the more popular court of king Arthur.

Perhaps, in estimating Gower's merit, I have pushed the notion too far, that because he shows so much learning he had no great share of natural abilities. But it should be considered, that when books began to grow fashionable, and the reputation of learning conferred the highest honour, poets became ambitious of being thought scholars; and sacrificed their native powers of invention to the ostentation of displaying an extensive course of reading, and to the pride of profound erudition. On this account, the minstrels of these times, who were totally uneducated, and poured forth spontaneous rhymes in obedience to the workings of nature, often exhibit more genuine strokes of passion and imagination than the professed poets. Chaucer is an exception to this observation; whose original feelings were too strong to be suppressed by books, and whose learning was overbalanced by genius.

This affectation of appearing learned, which yet was natural at the revival of literature, in our old poets, even in those who were altogether destitute of talents, has lost to posterity many a curious picture of man-

^v See Chaucer, *ibid.* v. 4500. And Conf. Amant. Lib. iii. f. 48 a. col. 1. seq. Lib. viii. f. 175 a. col. 2. seq. I have just discovered, that the favourite story of Apollonius, having appeared in ancient Greek, Latin, Saxon, barbarous Greek, and old French, was at length translated from French into English, and printed in the black letter, by Wynkyn de Worde, A.D. 1510. 4to. "Kynge Appolyn of Thyre." [See *supr.* p. 133. Note^u.] A copy is in my possession.

[A Greco-barbarous translation of the romance of Apollonius of Tyre was made by one Gabriel Contianus¹, a Grecian, about the year 1500, as appears by a manuscript in the imperial library at Vienna²; and printed at Venice in 1503.

[See *supr.* p. 133. Note^u.] Salviati, in his *Avvertimenti*, mentions an Italian romance on this subject, which he supposes to have been written about the year 1330. Lib. ii. c. 12. Velsler first published this romance in Latin at Augsburg, in 1595. 4to. The story is here much more elegantly told than in the *Gesta Romanorum*. In Godfrey of Viterbo's Pantheon, it is in Leonine verse. There has been even a German translation of this favorite tale, viz. "Historia Apollonii Tyriæ et Sidoniæ regis ex Latino sermone in Germanicum translata. August. Vindel. apud Gintherum Zainer, 1471. fol." At the end is a German colophon, importing much the same.—ADDITIONS.]

² Lib. i. f. 15 b. col. 2.

¹ Γαβριήλ Κωντιανός. Perhaps Κωνσταντίνος.

² Lambec. Catal. Bibl. Cæsar. Nesselii Suppl. tom. i. p. 341. MSS. Græc. CXXIV. (Vind. et Norimb. 1690. fol.) Pr. "Μεδοξάν του Ιησού Χριστού." Fin. "Ποίημα ἐν ἀποχέρις Γαβριήλ Κωντιανώ," &c. This is in prose. But under this class of the Imperial library, Nesselius recites many manuscript poems in the Greco-barbarous metre of the fifteenth century or thereabouts, viz. *The Loves of Hemperius; Description of the city of Venice; The romances of Florius and Platystora; The Blindness and Beggary of Belisarius; The Trojan War; Of Hell; Of an Earthquake in the Isle of Crete,* &c. These were all written at the restoration of learning in Italy. [See *supr.* p. 133. Note ^b.]

ners, and many a romantic image. Some of our ancient bards, however, aimed at no other merit, than that of being able to versify; and attempted nothing more than to clothe in rhyme those sentiments, which would have appeared with equal propriety in prose.

In lord Gower's library, there is a thin oblong manuscript on vellum, containing some of Gower's poems in Latin, French, and English. By an entry in the first leaf, in the hand-writing, and under the signature, of Thomas lord Fairfax, Cromwell's general, an antiquarian, and a lover and collector of curious manuscripts^y, it appears that this book was presented by the poet Gower, about the year 1400, to Henry the Fourth; and that it was given by lord Fairfax to his *friend and kinsman* sir Thomas Gower, knight and baronet, in the year 1656. By another entry, lord Fairfax acknowledges to have received it, in the same year, as a present, from *that learned gentleman* Charles Gedde esquire, of saint Andrews in Scotland: and at the end, are five or six Latin anagrams on Gedde, written and signed by lord Fairfax, with this title, "IN NOMEN venerandi et annosi Amici sui Caroli Geddei." By king Henry the Fourth it seems to have been placed in the royal library: it appears at least to have been in the hands of king Henry the Seventh while earl of Richmond, from the name *Rychemond*, inserted in another of the blank leaves at the beginning, and explained by this note, "Liber Henrici Septimi tunc Comitis Richmond, propria manu scripsit." This manuscript is neatly written, with miniated and illuminated initials: and contains the following pieces. I. A Panegyric in stanzas, with a Latin prologue or rubric in seven hexameters, on king Henry the Fourth. This poem, commonly called *Carmen de Pacis Commendatione in laudem Henrici Quarti*, is printed in Chaucer's WORKS, edit. Urr. p. 540.—II. A short Latin poem in elegiacs on the same subject, beginning, "*Rex cæli deus et dominus qui tempora solus* *." [MSS. COTTON. OTHO. D. i. 4.] This is followed by ten other very short pieces, both in French and English, [Latin] of the same tendency.—III. CINKANTE BALADES, or Fifty Sonnets in French. Part of the first is illegible. They are closed with the following epilogue and colophon.

^y He gave twenty-nine ancient manuscripts to the Bodleian library, one of which is a beautiful manuscript of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. When the Record-tower in St. Mary's abbey at York was accidentally blown up in the grand rebellion, he offered rewards to the soldiers who could bring him fragments of the scattered parchments. Luckily, however, the numerous original evidences lodged in this repository had been just before transcribed by Roger Dodsworth; and the transcripts, which formed the groundwork of Dugdale's *Monasticon*, consisting of forty-nine large folio volumes, were bequeathed by Fairfax to the same library. Fairfax also, when Oxford was garrisoned

by the parliamentary forces, exerted his utmost diligence in preserving the Bodleian library from pillage; so that it suffered much less, than when that city was in the possession of the royalists.

* [The minute title of this [Latin poem] is at the close of the English poem, and does not exactly accord with Mr. Warton's assertion: "Explicit carmen de pacis commendatione quod ad laudem et memoriam serenissimi principis domini Regis Henrici quarti suus humilis orator Johannes Gower composuit. Et nunc sequitur Epistola in qua idem Johannes pro statu et salute dicti domini sui altissimi devocius exorat."—TODD.]

O gentile Engleterre a toi i'escrits,
 Pour remembrer ta ioie q'est nouvelle,
 Qe te survient du noble Roy Henris,
 Par qui dieus ad redresté ta querele ;
 A dieu pur ceo prient et cil et celle,
 Q'il de sa grace, au fort Roi coroné,
 Doingt peas, honour, ioie et prosperité.

Expliciunt carmina Johis Gower que Gallice composita BALADES dicuntur.—IV. Two short Latin poems in elegiacs. The First beginning, "*Ecce patet tensus cecum Cupidinis arcus.*" The second, "*O Natura viri potuit quam tollere nemo.*"—V. A French poem, imperfect at the beginning, *On the Dignity or Excellence of Marriage*, in one book. The subject is illustrated by examples. As no part of this poem was ever printed, I transcribe one of the stories.

Qualiter Jason uxorem suam Medeam relinquens, Creusam Creontis regis filiam sibi carnaliter copulavit. Verum ipse cum duobus filiis suis postea infortunatus [decessit].

Li prus Jason q'en l'isle de Colchos
 Le toison d'or, pour l'aide de Medee
 Conquist, dont il donour portoit grant loos,
 Par tout le monde encourt la renomee ;
 La joefne dame oue soi ad amenee
 De son pays en Grece, et l'espousa
 Freinte espousaile dieus le vengera !
 Quant Medea meulx qui de etre en repos
 Ove son mari et q'elle avoit porté
 Deux fils de luy, lors changea le purpos
 El q'elle Jason perémer fuist obligé ;
 Il ad del tout Medeam refusé,
 Si prist la file au roi Creon Creusa
 Freinte espousaile dieus le vengera !
 Medea q'ot le coer de dolour cloos,
 En son corous, et ceo fuist grant pité,
 Ses joefnes fils qu'eux ot jadis en clos
 Deinz ses costees ensi com forsenée
 Devant ses oels Jason ele ad tue
 Ceo q'en fuist fait pecche le fortuna
 Freinte espousaile dieus le vengera.

Towards the end of the piece, the poet introduces an apology for any inaccuracies, which, as an Englishman, he may have committed in the French idiom.

Al université de tout le monde
 JOHAN GOWER ceste Balade envoie ;
 Et si ieo nai de Francois la faconde,

Pardonetz moi qe ieo de ceo forsoie.
 Jeo suis Englois : si quier par tiele voie
 Estre excusé mais quoique nulls en die
 L'amour parfit en dieu se justifie.

It is finished with a few Latin hexameters, viz. "Quis sit vel qualis sacer ordo connubialis*." This poem occurs at the end of two valuable folio manuscripts, illuminated and on vellum, of the *CONFESSIO AMANTIS*, in the Bodleian Library, viz. MSS. FAIRFAX, iii. And NE. F. 8. 9. Also in the manuscript at All Souls college Oxford, MSS. xxvi. described and cited above. And in MSS. HARL. 3869. In all these, and, I believe, in many others, it is properly connected with the *CONFESSIO AMANTIS*, by the following rubric. "Puisqu'il ad dit CIDEVANT en ENGLOIS, par voie dessample, la sotie de celui qui par amours aime par especial, dirra ore apres en FRANCOIS a tout le mond en general une traitie selonc les auctors, pour esemplar les amants mariez," &c. It begins,

Le creature du tout creature.

But the CINQUANTE BALADES, or fifty French Sonnets above-mentioned, are the curious and valuable part of lord Gower's manuscript. They are not mentioned by those who have written the Life of this poet, or have catalogued his works. Nor do they appear in any other manuscript of Gower which I have examined. But if they should be discovered in any other, I will venture to pronounce, that a more authentic, unembarrassed, and practicable copy than this before us, will not be produced; although it is for the most part unpointed, and obscured with abbreviations, and with those mis-spellings which flowed from a scribe unacquainted with the French language.

To say no more, however, of the value which these little pieces may derive from being so scarce and so little known, they have much real and intrinsic merit. They are tender, pathetic, and poetical; and place our old poet Gower in a more advantageous point of view than that in which he has hitherto been usually seen. I know not if any even among the French poets themselves, of this period, have left a set of more finished sonnets; for they were probably written when Gower was a young man, about the year 1350. Nor had yet any English poet treated the passion of love with equal delicacy of sentiment, and elegance of composition. I will transcribe four of these balades as correctly and intelligibly as I am able; although I must confess, there are some lines which I do not exactly comprehend.

BALADE xxxvi.

Pour comparer ce jolif temps de Maij,
 Jeo le dirrai semblable a Paradis;
 Car lors chantont et merle et papegai,

* [After which follows the poet's relation of his blindness, as in some copies of the *Confessio Amantis*, "Henrici Quarti primus regni fuit annus," &c.—TODD.]

Les champs sont vert, les herbes sont floris ;
 Lors est Nature dame du paijs :
 Dont Venus poingt l'amant au tiel assai,

Q'encontre amour n'est qui poet dire Nai.

Quant tout ceo voi, et qe ieo penserai,
 Coment Nature ad tout le mond suspris,
 Dont pour le temps se fait minote et gai,
 Et ieo des autres sui soulein horpris,
 Com cil qui sanz amie est vrais amis,
 N'est pas mervaille lors si ieo mesmai,

Q'encontre amour n'est qui poet dire Nai.

En lieu de rose, urtie cuilleraï,
 Dont mes chapeals ferrai par tiel devis,
 Qe tout ioie et confort ieo lerrai,
 Si celle soule en qui iai mon coer mis,
 Selonc le point qe iai sovent requis,
 Ne deigne alegger les griefs mals qe iai,

Q'encontre amour n'est qui poet dire Nai.

Pour pite querre et pourchacer mercis,
 Va t'en balade u ieo t'envoierai,
 Q'ore en certain ieo l'ai tresbien apris
Q'encontre amour n'est qui poet dire Nai.

BALADE XXXIV.

Saint Valentin, l'Amour, et la Nature,
 Des toutz oiseals ad en gouvernement,
 Dont chascun deaux, semblable a sa mesure,
 Une compaignie honeste a son talent
 Eslist, tout d'un accord et d'un assent,
 Pour celle soule laist a covenir ;
 Toutes les autres car Nature aprent

U li coers est le corps falt obeir.

Ma douce Dame, ensi ieo vous assure,
 Qe ieo vous ai eslieu semblablement,
 Sur toutes autres estes dessure
 De mon amour si tresentierement,
 Qe riens y falt par quoi ioiousement,
 De coer et corps ieo vous voldrai servir,
 Car de reson cest une experiment,

U li coers est le corps falt obeir.

Pour remembrer iadis celle aventure
 De Alceone et Ceix ensement,
 Com dieus muoit en oisel lour figure,
 Ma volenté serroit tout tielement

Qe sans envie et danger de la gent,
 Nous porroions ensemble par loisir
 Voler tout francs en nostre esbatement

U li coers est le corps falt obeir.

Ma belle oisel, vers qui mon pensement
 Sen vole ades sanz null contretenir,
 Pren cest escript car ieo sai voirement,
U li coers est le corps falt obeir.

BALADE XLIII.

Plus trichierous qe Jason a Medée,
 A Deianire ou q' Ercules estoit,
 Plus q' Eneas q' avoit Dido lessée,
 Plus qe Theseus q' Adriagne^a amoit,
 Ou Demeophon quant Phillis oubloït,
 Te tricus, hélas, q'amer iadis soloïe,
 Dont chanterai desore en mon endroit
C'est ma dolour qe fuist aincois ma joie.

Unq'es Ector q'ama Pantasilée^b,
 En tiele haste a Troie ne s'armoit,
 Qe tu tout nud nes deinz le lit couché
 Amis as toutes quelque venir doit,
 Ne poet chaloir mais q'une femme y soit,
 Si es comun plus qe la halte voie,
 Hélas, qe la fortune me decoït,
C'est ma dolour qe fuist aincois ma joie.

De Lancelot^b si fuissetz remembre,
 Et de Tristrans, com il se countenoit,
 Generides^c, Florent^d, Par Tonope^e.

^a Ariadne.

^b Penthesilea.

^c Sir Lancelot's intrigue with Geneura, king Arthur's queen, and sir Tristram's with Bel Isoulde, incidents in Arthur's romance, are made the subject of one of the stories of the French poem just cited, viz.

Commes sont la cronique et l'istoire
 De Lancelot et Tristrans ensement, &c.

^d This name, of which I know nothing, must be corruptly written.

^e Chaucer's Wife of Bathes Tale is founded on the story of Florent, a knight of Rome, who delivers the king of Sicily's daughter from the enchantments of her step-mother. His story is also in our author's Confessio Amantis, Lib. iii. fol. 48 a. col. 1. seq. Lib. viii. fol. 175 a. col. 2. seq. And in the Gesta Romanorum. [See supr. p. 247.] Percy [Num. 2.] recites a

romance called LE BONE FLORENCE DE ROME, which begins,

As ferre as men ride or gon.

I know not if this be Shakspeare's Florentius, or Florentio, Tam. Shr. i. 5.

Be she as foul as was FLORENTIUS' love.

[Ritson and Steevens have already remarked, that the romance has not the slightest connexion with Shakspeare's story. The romance itself was printed by Ritson, in his Metrical Romances, vol. iii., from the only known copy among More's MSS. No. 690. in the public library, Cambridge. See his Notes, p. 340, and Todd's Illustrations, p. 107.—M.]

^f That is Partenope, or Parthenopeus, one of Statius's heroes, on whom there is an old French romance. See supr. vol. i. p. 140. [where this statement is corrected.]

Chascun de ceaux sa loialte guardoit ;
 Mais tu, hélas, q'est ieo qe te forsoit
 De moi q'a toi iamaiz null iour falsoie,
 Tu es a large et ieo sui en destroit,
C'est ma dolour qe fuist aincois ma joie.
 Des toutz les mals tu q'es le plus maloit,
 Ceste compleignte a ton oraille envoie
 Sante me laist, et langour me recoit,
C'est ma dolour qe fuist aincois ma joie.

BALADE XXX.

Si com la nief, quant le fort vent tempeste,
 Pur halte mier se torne ci et la.
 Ma dame, ensi mon coer maint en tempeste,
 Quant le danger de vo parole orra,
 Le nief qe votre bouche soufflera,
 Me fait sigler sur le peril de vie,
Q'est en danger falt qu'il merci supplie.
 Rois Uluxes, sicom nous dist la Geste,
 Vers son pais de Troie qui sigla,
 N'ot tiel paour du peril et moleste,
 Quant les Sereines en la mier passa,
 Et le danger de Circes eschapa,
 Qe le paour n'est plus de ma partie,
Q'est en danger falt qu'il merci supplie.
 Danger qui tolt d'amour toute la feste,
 Unq'es un mot de confort ne sona,
 Ainz plus cruel qe n'est la fiere beste
 Au point quant danger me respondera.
 La chiere porte et quant le nai dirra,
 Plusque la mort m'estone celle oie
Q'est en danger falt qu'il merci supplie.
 Vers vous, ma bone dame, horspris cella,
 Qe danger maint en vostre compaignie,
 Ceste balade en mon message irra
Q'est en danger falt qu'il merci supplie.

For the use, and indeed the knowledge, of this manuscript, I am obliged to the unsolicited kindness of Lord Trentham; a favour which his lordship was pleased to confer with the most polite condescension*.

* [Warton's account of Lord Stafford's MS. was reprinted, with some few additions by Todd, in his *Illustrations of Gower*, 8vo. 1810. pp. 95-108. And in 1818, the entire contents of the MS., with

the exception of the poem "De Pacis Commendatione," was printed by Lord Gower for the Members of the Roxburghe Club.—M.]

SECTION XX.

Boethius. Why, and how much, esteemed in the middle ages. Translated by Johannes Capellanus, the only poet of the reign of king Henry the Fourth. Number of harpers at the coronation feast of Henry the Fifth. A minstrel-piece on the Battayle of Agynkourte. Occleve. His poems. Egidius de Regimine Principum, and Jacobus of Casali De Ludo Scaccorum. Chaucer's picture. Humphrey duke of Gloucester. Sketch of his character as a patron of literature. Apology for the Gallicisms of Chaucer, Gower, and Occleve.

ONE of the reasons which rendered the classic authors of the lower empire more popular than those of a purer age, was because they were Christians. Among these, no Roman writer appears to have been more studied and esteemed, from the beginning to the close of the barbarous centuries, than Boethius. Yet it is certain, that his allegorical personifications and his visionary philosophy, founded on the abstractions of the Platonic school, greatly concurred to make him a favourite^a. His CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY was translated into the Saxon tongue by king Alfred, the father of learning and civility in the midst of a rude and intractable people; and illustrated with a commentary by Asser bishop of Saint David's, a prelate patronised by Alfred for his singular accomplishments in literature, about the year 890. Bishop Grossthead is said to have left annotations on this admired system of morality. There is a very ancient manuscript of it in the Laurentian library, with an inscription prefixed in Saxon characters^b. There are few of those distinguished ecclesiastics, whose erudition illuminated the thickest gloom of ignorance and superstition with uncommon lustre, but who either have cited this performance, or honoured it with a panegyric^c. It has had many imitators. Eccard, a learned French Benedictine, wrote in imitation of this CONSOLATION OF PHI-

^a It is observable, that this spirit of Personification tinctures the writings of some of the christian fathers, about, or rather before, this period. Most of the agents in the Shepherd of Hermas are *ideal* beings. An ancient lady converses with Hermas, and tells him that she is the CHURCH OF GOD. Afterwards several virgins appear and discourse with him; and when he desires to be informed who they are, he is told by the Shepherd-Angel, that they are FAITH, ABSTINENCE, PATIENCE, CHASTITY, CONCORD, &c. Saint Cyprian relates, that the church appeared in a vision, *in visione per noctem*,

to Colerinus; and commanded him to assume the office of Reader, which he in humility had declined. Cyprian. Epist. xxxix. edit. Oxon. The church appearing as a woman they perhaps had from the Scripture, Rev. xii. 1. Esdras, &c.

^b Mabillon. Itin. Ital. p. 221.

^c He is much commended as a catholic and philosopher by Hincmarus archbishop of Rheims, about the year 880. De Prædestinat. contr. Godeschalch. tom. i. 211. ii. 62. edit. Sirmond. And by John of Salisbury, for his eloquence and argument. Policrat. vii. 15. And by many other writers of the same class.

LOSOPHY, a work in verse and prose containing five books, entitled the CONSOLATION OF THE MONKS, about the year 1120^d. John Gerson also, a doctor and chancellor of the university of Paris, wrote the CONSOLATION OF THEOLOGY in four books, about the year 1420^e. It was the model of Chaucer's TESTAMENT OF LOVE. It was translated into French^f and English before the year 1350^g. Dante was an attentive reader of Boethius. In the PURGATORIO, Dante gives THEOLOGY the name of Beatrix his mistress, the daughter of Fulco Portinari, who very gravely moralises in that character. Being ambitious of following Virgil's steps in the descent of Eneas into hell, he introduces her, as a daughter of the empyreal heavens, bringing Virgil to guide him through that dark and dangerous region^h. Leland, who lived when true literature began to be restored, says that the writings of Boethius still continued to retain that high estimation which they had acquired in the most early periods. I had almost forgot to observe, that the CONSOLATION was translated into Greek by Maximus Planudes, the most learned and ingenious of the Constantinopolitan monksⁱ.

I can assign only one poet to the reign of king Henry the Fourth, and this a translator of Boethius^k. He is called Johannes Capellanus, or John the *Chaplain*, and he translated into English verse the treatise DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIÆ in the year 1410. His name is John Walton*. He was canon of Oseney, and died subdean of York. It appears probable, that he was patronised by Thomas Chaucnder, among other preferments, dean of the king's chapel and of Hereford cathedral, chancellor of Wells, and successively warden of Wykeham's two colleges at Winchester and Oxford; characterised by Antony Wood as an able critic in polite literature, and by Leland as a rare example of a

^d See Trithem. cap. 387. de S.E. And Illustr. Benedictin. ii. 107.

^e Opp. tom. i. p. 130. edit. Dupin. I think there is a French CONSOLATIO THEOLOGICÆ by one Cerisier.

[John de Tambaco wrote also a CONSOLATION OF THEOLOGY in 15 books, 1366. It was very early printed, without name, date, signature, paging, or catchword. Herbert, MS. note.—PARK.]

^f See Haym, p. 199.

^g Beside John of Meun's French version of Boethius, printed at Lyons, 1483, with a translation of Virgil by Guillaume le Roy, there is one by De Cis, or Thiri, an old French poet. Matt. Annal. Typogr. i. p. 171. Francisc. a Cruce, Bibl. Gallic. p. 216. 247. It was printed in Dutch at Ghent, apud Arend de Keyser, 1485. fol. In Spanish at Valladolid, 1598. fol. See supr. p. 216. Polycarpus Leyserus, in that very scarce book, De Poesi Medii Ævi, [printed Halæ, 1721, 8vo.] enumerates many curious old editions of Boethius, p. 95. 105.

^h See Purgat. Cant. xxx.

ⁱ Montfauc. Bibl. Coislin. p. 140. Of a Hebrew version, see Wolf. Bibl. Hebr. tom. i. p. 229. 1092. 243. 354. 369.

^k I am aware that Occleve's poem, called the Letter of Cupid, was written in this king's reign in the year 1402. "In the year of grace joyfull and joconde, a thousand fower hundred and seconde." Urry's Chaucer, p. 537. v. 475. But there are reasons for making Occleve, as I have done, something later. Nor is Gower's Balade to Henry the Fourth a sufficient reason for placing him in that reign. Ibid. p. 540. The same may be said of Chaucer.

* [A manuscript of this work noticed by Mr. Todd has the following colophon: "Explicit liber Boecii de consolacione philosophie de latino in Anglicum translatus anno dñi millesimo cccc^o. per Capellannum Johannem Tebaud alias Watyrbeche." Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer, Introd. p. xxxi.]

doctor in theology who graced scholastic disputation with the flowers of a pure latinity¹. In the British Museum there is a correct manuscript on parchment of Walton's translation of Boethius: and the margin is filled throughout with the Latin text, written by Chaundler above-mentioned^m. There is another less elegant manuscript in the same collection. But at the end is this note; *Explicit liber Boecij de Consolatione Philosophie de Latino in Anglicum translatus* A. D. 1410. *per Capellanum Joannem*ⁿ. This is the beginning of the prologue, "In suffisaunce of cunnyng and witte." And of the translation, "Alas I wretch that whilom was in welth." I have seen a third copy in the library of Lincoln cathedral^o, and a fourth in Baliol college^p. This is the translation of Boethius printed in the monastery of Tavistoke, in the year 1525. "The BOKE OF COMFORT, called in Latin *Boecius de Consolatione Philosophie*. Emprinted in the exempt monastery of Tavestock in Denshyre, by me Dan Thomas Rychard monke of the sayd monastry. To the instant desyre of the right worshipfull esquyre magister Robert Langdon. *Anno Domini, MDXXV. Deo gracias.*" In octave rhyme^q. This translation was made at the request of Elisabeth Berkeley. I forbear to load these pages with specimens not original, and which appear to have contributed no degree of improvement to our poetry or our phraseology. Henry the Fourth died in the year 1413.

The coronation of king Henry the Fifth was celebrated in Westminster-hall with a solemnity proportioned to the lustre of those great achievements which afterwards distinguished the annals of that victorious monarch. By way of preserving order, and to add to the splendour of the spectacle, many of the nobility were ranged along the sides of the tables on large war-horses, at this stately festival; which, says my chronicle, was a second feast of Ahasuerus^r. But I mention this ceremony, to introduce a circumstance very pertinent to our purpose; which is, that the number of harpers in the hall was innumerable^s, who undoubtedly accompanied their instruments with heroic rhymes. The king, however, was no great encourager of the popular minstrelsy, which seems at this time to have flourished in the highest degree of perfection. When he entered the city of London in triumph after the battle of Agincourt, the gates and streets were hung with tapestry, representing the histories of ancient heroes; and children were placed in

¹ Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. ii. p. 134. Leland, Script. Brit. CHAUNDLERUS.

^m MSS. Harl. 43. 1. And MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. 75.

ⁿ MSS. Harl. 44. chart. et pergam.

^o MSS. i. 53.

^p MSS. B. 5. He bequeathed his *Biblia*, and other books, to this library.

^q This is among Rawlinson's Codd. impress. Bibl. Bodl. There is an English translation of Boethius by one George

Colvil, or Coldewell, bred at Oxford, with the Latin, "according to the boke of the translatour, which was a very old printe." Dedicated to queen Mary, and printed by John Cawood, 1556. 4to. Reprinted 1566. 4to.

^r Thomæ de Elmham Vit. et Gest. Henr. V. edit. Hearne, Oxon. 1727. cap. xii. p. 23. Compare Lel. Coll. Append. iii. 226. edit. 1770.

^s Elmham, ubi supr. p. 23.

artificial turrets, singing verses^a. But Henry, disgusted at these secular vanities, commanded by a formal edict, that for the future no songs should be recited by the harpers, or others, in praise of the recent victory^t. This prohibition had no other effect than that of displaying Henry's humility, perhaps its principal and real design. Among many others, a minstrel-piece soon appeared, evidently adapted to the harp, on the SEYGE of HARFLETT and the BATTALLYE of AGYNKOURTE. It was written about the year 1417. These are some of the most spirited lines.

Sent Jorge before our kyng they dyd se^a,
 They trompyd up full meryly,
 The grete battell to-gederes jedy^v;
 Our archorys^w they schot ful hartely,
 They made the Frenche men faste to blede,
 Her arowys they went with full good spede.
 Oure enemyes with them they gan downe throwe
 Thorow bresteplats, habourgenys, and basnets^x.
 XI.M.¹ was slayne on a rew^y.
 Denters of dethe men myȝt well deme,
 So fercelly in fellde theye gan fythe^z.
 The heve upon here helmys schene^a
 With axeyes and with swerdys bryȝt.
 When oure arowys were at a flyȝt^b
 Amon the Frenche men was a wel sory schere^c.
 Ther was to bring of gold bokelyd^d so bryȝt
 That a man myȝt holde a strong armoure.
 Owre gracyus kyng men myȝt knowe
 That day foȝt with hys owene hond,
 The erlys was dyscomwityd up on a rowe^e,
 That he had slayne understond.
 He there schevyd^f oure other lordys of thys lond,
 Forsothe that was a ful fayre daye.
 Therefore all England maye this syng
 LAWS^g DEO we may well saye.
 The Duke of Glocetor, that nys no nay,
 That day full wordely^h he wroȝt,
 On ewry side he made goode waye,

^a Elmham, ubi supr. cap. xxxi. p. 72.
^t "CANTUS de suo triumpho fieri, seu per CITHARISTAS, vel alios quoscunque, CANTARI, penitus prohibebat." Ibid. p. 72. And Hearnii Præfat. p. xxix. seq. § viii. See also Hollingsh. Chron. iii. p. 556. col. 1. 40.

^u "The French saw the standard of Saint George before our king."

^v This is Milton's "Together rush'd both battles main."

^w archers.

^x breast-plates, habergeons and helmets.

^y row.

^z fight.

^a "They struck upon their bright helmets."

^b flying.

^c much distress.

^d buckled.

^e I believe it is "The earls he had slain were all thrown together on a heap or in a row;" [discomfited?]

^f showed.

^g laus.

^h worthily.

The Frenche men faste to grond they browȝt.
 The erle of Hontyngton sparyd noȝt,
 The erle of Oxynforthe¹ layd on all soo^k,
 The young erle of Devynschyre he ne rouȝt,
 The Frenche men fast to grunde gan goo.
 Our Englysmen thei were foul seker do
 And ferce to fyȝt as any lyone.
 Basnetis bryȝt they crasyd a to¹,
 And bet the French banerys adoune;
 As thonder-strokys ther was a scownde^m,
 Of axys and sperys ther they gan glyd.
 The lordys of Franyseⁿ lost her renowne
 With gresoly^o wondys they gan abyde.
 The Frensche men, for all here pryde,
 They fell downe all at a flyȝt:
Je me rende they cryde, on every syde,
 Our Englys men they understod noȝt aryȝt^p.
 Their pollaxis owt of her hondys they twyȝt,
 And layde ham along stryte^q upon the grasse.
 They sparyd nother deuke, erlle, ne knyȝt.^r

These verses are much less intelligible than some of Gower's and Chaucer's pieces, which were written fifty years before. In the mean time we must not mistake provincial for national barbarisms. Every piece now written is by no means a proof of the actual state of style. The improved dialect, which yet is the estimate of a language, was confined only to a few writers, who lived more in the world and in polite life; and it was long before a general change in the public phraseology was effected. Nor must we expect among the minstrels, who were equally careless and illiterate, those refinements of diction, which mark the compositions of men who professedly studied to embellish the English idiom.

Thomas Occleve is the first poet that occurs in the reign of Henry the Fifth. I place him about the year 1420. Occleve is a feeble writer, considered as a poet: and his chief merit seems to be, that his writings contributed to propagate and establish those improvements in our language which were now beginning to take place. He was educated in the municipal law^s, as were both Chaucer and Gower; and it reflects

¹ Oxford.

^k also.

¹ "They broke the bright helmets in two."

^m sound.

ⁿ France.

^o grisly.

^p "they did not rightly."

^q straight.

^r Printed [from MSS. Cotton. Vitell. D. xii. 11. fol. 214. which was burnt in the fire of 1731.] by Hearne, Elmham, ut

supr. Append. p. 359. Num. vi. See p. 371. seq. There is *The BATTAYLE of EGYNCOURTE*, Libr. impress. Bibl. Bodl. C. 39. 4to. art. Selden. See *Observat. on Spens.* ii. 41. Dr. Percy has printed an ancient ballad on this subject, *Anc. Ball.* vol. ii. p. 24. edit. 1767. See Hearne's *Præfat.* ut supr. p. xxx.

^s He studied in *Chestres-inn* where *Somerset-house* now stands. See Buck, *De tertia Angliæ Academia*, cap. xxv.

no small degree of honour on that very liberal profession, that its students were some of the first who attempted to polish and adorn the English tongue.

The titles of Occleve's pieces, very few of which have been ever printed, indicate a coldness of genius; and on the whole promise no gratification to those who seek for invention and fancy. Such as, *The tale of Jonathas and of a wicked woman*^a. *Fable of a certain emperess*^u. *A prologue of the nine lessons that is read over Allhalow-day*^w. *The most profitable and holsomest craft that is to cunne*^x, *to lerne to dye*^y. *Consolation offered by an old man*^z. *Pentasticon to the king*. *Mercy as defined by Saint Austin*. *Dialogue to a friend*^a. *Dialogue between Occleve and a beggar*^b. *The letter of Cupid*^c. *Verses to an empty purse*^d. But Occleve's most considerable poem is a piece called a translation of Egidius DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM^e.

This is a sort of paraphrase of the first part of Aristotle's epistle to Alexander above-mentioned, entitled SECRETUM SECRETORUM, of Egidius, and of Jacobus de Casulis, whom he calls *Jacob de Cassolis*. Egidius, a native of Rome, a pupil of Thomas Aquinas, eminent among the schoolmen by the name of *Doctor Fundatissimus*, and an archbishop, flourished about the year 1280. He wrote a Latin tract in three books, DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM, or the ART OF GOVERNMENT, for the use of Philip le Hardi, son of Louis king of France, a work highly esteemed in the middle ages, and translated early into Hebrew, French^e, and Spanish. In those days ecclesiastics and schoolmen presumed to dictate to kings, and to give rules for administering states, drawn from the narrow circle of speculation, and conceived amid the pedantries of a cloister. It was probably recommended to Occleve's

^a Ubi infr. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. From the *Gesta Romanorum*.

^u Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Seld. supr. 53. Digb. 185. Laud. K. 78. MSS. Reg. Brit. Mus. 17 D. vi. 2. This story seems to be also taken from the *Gesta Romanorum*. Pr. "In the ROMAN ACTYS writyn."

^w Ubi supr. Bibl. Bodl. MSS.

^x know.

^y MSS. Bodl. ut supr. And MSS. Reg. Brit. Mus. 17 D. vi. 3. 4. The best manuscript of Occleve.

^z MSS. Digb. 185. More [Cant.] 427.

^a MSS. Seld. ut supr.

^b MSS. Harl. 4826. 6.

^c MSS. Digh. 181. MSS. Arch. Bodl. Seld. B. 24. It is printed in Chaucer's Works, Urr. p. 534. Bale [MS. Glynne] mentions one or two more pieces, particularly *De Theseo Atheniensi*, lib. i. Pr. "Tum esset, ut veteres historiæ tradunt." This is the beginning of Chaucer's Knight's Tale. And there are other pieces in the libraries.

^d *This, and the Pentasticon ad Regem*, are in MSS. Fairf. xvi. Bibl. Bodl. And

in the editions of Chaucer. But the former appears to be Chaucer's, from the twenty additional stanzas not printed in Urry's Chaucer, page 549. MSS. Harl. 2251. 133. fol. 298.

^e [From the "Boke of Curtesye" or "Lytyll John:" printed by Caxton, and attributed to Chaucer by Urry.

Behold *Ocklyf* [Occleve] in his translation,
In goodly langage and sentence passyng wyse;
How he gyveth his prince suche exhortacyon
As to the hyst he coude best devyse:
Of trouthe, pees, [peace] mercy and justice,
And virtues leeting for no slouthe,
To do his devoyr and quyte hym of his troth.—PARK.]

^e Wolf. Biblioth. Hebr. tom. iii. p. 1206. It was translated into French by Henry de Gand, at the command of Philip king of France. Mem. de Lit. tom. xvii. p. 733. 4to.

notice, by having been translated into English by John Trevisa, a celebrated translator about the year 1390^f. The original was printed at Rome in 1482, and at Venice 1498, and, I think, again at the same place in 1598^h. The Spanish translation was printed at Seville, in folio, 1494, "Transladó de Latin en Romance Don Bernardo Obispo de Osma: impresso por Meynardo Ungut Alemano et Stanislao Polono companeros." The printed copies of the Latin are very rare, but the manuscripts innumerable. A third part of the third book, which treats *De Re Militari Veterum*, was printed by Hahnus in 1722ⁱ. One of Egidius's books, a commentary on Aristotle *DE ANIMA*, is dedicated to our Edward the First^k.

Jacobus de Casulis, or of Casali in Italy, another of the writers copied in this performance by our poet Occleve, a French Dominican friar, about the year 1290, wrote in four parts a Latin treatise on chess, or, as it is entitled in some manuscripts, *De moribus hominum et de officiis nobilium super LUDO LATRUNCULORUM sive SCACCORUM*. In a parchment manuscript of the Harleian library, neatly illuminated, it is thus entitled: *LIBER MORALIS DE LUDO SCACCORUM, ad honorem et solacium Nobilium et maxime ludencium, per fratrem JACOBUM DE CASULIS ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum*. At the conclusion, this work appears to be a translation^l. Pits carelessly gives it to Robert Holcot, a celebrated English theologian, perhaps for no other reason than because Holcot was likewise a Dominican. It was printed at Milan in 1479. I believe it was as great a favourite as Egidius on GOVERNMENT, for it was translated into French by John Ferron, and John Du Vignay, a monk hospitaler of Saint James du Haut-page^m, under the patronage of Jeanne duchess of Bourgogne, Caxton's patroness*, about the year 1360, with the title of *LE JEU DES ECHECS moralise*, or *Le traité des Nobles et de Gens du Peuple selon le JEU DES ECHECS*. This was afterwards translated by Caxton in 1474, who did not know that the French was a translation from the Latin, and called the *GAME OF THE CHESS*. It was also translated into German, both prose and verse, by

^f Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 233. *Princip.* "To his special, [etc.] politik sentence that is." In this manuscript there is an elegant picture of a monk, or ecclesiastic, presenting a book to a king. See *supr.* p. 128. Note^g.

^h All in folio. Those of 1482, and 1598, are in the Bodleian library. In All-Souls college library at Oxford, there is a manuscript *Tabula in Ægidium de Regimine Principum*, by one Thomas Abyndon. MSS. G. i. 5.

ⁱ In the first tome of *Collectio Monumentorum veterum et recentium ineditorum*: e Codice MS. in Bibliotheca Obrecktina. The curious reader may see a full account of *Ægidius De Regimine Principum* in Mor-

lier, *Essais de Litterature*, tom. i. p. 198. seq. and of the Venetian edition in 1498, in Theophilus Sincerus *De Libris Rariorib.* tom. i. p. 82. seq.

^k Cave, p. 755. edit. 1688.

^l MSS. Harl. 1275. 1. 4to. membran.

^m Who also translated the Golden Legend of James de Voragine, and the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais. Vie de Petr. tom. iii. p. 548. And Mem. Lit. xvii. 742. 746. 747. edit. 4to.

* [According to Herbert, Margaret sister of King Edward IV., who married Charles duke of Burgundy, was the patroness of Caxton. MS. note.—PARK.]

Conrade von Almenhusen^a. Bale absurdly supposes that Occleve made a separate and regular translation of this work^o.

Occleve's poem was never printed. This is a part of the Prologue.*

Aristotle, most famous philosofre²,
His epistles to Alisaunder sent¹;
Whos sentence is wel bet than golde in cofre,
And more holsum, grounded in trewe entent.
Fore all that ever [tho Epistles¹] ment,
To sette [was²] this worthi conqueroure,
In rewle howe to susteyne his honoure,

The tender love, and the fervent [chiertrie³],
That [this⁴] worthi clerke aye to this king bere,

^a See Jacob. Quetif. tom. i. p. 471. ii. p. 818. Lambec. tom. ii. Bibl. Vindob. p. 848. One Simon Aylward, an Englishman, about the year 1456, wrote a Latin poem *De Ludo Scaccorum*. Pits. Append. p. 909. *Princip.* "Ludus scaccorum datur hic correctio morum." [This is a mistake, copied by Tanner, and all the chess bibliographical writers. Simon Aylward is merely the scribe of a copy of Jacobus de Cassolis, which is preserved in Magdalen college library, Oxford, No. 12., and at the end he adds four lines in verse, "Ludus scaccorum," &c., and the date 1456.—M.]

^o Bale in OCCLEVE.

* [The present text has received some emendations from the Harleian and King's MSS. The new readings are printed within brackets, and those rejected are given below.—PRICE.]

^p The learned doctor Gerard Langbaine, speaking of the *Regimine Principum* by Occleve, says that it is "collected out of Aristotle, Alexander, and Ægidius on the same, and Jacobus de Cassolis (a fryar preacher) his book of chess, viz. that part where he speaks of the king's draught," &c. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Langb. Cod. xv. page 102.

[The author of the *Account of the English Dramatic Poets*, was Gerard the son of doctor Langbaine, provost of Queen's college, Oxford. This book was first published under the title of *Momus Triumphans*, Lond. 1687. 4to. Five hundred copies were quickly sold; but the remainder of the impression appeared the next year with a new title, *A new Catalogue of English Plays, containing comedies, &c.* Lond.

1688. 4to. The author at length digested his work anew with great accessions and improvements, which he entitled as above, *An Account of the English Dramatic Poets, &c.* Oxon. 1691. 8vo. This book, a good ground-work for a new publication on the same subject and plan, and which has merit as being the first attempt of the kind, was reprinted by Curl, with flimsy additions, under the conduct of Giles Jacob, a hero of the *Dunciad*, Lond. 1719. 8vo. Our author, after a classical education, was first placed with a bookseller in London; but at sixteen years of age, in 1672, he became a gentleman commoner of University college in Oxford. His literature chiefly consisted in a knowledge of the novels and plays of various languages; and he was a constant and critical attendant of the play-houses for many years. Retiring to Oxford in the year 1690, he died the next year; having amassed a collection of more than a thousand printed plays, masques, and interludes.—ADDITIONS.]

[In the same Langbaine MS. cited above, the following lines occur:

"*Tho. Occleve, in dialogo ad amicos.*
With plow can I not meddle, ne with harrow.
Ne wot nat w^t lond is good for what corne;
And for to lade a cart or fill a barrow,
To which I never used was to forne,
My bok unbuxom all such swink hath forsworne."—PARK.]

^q See *supr.* p. 231. et infra.

¹ the Epistle.

² us.

³ good chere.

⁴ the.

[Trustyng⁵] sore his welth durable to be,
 Unto his hert [stak⁶] and sate so nere,
 That bi writing his counsel gaf he clere
 Unto his lord to [kepe⁷] him from mischaunce,
 As witnesseth his Boke of Gouvernaunce⁸,
 Of which, and of Giles [of⁹] REGIMENT⁹
 Of prince's plotmele, think I to translete, &c.
 My dere mayster, god his soul quite¹,
 And fader Chaucer fayne would have me taught,
 But I was dule², and learned lyte or naught.

Alas my worthie maister honorable,
 This londis verray tresour and richesse,
 Deth by thy deth hathe harme irreparable
 Unto us done: [hir⁹] vengeable duresse⁸
 Dispoiled hath this lond of the sweetnesse
 Of rhetoryke, for unto Tullius
 Was never man so like amongst us.

[Also¹⁰] who was [heir¹¹] in phylosophy
 To Aristotle in owre tonge but thou?
 The steppis of Virgile in poesie
 Thou suedest⁷ eke: men knowè well inowe
 That combre-world⁸ that [the¹²] my mayster, slowe^b:
 Wold I slaine were! Deth was too hastife
 To renne on thee, and reve thee of thy life:

She might have tarried her vengeaunce awhile
 To that some man had egal to thee be:
 Nay, let that be: she knew well that this isle
 May never man forth bryng like unto thee,
 And her offis nedis do mote she;
 God bade her so, I trust for all the best,
 O mayster, mayster, god thy soulè rest!

In another part of the Prologue we have these pathetic lines, which seem to flow warm from the heart, to the memory of the immortal

⁵ Aristotle's Secretum Secretorum.

⁶ Egidius De Regimine Principum.

⁷ acquit; save.

⁸ dull.

⁹ cruelty.

¹⁰ followedst.

¹¹ He calls death the *encumbrance* of the world. The expression seems to be taken from Chaucer, where Troilus says of himself, "I combre-world, that maie of nothing serve." Tr. Cress. p. 307. v. 279. Urr. edit. ["Ridiculous!" exclaims Mr. Ritson. "It is the MEN who encumber the

world: fruges consumere nati." But even the faulty reading of the Oxford MS.

Men knowe well inowe
 That combre-world that thou [death] my
 mayster slowe,

could not justify such an interpretation. *Combre-world* in either version must be taken substantively, and as such can only be applied to death.—PRICE.]

^b slew.

⁵ thrusting.

⁶ slah.

⁷ hope.

⁸ his.

⁹ his.

¹⁰ Alas!

¹¹ here.

¹² thou.

Chaucer, who I believe was rather Occleve's model than his master, or perhaps the patron and encourager of his studies.

But weleawaye, so is myne hertè wo
 That the honour of English tonge is dede,
 Of which I wont was han counsel and rede!
 O mayster dere, and fadir reverent,
 My mayster Chaucer, floure of eloquence,
 Mirrour of fructuous entendement,
 O universal fadir in science,
 Alas that thou thine excellent prudence
 In thy bed mortel mightest not bequethe,
 What eyled^c Deth? Alas, why would he sle the!
 O Deth that didist nought harm singulere
 In slaughtre of him, but all the lond it smertith:
 But nathelesse yit hastowe^d no powere
 His name to sle. His hie vertue astertith
 Unslayn from thee, which aye us lifely hertith
 With boke[s] of his ornatè enditing,
 That is to all this lond enlumyning.^e

Occleve seems to have written some of these verses immediately on Chaucer's death, and to have introduced them long afterwards into this Prologue.

It is in one of the royal manuscripts of this poem in the British Museum that Occleve has left a drawing of Chaucer^f: according to which, Chaucer's portraiture was made on his monument, in the chapel of Saint Blase in Westminster-abbey, by the benefaction of Nicholas Brigham, in the year 1556^g. And from this drawing, in 1598, John Speed procured the print of Chaucer prefixed to Speght's edition of his Works; which has been since copied in a most finished engraving by Vertue^h. Yet it must be remembered, that the same drawing occurs in an Harleian manuscript written about Occleve's ageⁱ, and in another of the Cottonian department^k. Occleve himself mentions this

^c ailed.

^d hast thou.

^e MSS. Rawlins. 647. fol. This poem has at the end "Explicit Ægidius de Regimine Principum" in MSS. Laud. K. 78. Bibl. Bodl. See also *ibid.* MSS. Selden. Supr. 53. Digb. 185. MSS. Ashmol. 40. MSS. Reg. 17 D. vi. 1. 17 D. xviii. MSS. Harl. 4826. 7. and 4866. In some of these a sort of dialogue is prefixed between a father and a son. Occleve, in the Prologue cited in the text, mentions *Jacobus de Cassolis* [Casulis] as one of his authors. [This passage forms a part of the "Dialogus inter Occlyf et mendicum," and which in the Museum MSS. precedes the translation of Ægidius.—Mr.

Ritson in his *Bibl. Poet.* enumerates seventeen pieces of Occleve contained in a MS. once belonging to Dr. Askew, but which afterwards became the property of Mr. Mason. From this MS. he adds: "Six of peculiar stupidity were selected and published by its late owner, in 1796. 4to." —PRICE.]

^f MSS. Reg. 17 D. vi. 1.

^g He was of Caversham in Oxfordshire. Educated at Hart-Hall in Oxford, and studied the law. He died at Westminster, 1559.

^h In Urry's edit. 1721. fol.

ⁱ MSS. Harl. 4866. The drawing is at fol. 91.

^k MSS. Cotton. Oth. A. 18.

drawing in his *CONSOLATIO SERVILIS*. It exactly resembles the curious picture on board of our venerable bard, preserved in the Bodleian gallery at Oxford. I have a very old picture of Chaucer on board, much like Occleve's, formerly kept in Chaucer's house, a quadrangular stone-mansion, at Woodstock in Oxfordshire; which commanded a prospect of the ancient magnificent royal palace, and of many beautiful scenes in the adjacent park; and whose last remains, chiefly consisting of what was called Chaucer's bed-chamber, with an old carved oaken roof, evidently original, were demolished about fifteen years ago. Among the ruins they found an ancient gold coin of the city of Florence¹. Before the grand rebellion, there was in the windows of the church of Woodstock, an escutcheon in painted glass of the arms of Sir Payne Rouet, a knight of Henault, whose daughter Chaucer married.

Occleve, in this poem, and in others, often celebrates Humphrey duke of Gloucester^m; who at the dawn of science was a singular promoter of literature, and, however unqualified for political intrigues, the common patron of the scholars of the times. A sketch of his character in that view, is therefore too closely connected with our subject to be censured as an unnecessary digression. About the year 1440, he gave to the University of Oxford a library containing six hundred volumes, only one hundred and twenty of which were valued at more than one thousand pounds. These books are called *Novi Tractatus*, or New Treatises, in the university-registerⁿ, and said to be *admirandi apparatus*^o. They were the most splendid and costly copies that could be procured, finely written on vellum, and elegantly embellished with miniatures and illuminations. Among the rest was a translation into French of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*^p. Only a single specimen of these valuable volumes was suffered to remain: it is a beautiful manuscript in folio of Valerius Maximus, enriched with the most elegant decorations, and written in Duke Humphrey's age, evidently with a design of being placed in this sumptuous collection. All the rest of the books, which, like this, being highly ornamented, looked like missals, and conveyed ideas of popish superstition, were destroyed or removed by the pious visitors of the University in the reign of Edward the Sixth, whose zeal was equalled only by their ignorance, or perhaps by their avarice. A great number of classics, in this grand work of reformation, were condemned as antichristian^q. In the library of Oriel college at Oxford, we find a manuscript *Commentary on Genesis*, written by John Capgrave*, a monk of Saint Austin's monastery at Canterbury, a learned

¹ I think a FLOREIN, anciently common in England. Chaucer, Pardon. Tale, v. 2290. p. 135. col. 2. "For that the FLORAINS ben so faire and bright." Edward the Third, in 1344, altered it from a lower value to 6s. 8d. The particular piece I have mentioned seems about that value.

^m As he does John of Gaunt.

ⁿ Reg. F. fol. 52. 53 b. Epist. 142.

^o Ibid. fol. 57 b. 60 a. Epist. 148.

^p Leland, Coll. iii. p. 58. edit. 1770.

^q Some however had been before stolen or mutilated. Leland, Coll. iii. p. 58. edit. 1770.

* [By favour of Mr. Bliss of the Bod-

theologist of the fourteenth century. It is the author's autograph, and the work is dedicated to Humphrey duke of Gloucester. In the superb initial letter of the dedicatory epistle is a curious illumination of the author Capgrave, humbly presenting his book to his patron the duke, who is seated, and covered with a sort of hat. At the end is this entry, in the hand-writing of duke Humphrey: "*Cest livre est a moy Humphrey duc de Gloucestre du don de frere Jehan Capgrave, quy le me fist presenter a mon manoyr de Pensherst le jour . . . de l'an. MCCCXXXVIII^r.*" This is one of the books which Humphrey gave to his new library at Oxford, destroyed or dispersed by the active reformers of the young Edward⁴. John Whethamstede, a learned abbot of Saint Alban's, and a lover of scholars, but accused by his monks for neglecting their affairs, while he was too deeply engaged in studious employments and in procuring transcripts of useful books⁵, notwithstanding his unwearied assi-

leian library I am enabled to add, that Capgrave appears from one of the Rawlinson MSS., No. 118, to have been a considerable maker of verse, and the translator of a life of St. Catherine, written by Athanasius in Greek, rendered from that language into Latin by a priest named Arreck, and finally into English verse by Capgrave. Prefixed is an account of the work written by Sir Henry Spelman, in whose possession probably the volume once was, and of whom it deserves therefore to be remembered that he had stored up the production of a poet of the fourteenth century, at a time when the scattered remains of our poetical writers were more than commonly neglected. His description of the nature of the poem and of its authors it may be desirable to give: "A preiste, which this author, Jo. Capgrave, nameth Arreck, having hearde much of St. Katherin, bestowed 18 yeares to searche out her life; and, for that purpose, spent 12 of them in Greece. At last, by direction of a vision in the days of Peter K. of Cyprus and Pope Urban V. he digged up in Cyprus an old booke of that very matter, written by Athanasius byshop of Alexandria (but whether he that made the Creede or not the author doubteth) and hidden there 100 yeares before by Amylon Fitz Amarack. Then did this Arreck compile her story into Latyn, saithe this author,

For out of Greek he hath it first runge
This holy lyfe into the Latyn tounge.

And then also did he make it into English verse; but leaving it unperfected, and in obscure rude English, Capgrave not only enlarged it, but refyned it to the phrase of his tyme, as himselfe testifiyethe, speaking of the preist to St. Katherin:

He made thy life in English tounge full
wel.

But yet he died or he had fully doo,
And that he made, it is ful harde therto
Right for strangeneas of his dark language,
He is now dead; thou hast give him his
way,

Now wil I, lady, more openly make thy
life,

Out of his worke yf thou wilt helpe therto.

This preiste, as Capgrave also showeth, died at Lynn, many yeares before his tyme, where Capgrave was a regular: for he saithe in his Prologue,

Yf ye wil wite what that I am,
My country is Norfolk, of the towne of
Lynn.

Out of the world, to my profit I cam,
Unto the brotherhood which I am in.
God send me grace never to blynn
To follow the steps of my faders before,
Which to the rule of Austen were swore."

⁴ These may afford sufficient specimens of the poet's style: of the subject chosen no notice can be required.—PARK.]

⁵ Cod. MSS. 32.

⁶ He gave also Capgrave super Exodum et Regum Libros. Registr. Univ. Oxon. F. fol. 67 b.

⁷ Supra, vol. i. See Dissertat. i. We are told in this abbot's Gesta, that soon after his instalment he built a library for his abbey, a design which had long employed his contemplation. He covered it with lead; and expended on the bare walls, besides desks, glazing, and embattelling, or, to use the expressions of my chronologer, *deducta vitriacione, crestacione, positione descorum*, upwards of one hundred and twenty pounds. Apud Hearne's Oterbourne, vol. i. Præfat. Append. p. cxxiii.

duity in beautifying and enriching their monastery^a, was in high favour with this munificent prince^x. The duke was fond of visiting this monastery, and employed abbot Whethamstede to collect valuable books for him^y. Some of Whethamstede's tracts, manuscript copies of which often occur in our libraries, are dedicated to the duke^z; who presented many of them, particularly a fine copy of Whethamstede's *GRANARIUM*^a, an immense work, which Leland calls *ingens volumen*, to the new library^b. The copy of Valerius Maximus, which I mentioned before, has a curious table or index made by Whethamstede^c. Many other abbots paid their court to the duke by sending him presents of books, whose margins were adorned with the most exquisite paintings^d. Gilbert Kymer, physician to King Henry the Sixth, among other ecclesiastic promotions, dean of Salisbury, and chancellor of the University of Oxford^e, inscribed to duke Humphrey his famous medical system *Dietarium de sanitatis custodia*, in the year 1424^f. I do not mean to anticipate when I remark, that Lydgate, a poet mentioned hereafter, translated Boccaccio's book *DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM* at the recommendation and command, and under the protection and superintendence, of duke Humphrey; whose condescension in conversing with learned ecclesiastics, and diligence in study, the translator displays at large, and in the strongest expressions of panegyric. He compares the duke to Julius Cæsar, who amidst the weightiest cares of state, was not ashamed to enter the rhe-

ed. Oxon. 1732. [Hearne in the place quoted has, "ultra summācentū q^l. q^ginta librar."—RITSON.] He founded also a library for all the students of his monastery at Oxford. *Ibid.* p. cxiii. And to each of these students he allowed an annual pension, at his own expense, of thirteen shillings and four-pence. *Ibid.* p. cxviii. See also p. cxix. A grand transcript of the Postilla of Nicholas de Lyra on the Bible was begun during his abbacy, and at his command, with the most splendid ornaments and hand-writing. The monk, who records this important anecdote, lived soon after him, and speaks of this great undertaking, then unfinished, as if it was some magnificent public edifice. "God grant," says he, "that this work in our days may receive a happy consummation!" *Ibid.* p. cxvi.

^a Among other things, he expended forty pounds in adorning the roof and walls of the virgin Mary's chapel with picturea. *Gest.* ut supr. p. cx. He gave to the choir of the church an organ; than which, says my chronicler, there was not one to be found in any monastery in England, more beautiful in appearance, more pleasing for its harmony, or more curious in its construction. It cost upwards of fifty pounds. *Ibid.* p. cxviii. His new build-

ings were innumerable; and the MASTER OF THE WORKS was of his institution, with an ample salary. *Ibid.* p. cxiii.

^x Leland, *Script. Brit.* p. 437.

^y Leland, *ibid.* p. 432. 442. See also Hollinsh. *Chron.* f. 488 b. And f. 1234. 1235. 1080. 868. 862. Weever *Fun. Mon.* p. 562. 574. Whethamstede erected in his life-time the beautiful tabernacle or shrine of stone, now remaining, over the tomb of duke Humphrey in St. Alban's abbey church. Hearne's *Otterb.* ut supr. p. cxxi. seq. See also *ibid.* p. cxvi. cxix.

^z See Whethamstede, *De viris illustribus*, *Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Tiber. D. vi. i. Oth. B. iv.* And Hearne, *Pref. Pet. Langtoft.* p. xix. seq.

^a *Registr. Univ. Oxon.* F. f. 68.

^b Leland, *ubi modo infr.*

^c *MSS. Bodl. NE. vii. ii.*

^d "Multos codices, pulcherrime pictos, ab abbatibus dono accepit." The Duke wrote in the frontispieces of his books, *MOUN BREN MONDAIN.* Leland, *Coll.* iii. p. 58. edit. ut supr.

^e By the recommendatory letters of duke Humphrey. *Registr. Univ. Oxon.* F. fol. 75. *Epist.* 180.

^f See Hearne's *Append. ad Libr. Nigr. Scaccar.* p. 550. And *Præfat.* p. 34.

torical school of Cicero at Rome^g. Nor was his patronage confined only to English scholars. His favour was solicited by the most celebrated writers of France and Italy, many of whom he bountifully rewarded^h. Leonard Aretine, one of the first restorers of the Greek tongue in Italy, which he learned of Emanuel Chrysoloras, and of polite literature in general, dedicates to this universal patron his elegant Latin translation of Aristotle's *POLITICS*. The copy presented to the duke by the translator, most elegantly illuminated, is now in the Bodleian library at Oxfordⁱ. To the same noble encourager of learning, Petrus Candidus, the friend of Laurentius Valla, and secretary to the great Cosmo duke of Milan, inscribed, by the advice of the archbishop of Milan, a Latin version of Plato's *REPUBLIC*^k. An illuminated manuscript of this translation is in the British Museum, perhaps the copy presented, with two epistles prefixed, from the duke to Petrus Candidus^l. Petrus de Monte, another learned Italian, of Venice, in the dedication of his treatise *DE VIRTUTUM ET VITIORUM DIFFERENTIA* to the duke of Gloucester, mentions the latter's ardent attachment to books of all kinds, and the singular avidity with which he pursued every species of literature^m. A tract, entitled *COMPARATIO STUDIORUM ET REI MILITARIS*, written by Lupus de Castellione, a Florentine civilian, and a great translator into Latin of the Greek classics, is also inscribed to the duke, at the desire of Zeno archbishop of Bayeux. I must not forget, that our illustrious duke invited into England the learned Italian, Tito Livio of Foro-Juli, whom he naturalised, and constituted his poet and oratorⁿ. Humphrey also retained learned foreigners in his service, for the purpose of transcribing, and of translating from Greek into Latin. One of these was Antonio de Beccaria, a Veronese, a translator into Latin prose of the Greek poem of Dionysius Afer *DE SITU ORBIS*^o; whom the duke employed

^g Prol. Sign. A. ii. A. iii. edit. Wayland, ut supr. He adds,

And hath joye with clarkes to commune,
And no man is more expert in langage,
Stable in study.—
His courage never dothe appall
To study in bokes of antiquitie.—
He studieth ever to have intelligence,
Readyng of bokes.—
And with support of his magnificence,
Under the wings of his protection,—
I shall proceed in this translation—
Lowly submittynge, every houre and space,
My rude langage to my lordes grace.

See also fol. xxxviii. b. col. 2. Lydgate has an epitaph on the duke, MSS. Ashmol. 59. 2. MSS. Harl. 2251. 6. fol. 7. There is a curious letter of Lydgate, in which he sends for a supply of money to the duke, while he was translating *BOCHAS*. "Littera dom. Joh. Lydgate missa ad ducem Gloucestrie in tempore translationis *Bochasii*, pro oportunitate pecunie."

MSS. *ibid.* 5. fol. 6. See also *ibid.* 131. fol. 279 b. of the duke's marriage.

^h Leland, Script. p. 442.

ⁱ See MSS. Bodl. D. i. 8. 10. And Leland, Script. p. 443.

^k Leland, Script. p. 442. and Mus. Ashmol. 789 f. 54. 56. where are also two of the duke's epistles to Petrus Candidus.

^l P. Candidi Decembris, Duci Mediolani a secretis, Translatio *POLITIÆ* Platonis,—ad Humfredum Gloucestrie Ducem, &c. Cui præfiguntur duæ Epistolæ Ducis Gloucestriæ ad P. Candidum. Most elegantly written. Membran. ad fin. "Cest livre est a moy Humfrey Duc de Glocestre du don P. Candidus secretaire du duc de Mylan." Catal. MSS. Angl. tom. ii. p. 212. Num. 6858. [See MSS. Harl. 1705. fol.]

^m MSS. Norwic. More. 257. Bibl. publ. Cantabrig.

ⁿ Author of the *Vita Henrici quinti*, printed by Hearne, Oxon. 1716. And of other pieces. See Hollinsh. iii. 585.

^o Printed at Venice 1477. *Ibid.* 1498. Paris. 1501. Basil. 1534. 4to.

to translate into Latin six tracts of Athanasius. This translation, inscribed to the duke, is now among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum; and at the end, in his own hand-writing, is the following insertion: "Cest livre est a moi Homphrey Duc le Gloucestre: le quel je fis translater de Grec en Latin par un de mes secretares Antoyne de Beccara, nè de Verone^p."

An astronomical tract, entitled by Leland *TABULÆ DIRECTIONUM*, is falsely supposed to have been written by duke Humphrey^q. But it was compiled at the duke's instance, and according to tables which himself had constructed, called by the anonymous author in his preface, *Tabulas illustrissimi principis et nobilissimi domini mei Humfredi, &c.*^r In the library of Gresham college, however, there is a scheme of calculations in astronomy, which bear his name^s. Astronomy was then a favourite science: nor is it to be doubted that he was intimately acquainted with the politer branches of knowledge, which now began to acquire estimation, and which his liberal and judicious attention greatly contributed to restore.

I close this section with an apology for Chaucer, Gower, and Occleve; who are supposed, by the severer etymologists, to have corrupted the purity of the English language, by affecting to introduce so many foreign words and phrases. But if we attend only to the politics of the times, we shall find these poets, as also some of their successors, much less blameable in this respect than the critics imagine. Our wars with France, which began in the reign of Edward the Third, were of long continuance. The principal nobility of England, at this period, resided in France, with their families, for many years. John king of France kept his court in England; to which, exclusive of these French lords who were his fellow-prisoners, or necessary attendants, the chief nobles of his kingdom must have occasionally resorted. Edward the black prince made an expedition into Spain. John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, and his brother the duke of York, were matched with the daughters of Don Pedro king of Castile. All these circumstances must have concurred to produce a perceptible change in the language of the court. It is rational therefore, and it is equitable to suppose, that instead of coining new words, they only complied with the common and fashionable modes of speech. Would Chaucer's poems have been the delight of those courts in which he lived, had they been filled with unintelligible pedantries? The cotemporaries of these poets never complained of their obscurity. But whether defensible on these principles or not, they much improved the vernacular style by the use of this exotic

^p MSS. Reg. 5 F. 4to. ii. In the same library is a fine folio manuscript of "Chronique des Roys de France jusques a la mort de S. Loys, l'an. 1270." At the end is written with the duke of Gloucester's hand, "Cest livre est a moy Homfrey duc de Gloucestre du don

des executeurs le Sr de Faunhope." 16 G. vi.

^q See Hollinsh. Chron. sub ann. 1461. f. 662. col. 2.

^r MSS. More, 820.

^s MSS. Gresh. 66. See MSS. Ashmol. 856.

phraseology. It was thus that our primitive diction was enlarged and enriched. The English language owes its copiousness, elegance, and harmony, to these innovations.

SECTION XXI.

Reign of Henry the Sixth. Lydgate. His life and character. His Dance of Death. Macaber a German poet. Lydgate's poem in honour of Saint Edmund. Presented to Henry the Sixth, at Bury-abbey, in a most splendid manuscript, now remaining. His Lyf of our Lady. Elegance and harmony of his style and versification.

I CONSIDER Chaucer as a genial day in an English spring. A brilliant sun enlivens the face of nature with an unusual lustre: the sudden appearance of cloudless skies, and the unexpected warmth of a tepid atmosphere, after the gloom and the inclemencies of a tedious winter, fill our hearts with the visionary prospect of a speedy summer; and we fondly anticipate a long continuance of gentle gales and vernal serenity. But winter returns with redoubled horrors: the clouds condense more formidably than before; and those tender buds, and early blossoms, which were called forth by the transient gleam of a temporary sunshine, are nipped by frosts, and torn by tempests.

Most of the poets that immediately succeeded Chaucer, seem rather relapsing into barbarism, than availing themselves of those striking ornaments which his judgement and imagination had disclosed. They appear to have been insensible to his vigour of versification, and his flights of fancy. It was not indeed likely that a poet should soon arise equal to Chaucer: and it must be remembered, that the national distractions which ensued had no small share in obstructing the exercise of those studies which delight in peace and repose. His successors, however, approach him in no degree of proportion. Among these, John Lydgate is the poet who follows him at the shortest interval.

I have placed Lydgate in the reign of Henry the Sixth, and he seems to have arrived at his highest point of eminence about the year 1430^t. Many of his poems, however, appeared before. He was a monk of the Benedictine abbey of Bury in Suffolk, and an uncommon ornament of

^t In a copy of Lydgate's Chronicle of English Kings, there is a stanza of Edward the Fourth. MSS. Harl. 2251. 3. In his poem *Ab inimicis nostris*, &c. Edward the Fourth, his *Queene* and *Modir*, are remembered. MSS. Harl. ibid. 9. fol. 10. But these pieces could not well be written by Lydgate; for he was ordained a sub-

deacon, 1389. deacon, 1393. and priest, 1397. Registr. Gul. Cratfield, abbat of Bury, MSS. Cott. Tiber. B. ix. fol. 1. 35. 52. Edward came to the crown, 1461. Pits says, that our author died, 1482. Lydgate, in his *Philomela*, mentions the death of Henry lord Warwick, who died in 1446. MSS. Harl. ibid. 120. fol. 255.

his profession. Yet his genius was so lively, and his accomplishments so numerous, that I suspect the holy father saint Benedict would hardly have acknowledged him for a genuine disciple. After a short education at Oxford, he travelled into France and Italy^u; and returned a complete master of the language and the literature of both countries. He chiefly studied the Italian and French poets, particularly Dante, Boccaccio, and Alain Chartier; and became so distinguished a proficient in polite learning, that he opened a school in his monastery, for teaching the sons of the nobility the arts of versification, and the elegancies of composition. Yet although philology was his object, he was not unfamiliar with the fashionable philosophy: he was not only a poet and a rhetorician, but a geometrician, an astronomer, a theologian, and a disputant. On the whole, I am of opinion that Lydgate made considerable additions to those amplifications of our language, in which Chaucer, Gower, and Occleve led the way; and that he is the first of our writers whose style is clothed with that perspicuity, in which the English phraseology appears at this day to an English reader.

To enumerate Lydgate's pieces, would be to write the catalogue of a little library. No poet seems to have possessed a greater versatility of talents. He moves with equal ease in every mode of composition. His hymns, and his ballads, have the same degree of merit: and whether his subject be the life of a hermit or a hero, of saint Austin or Guy earl of Warwick, ludicrous or legendary, religious or romantic, a history or an allegory, he writes with facility. His transitions were rapid from works of the most serious and laborious kind to sallies of levity and pieces of popular entertainment. His muse was of universal access; and he was not only the poet of his monastery, but of the world in general*. If a disguising was intended by the company of goldsmiths, a mask before his majesty at Eltham, a may-game for the sheriffs and aldermen of London, a mumming before the lord mayor, a procession of pageants from the creation for the festival of Corpus Christi, or a carol for the coronation, Lydgate was consulted and gave the poetry^z.

^u See one of his Ditties, MSS. Harl. 2255. 41. fol. 148.

I have been offte in dyvers londys, &c.

* [See the *Prologue* to Feyldis "Controversye betwene a Lover and a Jaye."

Chaucer, flour of rethoryke eloquence,
Compyled bookes pleasaunt and mer-
vayllous.

After hym noble *Gower*, experte in scy-
ence,

Wrote moraltytes harde and delycyous.
But *Lydgate's* workes are fruytefull and
sentencious;

Who of his bookes hathe redde the syne
He wyll hym cal a famous rethorycne.

PARK.]

^z See a variety of his pieces of this

kind, MSS. Ashmol. 59. ii. Stowe says, that at the reception of Margaret queen of Henry the Sixth, several pageants, the verses by Lydgate, were shown at Paul's gate, in 1445. Hist. p. 385. See also MSS. Harl. 2251. 118. fol. 250 b. The Coventry Play for Corpus Christi day, in the Cotton library, was very probably written by our author. Vespas. D. viii. fol. [Mr. Ritson, in his *Bibliographia Poetica*, has furnished a list of 251 pieces written by Lydgate. Many of them, however, are attributed to him upon authority of no very early date, and he is doubtlessly made responsible for a large portion of the anonymous rhymes of his age.—The Coventry Plays bear no internal marks of Lydgate's hand.—PRICE.]

About the year 1430, Whethamstede, the learned and liberal abbot of saint Albans, being desirous of familiarising the history of his patron saint to the monks of his convent, employed Lydgate, as it should seem, then a monk of Bury, to translate the Latin legend of his life in English rhymes. The chronicler who records a part of this anecdote seems to consider Lydgate's translation as a matter of mere manual mechanism; for he adds, that Whethamstede paid for the translation, the writing, and illuminations, one hundred shillings. It was placed before the altar of the saint, which Whethamstede afterwards adorned with much magnificence, in the abbey church⁷.

Our author's stanzas, called the DANCE OF DEATH, which he translated from the French, at the request of the chapter of saint Paul's*, to be inscribed under the representation of DEATH leading all ranks of men about the cloister of their church in a curious series of paintings, are well known. But their history has not, I believe, yet appeared. These verses, founded on a sort of spiritual masquerade, anciently celebrated in churches⁸, were originally written by one Macaber in German rhymes, and were translated into Latin about the year 1460, by one who calls himself Petrus Desrey Orator. This Latin translation was published by Goldastus, at the end of the SPECULUM OMNIUM STATUUM TOTIUS ORBIS TERRARUM compiled by Rodericus Zamorensis, and printed at Hanau in the year 1613^b. But a French translation was made much earlier than the Latin, and written about the walls of saint Innocent's cloister at Paris; from which Lydgate formed his English version^c.

⁷ Gest. Joh. Whethamst. ut supra, p. cxvii. cxxiv. It is added, that Whethamstede expended on the binding, and other exterior ornaments of the manuscript, upwards of three pounds. Bale and Pitts say, that Whethamstede himself made the translation; p. 584. 630. It is in Trinity college at Oxford, MSS. 10. and in Lincoln cathedral, MSS. I. 57. Among Lydgate's works is recited, *Vita S. Albani Martyris ad JOH. FRUMENTARIUM* [Whethamstede] *abbatem*.

* [This, it is said, is a mistake; as it appears from the verses themselves, that Lydgate undertook the translation at the instance of a French clerk. The French version from the German of Machaber, or Machabree, has been erroneously ascribed to Michael Marot, who was not born at the time when it was first printed. See De Bure, Bibliog. Inst. No. 3109. Lydgate's poem is neither a literal nor complete translation of the French version, and this he avows:

Out of the French I drough it, of entent,
Not word by word, but folowing in substance.

Again, the number of the characters in Lydgate is much less than in the French; and he has not only omitted several, but supplied their places with others: so that if these lines were inscribed under the painting at St. Paul's, it must have differed materially from that at St. Innocent's at Paris. All the ancient Dances of Death, though evidently deduced from one original, differed much in the number and design of the characters: but they generally appear to have been accompanied with Macaber's verses, or with imitations of them. See an account of the Dance of Macabre, &c. published by John Harding in 1804.—PARK.]

^a See supra, vol. i. p. 205. Note ^b.

A DANCE OF DEATH seems to be alluded to so early as in Pierce Plowman's Visions, written about 1350.

DEATH came driving after and al to dust
pashed
KYNGS, and KAISARS, KNIGHTS, and
POPEs.

^b In 4to.

^c See the Daunce of Macabre, MSS. Harl. 116. 9. fol. 129. And Observations

In the British Museum is a most splendid and elegant manuscript on vellum, undoubtedly a present to king Henry the Sixth^d. It contains a set of Lydgate's poems, in honour of saint Edmund the patron of his monastery at Bury*. Besides the decoration of illuminated initials, and one hundred and twenty pictures of various sizes, representing the incidents related in the poetry, executed with the most delicate pencil, and exhibiting the habits, weapons, architecture, utensils, and many

on the Fairy Queen, vol. ii. p. 116 seq. The Dance of Death, falsely supposed to have been invented by Holbein, is different from this, though founded in the same idea. It was painted by Holbein in the Augustine monastery at Basil, 1543. but it appeared much earlier: in the chronicle of Hartmannus Schedelius, Norimb. 1493. fol. in the Quotidian Offices of the church, Paris, 1515. 8vo. and in public buildings, at Minden, in Westphalia, so early as 1383. at Lubeck, in the portico of saint Mary's church, 1463. at Dresden, in the castle or palace, 1534. at Annaberg, 1525. at Leipsic, &c. Paul Christian Hilscher has written a very learned and entertaining German book on this subject, printed at Dresden, 1705. 8vo. Engravings of Holbein's pictures at Basil were published, curante Matthæo Meriano, at Francfort, 1649, and 1725, 4to. The German verses there ascribed, appeared in Latin elegiacs, in Caspar Laudisman's Decennalia Humanæ Peregrinationis, A.D. 1584. I have not mentioned in my observations on Spenser, that Georgius Æmylius published this DANCE at Lyons, 1542; one year before Holbein's painting at Basil appeared. Next, at the same place, 1547. 8vo.

[The most ancient complete French copy of *La Danse Macabre* was printed in folio at Lyons, in 1499, together with some other short spiritual pieces, under the title *La Grand DANSE MACABRE des hommes et des femmes historiée, avec de beaux dits en Latin et huitains en François*, &c. To this work Erasmus alludes in the third book of his *Ratio Concionandi*, where he says, "Quin et vulgares rhetoristæ censuerunt hoc decus, qui interdum versibus certo numero comprehensis, pro clausula, accinunt brevem et argutam sententiam, velut in Rhythmis quos Gallus quispiam edidit in CHOREAM MORTIS." tom. v. Opp. pag. 1007. Naude calls this allegory, "*Chorea ab eximio Macabro edita*." *MASCUR*. p. 224. I believe the first Latin edition, that of Pierre Desrey which I have mentioned, was printed at Troyes in 1490, not 1460. The French have an old poem, partly on the same idea, *LA DANSE DES AVEUGLES*, under the conduct of Love,

Fortune, and Death, written by Pierre Michault, about the year 1466. See *Mem. Acad. Inscript. et Bel. Let.* ii. 742. And Goujet, *Bibl. Fr.* ix. 358. In De Bure's *Bibliographie Instructive*, an older but less perfect edition of *Le Danse Macabre* is recited, printed at Paris in 1486, for Guyot Marchant. fol. In this edition the French rhymes are said to be by Michel Marot. tom. i. p. 512. num. 3109. *Bell. Lettr.* He has catalogued all the ancient editions of this piece in French, which are many. Pierre Desrey above-mentioned wrote a French romance called *La Genealogie, on Godfrey of Bouloign*. Paris, 1511. fol.—ADDITIONS.]

^d MSS. Harl. 2278. 4to.

* [In the library of Mr. Dennis Daly, which was disposed of at Dublin in 1792, a MS. of Lydgate contained the life of St. Edmund, and with it another legend by him of St. Fremund, presented to King Edward IV., a circumstance not noticed by Mr. Warton. It began with these lines:

Off Burchardus folwe I shall the style,
That of Seynt Fremund was whilecom secretarye,
Which of entent did his lyff compyle,
Was his registreer, and also his notarye,
And in desert was with him solytarye,
And with him ay present, remembryng every thing
Wroot lyff and myracles of this hooly kyng.

The metrical orisons of the poet are thus offered up for his sovereign:

Encrease our kyng in knyghtly hygh prowesse,
With alle his lordys of the spiritualtie;
Pray God graunte conquestes and worthy-nesse
Be rightfull rule, to all the temporalte;
And to Edward the Fourte, joye and felicitye!
Off his two reemys, sayth love and obeysance,
Longe to persever in his victoryesse
As just enherytor of Yngelond and France.
PARK.]

other curious particulars, belonging to the age of the ingenious illuminator, there are two exquisite portraits of the king, one of William Curteis abbot of Bury, and one of the poet Lydgate kneeling at saint Edmund's shrine*. In one of the king's pictures, he is represented on his throne, crowned, and receiving this volume from the abbot kneeling: in another he appears as a child prostrate on a carpet at saint Edmund's shrine, which is richly delineated, yet without any idea of perspective or proportion. The figures of a great number of monks and attendants are introduced. Among the rest, two noblemen, perhaps the king's uncles, with bonnets, or caps, of an uncommon shape. It appears that our pious monarch kept his Christmas at this magnificent monastery, and that he remained here, in a state of seclusion from the world, and of an exemption from public cares, till the following Easter; and that at his departure he was created a brother of the chapter^f. It is highly probable, that this sumptuous book, the poetry of which was undertaken by Lydgate at the command of abbot Curteis^g, was previously prepared, and presented to his majesty during the royal visit, or very soon afterwards. The substance of the whole work is the life or history of saint Edmund ^h, whom the poet calls the "precious charboncle of martirs alle^h." In some of the prefatory pictures, there is a description and a delineation of two banners, pretended to belong to saint Edmundⁱ. One of these is most brilliantly displayed, and charged with Adam and Eve, the serpent with a human shape to the middle, the tree of life, the holy lamb, and a variety of symbolical ornaments. This banner our bard feigns to have been borne by his saint, who was

* There is an ancient drawing, probably coeval, of Lydgate presenting his poem called the Pilgrim to the earl of Salisbury, MSS. Harl. 4826. 1. It was written 1426. Another of these drawings will be mentioned below.

^f Fol. 6.

^g Curteis was abbot of Bury between the years 1429 and 1445. It appears that Lydgate was also commanded, "Late charchyd in myn oold days," to make an English metrical translation of *De Profundis*, &c. To be hung against the walls of the abbey church. MSS. Harl. 2255. 11. fol. 40. See the last stanza.

* ['The life and acts of St. Edmond, King and Martyr, by John Lydgate,' a splendid MS. on vellum, illuminated throughout, and embellished by 52 historical miniatures, was in the library of Topham Beauclerk, esq. It began thus:

The noble story to putte in remembrance
Off Seynt Edmond, mayd martre and kyng,
With his suppoort my style I wyl auance

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First to compylle aſtre my konnyng
His glorryous lyff, his birthe, and his
gynnyng,

And by diſcent, how he that was soo
good,

Was in Saxonye born, of the royal blood.
PARK.]

^a The poet's *Prayer to saint Edmund for his assistance in compiling his LIFE*, fol. 9. The history begins thus, fol. 10 b.

In Saxonie whilom ther was a kyng
Callid Alkmond of excellent noblesse.

It seems to be taken from John of Tinmouth's Sanctilogium, who flourished about the year 1360. At the end, connected with saint Edmund's legend, and a part of the work, is the life of saint Fremund. fol. 69 b. But Lydgate has made many additions. It begins thus:

Who han remembre the myracles mer-
ueillous
Which Crist Jhesu list for his seyntes
shewe.

Compare MSS. Harl. 372. 1. 2. fol. 1. 25. 43 b.

ⁱ Fol. 2. 4.

a king of the East Angles, against the Danes: and he prophesies, that king Henry, with this ensign, would always return victorious^k. The other banner, given also to saint Edmund, appears to be painted with the arms of our poet's monastery, and its blazoning is thus described.

This other standard, feeld sable, off colour ynde^l,
In whiche off gold been notable crownys thre,
The first toknè in cronycle men may fynde,
Grauntyd to hym for royal dignyte:
And the seconde for his virgynyte:
For martirdam the thrydde, in his suffryng.

To these annexyd feyth, hope, and charyte,
In toknè he was martyr, mayde, and kyng.
These three crownys^m kyng Edmund bar certeyn,
Whan he was sent by grace off goddis hand,
At Geynesburuhe for to slen kyng Sweyn.

A sort of office, or service to saint Edmund, consisting of an antiphone, versicle, response, and collect, is introduced with these verses.

To all men present, or in absence,
Whiche to seynt Edmund haue deuocioun
With hool herte and dew reuerence,
Seynⁿ this antephnè and this orisoun;
Two hundred daies is grauntid off pardoun,
Write and registred afforn his hooly shryne,
Whiche for our feithe suffrede passioun,
Blyssyd Edmund, kyng, martir, and virgyne.

This is our poet's *l'envoye*.

Go litel book, be ferful, quaaak for drede,
For t'appere in so hyhe presence^o.

Lydgate's poem called the *LYFE OF OUR LADY*, printed by Caxton^p, is opened with these harmonious and elegant lines, which do not seem to be destitute of that eloquence which the author wishes to share with Tully, Petrarch, and Chaucer^q. He compares the holy Virgin to a star.

O thoughtfull hertè, plonged in distresse
With slombre of slouth, this long wynter's night!
Out of the slepe of mortal hevinesse
Awake anon, and loke upon the light

^k Fol. 2.

^l blue.

^m See fol. 103 b. f. 104.

ⁿ sing; [say.]

^o Fol. 118 b.

^p "This book was compyled by Dan John Lydgate monke of Burye, at the excitacion and styrrynge of the noble and

victorious prynce, Harry the Fyfthe, in the honowre, glory and reverence of the byrthe of our most blessed Lady," &c. Without date. fol. Afterwards by Robert Redman, 1531. 4to: See MSS. Harl. 629. fol. membran.

^q Cap. xxxiii. xxxiv.

Of thilkè sterre, that with her bemys bright,
And with the shynynge of her stremes meryè,
Is wont to glad all our hemisperie*!—

This sterre in beautie passith Pleiades,
Bothe of shynynge, and eke of stremes clere,
Bootes, and Arctur, and also Iades,
And Esperus, whan that it doth appere:
For this is Spica, with her brightè spere",
That towarde evyn, at midnyght, and at morowe,
Downe from hevyn adawith^t al our sorowe.—
And dryeth up the bytter terys wet
Of Aurora, after the morowe graye,
That she in wepying dothe on floures flete",
In lusty Aprill, and in fresshè Maye:
And causeth Phebus, the bryght somers daye,
Wyth his wayne gold-yborned", bryght and fayre,
To' enchase the mystès of our cloudy ayre.

Now fayrè sterre, O sterre of sterrys all!
Whose lyght to se the angels do delyte,
So let the gold-dewe of thy grace yfall
Into my breste, lyke scalys fayre and whyte,
Me to enspire*! — — —

Lydgate's manner is naturally verbose and diffuse. This circumstance contributed in no small degree to give a clearness and a fluency to his phraseology. For the same reason he is often tedious and languid. His chief excellence is in description, especially where the subject admits a flowery diction. He is seldom pathetic or animated.

In another part of this poem, where he collects arguments to convince unbelievers that Christ might be born of a pure virgin, he thus speaks of God's omnipotence.

And he that made the high and cristal heven,
The firmament, and also every sphere,
The golden ax-tre^v, and the sterres seven,
Citherea, so lusty for to' appere,
And reddè Marsè^s, with his sternè here;
Myght he not eke onèly for our sake
Wythyn a mayde of man his kyndè^a take?

* hemisphere.

" sphere.

^t affright, remove, [awakens.]

" float; drop.

" Burnished with gold. So in Lydgate's Legend on Dan Joos a monk, taken from Vincentius Bellovacensis's *Speculum Hi-*

storiale, the name Maria is *ful sayre gaven* on a red rose, in *lettris of BOURNID gold*. MSS. Harl. 2251. 39. fol. 71 b.

" prologue.

^v of the sun.

" Mars.

" nature.

For he that doth the tender braunches sprynge,
 And the fresshe flouris in the gretè mede,
 That were in wynter dede and eke droupynge,
 Of bawmè all yvoyd and lestyhede;
 Myght he not make his grayne to growe and sede,
 Within her brest, that was both mayd and wyfe,
 Whereof is made the sothfast^b breade of lyfe?^c

We are surprised to find verses of so modern a cast as the following at such an early period; which in this sagacious age we should judge to be a forgery, was not their genuineness authenticated, and their antiquity confirmed, by the venerable types of Caxton, and a multitude of unquestionable manuscripts.

Like as the dewe descendeth on the rose
 With sylver drops.^d — — —

Our Saviour's crucifixion is expressed by this remarkable metaphor.

Whan he of purple did his baner sprede
 On Calvarye abroad upon the rode,
 To save mankynde.^e — — —

Our author, in the course of his panegyric on the Virgin Mary, affirms, that she exceeded Hester in meekness, and Judith in wisdom; and in beauty, Helen, Polyxena, Lucretia, Dido, Bathsheba, and Rachel^f. It is amazing, that in an age of the most superstitious devotion so little discrimination should have been made between sacred and profane characters and incidents. But the common sense of mankind had not yet attained a just estimate of things. Lydgate, in another piece, has versified the rubrics of the missal, which he applies to the god Cupid; and declares, with how much delight he frequently meditated on the holy legend of those constant martyrs, who were not afraid to suffer death for the faith of that omnipotent divinity^g. There are instances, in which religion was even made the instrument of love. Arnaud Daniel, a celebrated troubadour of the thirteenth century, in a fit of amorous despair, promises to found a multitude of annual masses, and to dedicate perpetual tapers to the shrines of saints, for the important purpose of obtaining the affections of an obdurate mistress.

^b true.

^c Cap. xx.

^d Cap. xix.

^e Cap. ix.

^f Cap. iv. In a LIFE of the Virgin in the British Museum, I find these easy lyrics introduced, MSS. Harl. 2382. 2. 3. fol. 75. fol. 86 b. Though I am not certain that they properly belong to this work:

A mery tale I telle yow may
 Of seynt Marie that swete may:
 Alle the tale of this lessone
 Is of her Assumption.—
 Mary moder, welle thee be!
 Mary mayden, thenk on me!
 Mayden and moder was never none,
 Togader, lady, save thee allone.
 But these lines will be considered again.
^g MSS. Fairfax, xvi. Bibl. Bodl.

SECTION XXII.

Lydgate continued. His Fall of Princes, from Laurence Premierfait's French paraphrase of Boccaccio on the same subject. Nature, plan and specimens of that poem. Its sublime allegorical figure of Fortune. Authors cited in the same. Boccaccio's opportunities of collecting many stories of Greek original, now not extant in any Greek writer. Lydgate's Storie of Thebes. An additional Canterbury Tale. Its plan, and originals. Martianus Capella. Happily imitated by Lydgate. Feudal manners applied to Greece. Specimen of Lydgate's force in description.

BUT Lydgate's principal poems are the FALL OF PRINCES *, the SIEGE OF THEBES, and the DESTRUCTION OF TROY. Of all these I shall speak distinctly.

About the year 1360, Boccaccio wrote a Latin history in ten books, entitled *DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ET FEMINARUM ILLUSTRUM*. Like other chronicles of the times, it commences with Adam, and is brought down to the author's age. Its last grand event is John king of France taken prisoner by the English at the battle of Poitiers, in the year 1359*. This book of Boccaccio was soon afterwards translated into French, by one of whom little more seems to be known, than that he was named Laurence; yet so paraphrastically, and with so many considerable additions, as almost to be rendered a new work^b. Laurence's French

* [Mr. Heber has a poetical tract, printed by W. de Worde, entitled "The Proverbes of Lydgate." In the colophon it is termed "The Proverbes of Lydgate upon the fall of prynces." It begins

To kysse the steppes of them that were
fortheryng

Laureate poetes which had soveraynte.

It consists of several detached poems gathered from Lydgate's imitation of Boccaccio. The whole are composed in stanzas which have the peculiarity of closing with a similar line in each piece. The third of these bears relation to a song which is in abeyance between Chaucer and Lydgate.

*Ecce bonum consilium Galfridi Chauceri
contra fortunam.*

Fle from the prece, and dwell with sothe-
fastnesse;
Suffyse unto thy good, thoughe it be
small;

For hoorde hathe hate, and clymyng
tykylnesse,
Prece hathe envye, and well is blente over
all, &c.

This will serve to show, there is less of what is proverbial, than what is morally sententious in this tract.—PARK.

Hearne supposes the above work to have been printed from a MS. in the Bodl. Lib. Selden B. 26. See his Index to the Life of Alfred.—DOUCE.]

* Printed at Ausbourg. And at Paris, 1544. fol. It is amazing, that Vossius should not know the number of books of which this work consisted, and that it was ever printed. De Hist. Lat. lib. iii. cap. ii. It was translated into Italian by Betussi, in Firenze, 1566. 8vo. 2 vol.

^b In Lydgate's PROLOGUE, B. i. fol. i. a. col. l. edit. ut infr.

He that sumtime did his diligence
The boke of Bochas in French to translate
Out of Latin, he called was LAURENCE.

translation, of which there is a copy in the British Museum^o, and which was printed at Lyons in the year 1483^d, is the original of Lydgate's poem. This Laurence or Laurent, sometimes called Laurent de Premierfait, a village in the diocese of Troies, was an ecclesiastic, and a famous translator. He also translated into French Boccaccio's DECAMERON, at the request of Jane queen of Navarre; Cicero DE AMICITIA and DE SENECTUTE; and Aristotle's Œconomics, dedicated to Louis de Bourbon, the king's uncle. These versions appeared in the year 1414 and 1416^e. Caxton's TULLIUS OF OLD AGE, or DE SENECTUTE, printed in 1481, is translated from Laurence's French version. Caxton, in the postscript, calls him *Laurence de primo facto*.

Lydgate's poem consists of nine books, and is thus entitled in the earliest edition:—"The TRAGEDIES gathered by John BOCHAS of all such princes as fell from theyr estates throughe the mutability of fortune since the CREACION of ADAM until his time, &c. Translated into English by John Lidgate monke of Bury^f." The best and most au-

He says that Laurence (in his Prologue) declares, that he avails himself of the privilege of skilful artificers; who may *chaunge and turne, by good discretion, shapes and forms, and newly them devise, make and unmake, &c.* and that old authors may be rendered more agreeable, by being clothed in new ornaments of language, and improved with new inventions. Ibid. a. col. 1. He adds, that it was Laurence's design, in his translation into French, to *amende, correct, and declare, and not to spare thinges touched shortly*. Ibid. col. 2. Afterwards he calls him this *noble translatour*. Ibid. b. col. 1. In another place, where a panegyric on France is introduced, he says that this passage is not Boccaccio's, but added,

By one LAURENCE, which was *translatour*
Of this processe, to *commende* France;
To prayse that lande was all his *pleasaunce*.

B. ix. ch. 28. fol. 31 a. col. 1. edit. ut infr. Our author, in the Prologue above-cited, seems to speak as if there had been a previous translation of Boccaccio's book into French. Ut supr. a. col. 1.

Thus LAURENCE from him envy excluded
Though *toforne him translated* was this book.

But I suspect he only means, that Boccaccio's original work was nothing more than a collection or compilation from more ancient authors.

^a MSS. Harl. See also ibid. MSS. Reg. 18 D. vii. And 16 G. v. And MSS. Bodl. F. 10. 2. [2465.] He is said to

have translated this work in 1409. MSS. Reg. ut supr. 20 C. iv.

^d In folio. Bayle says, that a French translation appeared at Paris, by Claudius Vitart, in 1578. 8vo. Diction. BOCCACC. Note ^a.

^e He died in 1418. See Martene, Ampl. Collect. tom. ii. p. 1405. And Mem. de Litt. xvii. 759. 4to. Compare du Verdier, Biblioth. Fr. p. 72. And Bibl. Rom. ii. 291. It is extraordinary that the piece before us should not be mentioned by the French antiquaries as one of Laurence's translations. Lydgate, in the Prologue above-cited, observes, that Laurence, who in *cunying did excel*, undertook this translation at the request of some eminent personages in France, who had the interest of *rhetorike* at heart. Ut supr. a. col. 2.

^f Imprinted at London by John Wayland, without date, fol. He printed in the reign of Henry the Eighth. There is a small piece by Lydgate, not connected with this, entitled *The Tragedy of princes that were LECHEROUS*. MSS. Ashmol. 59. ii.

[The first edition had the following title, according to a copy in the library of All Souls College, Oxford.

"Here begynneth the boke of Johan Bochas discrying the fall of princes, princesses, and other nobles. Translated into Englysshe by John Lydgate monke of Bury; begynnnyng at Adam and Eve, and endyng with Kyng Johan of Fraunce, taken prisoner at Poyters by prince Edwarde."

Colophon :

"Thus endith the nyynth and laste boke of John Bochas, which treateth of the fall of princes, &c. Imp. at London in Fleete-

thentic manuscript of this piece is in the British Museum ; probably written under the inspection of the author, and perhaps intended as a present to Humphrey duke of Gloucester, at whose gracious command the poem, as I have before hinted, was undertaken. It contains among numerous miniatures illustrating the several histories, portraits of Lydgate, and of another monk habited in black, perhaps an abbot of Bury, kneeling before a prince, who seems to be saint Edmund, seated on a throne under a canopy, and grasping an arrow &c.

The work is not improperly styled a set of tragedies. It is not merely a narrative of men eminent for their rank and misfortunes. The plan is perfectly dramatic, and partly suggested by the pageants of the times. Every personage is supposed to appear before the poet, and to relate his respective sufferings ; and the figures of these spectres are sometimes finely drawn. Hence a source is opened for moving compassion, and for a display of imagination. In some of the lives the author replies to the speaker, and a sort of dialogue is introduced for conducting the story. Brunchild, a queen of France, who murdered all her children, and was afterwards hewn in pieces, appears thus.

She came, arayed nothing like a quene,
Her hair untressed, Bochas toke good hede ;
In al his booke he had afore not sene
A more wofull creature indede,
With weping eyne, to torne was al her wede :
Rebuking Bochas cause he' had left behynde
Her wretchednes for to put in mynde.^a

Yet in some of these interesting interviews, our poet excites pity of another kind. When Adam appears, he familiarly accosts the author with the salutation of *Cosyn Bochas*¹.

Nor does our dramatist deal only in real characters and historical personages. Boccacio standing pensive in his library, is alarmed at the sudden entrance of the gigantic and monstrous image of FORTUNE, whose agency has so powerful and universal an influence in human affairs, and especially in effecting those vicissitudes which are the subject of this work. There is a Gothic greatness in her figure, with some touches of the grotesque ;—an attribute of the early poetry of all nations, before ideas of selection have taken place. I must add, that it was Boethius's admired allegory on the CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY, which introduced personification into the poetry of the middle ages.

Whyle Bochas penyfe stode in his lybrarye,
Wyth chere oppressed, pale in hys vysage,
Somedeaie abashed, alone and solitarye ;

streets by Richarde Pynson, &c. and fynished the xxi day of Feb. 1527."—
PARK.]

^a MSS. Harl. 1766. fol. 5.

^b Lib. vii. f. xxi. a. col. 1.

¹ B. i. fol. i. a. col. 2. In the same style he calls Ixion Juno's *secretary*. B. i. ch. xii. fol. xxi. b. col. 2.

To hym appeared a monstruous ymage,
 Parted in twayne of color and corage,
 Her ryght syde ful of sommer floures,
 The tother oppressed with winter stormy showres.

Bochas astonied, full fearfull to abrayde,
 When he beheld the wonderfull fygure
 Of FORTUNE, thus to hymself he sayde.
 "What may this meane? Is this a créature,
 Or a monstre transfourmed agayne nature,
 Whose brenning eyen spercle of their lyght,
 As do the sterres the frosty wynter nyght?"

And of her cherè ful god hede he toke;
 Her face semyng cruel and terrible,
 And by disdaynè menacing of loke;
 Her heare untrussed, harde, sharpe, and horyble,
 Frowarde of shape, lothsome, and odible:
 An hundred handes she had, of eche part^k,
 In sondrye wise her gyftes to departe^l.

Some of her handès lyft up men alofte,
 To hye estate of worldlye dignitè;
 Another handè griped ful unsofte,
 Which cast another in grete adversite,
 Gave one richesse, another poverte, &c.—

Her habyte was of manyfolde colours,
 Watchet blewè of fayned stedfastnesse,
 Her gold allayd like sun in watry showres,
 Meynt^m with grene, for chaunge and doublenesse.—

Her hundred hands, her burning eyes, and disheveled tresses, are sublimely conceived. After a long silence, with a stern countenance she addresses Bochas, who is greatly terrified at her horrible appearance; and having made a long harangue on the revolutions and changes which it is her business to produce among men of the most prosperous condition and the most elevated station, she calls up Caius Marius, and presents him to the poet.

Blacke was his wede, and his habyte also,
 His heed unkempt, his lockès hore and gray,
 His loke downe-cast in token of sorowe and wo;
 On his chekès the saltè teares lay,
 Which bare recorde of his deadly affray.—

^k on either side.^l distribute.^m mingled.

His robè stayned was with Romaine blode,
 His sworde aye redy whet to do vengeance;
 Lyke a tyraunt most furyouse and wode^a,
 In slaughter and murdre set at his plesaunce.^o

She then teaches Bochas how to describe his life, and disappears.

These wordès saydè, Fortune made an ende,
 She bete her wynges, and toke her to flyght,
 I can not sè what waye she did wende;
 Save Bochas telleth, lyke an angell bryght,
 At her departing she shewed a great lyght.^p

In another place, Dante, "of Florence the laureate poete, demure of loke fullfilled with patience," appears to Bochas; and commands him to write the tale of Gualter duke of Florence, whose days *for his tyranny, lechery, and covetyse, ended in mischefe*. Dante then vanishes, and only duke Gualter is left alone with the poet^q. Petrarch is also introduced for the same purpose^r.

The following golden couplet, concerning the prodigies which preceded the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey, indicates dawns of that poetical colouring of expression, and of that facility of versification, which mark the poetry of the present times.

Serpents and adders, scaled sylver-bryght,
 Were over Rome sene flying al the nyght.^s

These verses, in which the poet describes the reign of Saturn, have much harmony, strength, and dignity.

Fortitude then stode stedfast in his might,
 Defended wydowes, cherishd chastity;
 Knyghtehood in prowes gave so clere a light,
 Girt with his sworde of truthe and equity.^t

Apollo, Diana, and Minerva, joining the Roman army, when Rome was besieged by Brennus, are poetically touched.

Apollo first yshewed his presence,
 Fresshe, yonge, and lusty, as any sunnè shene,
 Armd all with golde; and with great vyolence
 Entred the feldè, as it was wel sene:
 And Dianà came with her arowes kene:
 And Mynervà in a bryght haberjoun;
 Which in ther coming made a terrible soun.^u

^a mad.

^o B. i. fol. cxxxviii. b. col. 2.

^p Ibid. fol. cxxxix. a. col. 2.

^q B. ix. fol. xxxiv. b. col. 1. 2. In another place Dante's three books on heaven, purgatory, and hell, are particularly commended. B. iv. Prol. fol. xciii. a. col. 1.

^r B. viii. fol. 1. Prol. a. b. He mentions all Petrarch's works, Prol. B. iv. fol. 93 a. col. 1.

^s B. vi. fol. 147 a. col. 1.

^t B. vii. fol. 161 b. col. 1.

^u B. iv. ch. 22. fol. cxiii. a. col. 1.

And the following lines are remarkable.

God hath a thousand handès to chastyse,
A thousand dartès of punicion,
A thousand bowès made in divers wyse,
A thousand arblasts bent in his dongeon.*

Lydgate, in this poem, quotes Seneca's tragedies^x for the story of Œdipus, Tully, Virgil and his commentator Servius, Ovid, Livy, Lucan, Lactantius, Justin^y or "prudent Justinus an old croniclere," Josephus, Valerius Maximus, saint Jerom's chronicle, Boethius^z, Plato on the immortality of the soul^a, and Fulgentius the mythologist^b. He mentions "noble Persius," Prosper's epigrams, Vegetius's book on Tactics, which was highly esteemed, as its subject coincided with the chivalry of the times, and which had been just translated into French by John of Meun and Christina of Pisa, and into English by John Trevisa^c, "the grene chaplet of Esop and Juvenal^d," Euripides "in his tyme a great tragician, because he wrote many tragedies," and another called *Clarke* Demosthenes^e. For a catalogue of Tully's works, he refers to the SPECULUM HISTORIALE^f, or *Myrrour Hystoriall*, of Vyncentius Bellovacensis; and says, that he wrote twelve books of Orations, and several *morall ditties*^g. Aristotle is introduced as teaching Alexander and Callisthenes philosophy^h. With regard to Homer, he observes, that "Grete Omerus, in Isidore ye may see, founde amonge

* tower; castle. B. i. ch. 3. fol. vi. a. col. 1.

^x B. i. ch. 9. fol. xviii. a. col. 1.

^y B. i. ch. 11. fol. xxi. b. col. 2. B. ii. ch. 6. fol. xlv. a. col. 1. B. iii. ch. 14. fol. lxxxi. b. col. 1. Ibid. ch. 25. fol. lxxxix. a. col. 2. B. iv. ch. 11. fol. iii. b. col. 1. See Prol. B. i.

^z B. ii. ch. 15. fol. li. a. col. 1. col. 2. Ibid. ch. 16. fol. lii. a. col. 2. Ibid. ch. 2. fol. xlii. a. col. 1. Ibid. ch. 30. fol. lxii. b. col. 1. B. viii. ch. 24. fol. xliii. a. col. 2.

^a B. iii. ch. 5. fol. lxxi. a. col. 1.

^b B. ix. ch. 1. fol. xx. a. col. 1. From whom Boccaccio largely transcribes in his *Genealogiæ Deorum*, hereafter mentioned.

^c MSS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. 233. *Princip.* "In olde tyme it was the manere." Finished at the command of his patron Thomas lord Berkeley. See *supra*, p. 128.

^d Prol. B. iv. fol. 92 a. col. 2. 93 a. col. 1.

^e B. ii. ch. 22. fol. 54 b. col. 2.

^f See *supra*, vol. i. p. 136.

^g B. vi. ch. 15. fol. 151 b. col. 1.

^h B. iv. ch. 9. fol. xcix. seq. This is from Aristotle's *Secretum Secretorum*, which Lydgate, as I have mentioned

above, translated. But he did not finish the translation; for about the middle of it we have this note:—"Here dyed this translator and notable poet John Lydgate, monk of Bury, and FOWLER bygan his prolog in this wyse:—*Where flour of knighthood the bataile doth refuse.*" fol. 336. MSS. Laud. K. 53. The Prologue consists of ten stanzas; in which he compares himself to a dwarf entering the lists when the knight is foiled. But it is the *yong* FOWLER, in MSS. Laud. B. xxiv. In the Harleian copy of this piece I find the following note, at fol. 236. "Here deyde the translatur a noble poete Dan Johne Lydgate, and his *folowere* began his prologe in this wise. Per Benedictum Burghe. *Where flour of*," &c. MSS. Harl. 2251. 117. Where *Folowere* may be a corruption of *Folwer*, or *Fowler*. But it must be observed, that there was a Benedict Burghe, coeval with Lydgate, and preferred to many dignities in the church, who translated into English verse, for the use of lord Bouchier son of the earl of Essex, CATONIS *moralia carmina*, altered and printed by Caxton, 1483. fol. More will be said of Burgh's work in its proper place.

Grekcs the crafte of eloquence¹." By Isidore he means the ORIGINES, or ETYMOLOGIES of Isidore Hispalensis, in twenty books; a system of universal information, the encyclopede of the dark ages, and printed in Italy before the year 1472^k. In another place, he censures the singular partiality of the Book called *Omere*, which places Achilles above Hector^l. Again, speaking of the Greek writers, he tells us, that Bochas mentions a *scribeyn*, or scribe, who in a small scroll of paper wrote the destruction of Troy, following Homer; a history much esteemed among the Greeks, on account of its brevity^m. This was Dictys Cretensis, or Dares Phrygius. But for perpetuating the achievements of the knights of the round table, he supposes that a clerk was appointed, and that he compiled a register from the pursuivants and heralds who attended their tournaments; and that thence the histories of those invincible champions were framed, which whether read or sung, have afforded so much delightⁿ. For the stories of Constantine and Arthur he brings as his vouchers, the chronicle or romance called BRUT or BRUTUS, and Geoffrey of Monmouth^o. He concludes the legend of Constantine by telling us, that an equestrian statue in brass is still to be seen at Constantinople of that emperor; in which he appears armed with a prodigious sword, menacing the Turks^p. In describing the Pantheon at Rome, he gives us some circumstances highly romantic. He relates that this magnificent fane was full of gigantic idols, placed on lofty stages: these images were the gods of all the nations conquered by the Romans, and each turned his countenance to that province over which he presided. Every image held in his hand a bell framed by magic; and when any kingdom belonging to the Roman jurisdiction was meditating rebellion against the imperial city, the idol of that country gave, by some secret principle, a solemn warning of the distant treason by striking his bell, which never sounded on any other occasion^q. Our author, following Boccacio who wrote the THESEID, supposes that Theseus founded the order of knighthood at Athens^r. He introduces, much in the manner of Boethius, a disputation between Fortune and Poverty; supposed to have been written by ANDALUS the *blake*, a doctor of astronomy at Naples, who was one of Bochas's preceptors.

At Naples whylom, as he dothe specifye,
In his youth when he^s to schole went,
There was a doctour of astronomye;—
And he was called *Andalus the blake*.^t

¹ B. ii. ch. 15. fol. 51 a. col. 2.

^k See Gesner. Bibl. p. 468. And Matt. Annal. Typ. i. p. 100.

^l B. iv. Prol. fol. 93 a. col. 1.

^m B. ii. cap. 15. fol. 51 b. col. 1.

ⁿ B. viii. ch. 25. fol. xv. a. col. 1. See supra, col. 1. p. 331. seq.

^o B. viii. ch. 13. fol. 7 a. col. 2. fol. 14 b. col. 1. fol. 16 a. col. 2. See supra, vol. i. p. 58.

^p B. viii. ch. 13. fol. viii. b. col. 2. Boccacio wrote the original Latin of this work long before the Turks took and sacked Constantinople, in 1453.

^q B. viii. ch. 1. fol. xx. a. col. 1.

^r B. i. c. 12. fol. xxii. a. col. 2.

^s Boccacio.

^t B. iii. ch. 1. fol. lxxv. a. col. 1. "He rede in scholes the moving of the heavens," &c. Boccacio mentions with much regard

Lydgate appears to have been far advanced in years when he finished this poem; for at the beginning of the eighth book he complains of his trembling joints, and declares that age, having benumbed his faculties, has deprived him "of all the subtylte of curious making in Englysshe to endyte." Our author, in the structure and modulation of his style, seems to have been ambitious of rivalling Chaucer^u; whose capital compositions he enumerates, and on whose poetry he bestows repeated encomiums^{*}.

I cannot quit this work without adding an observation relating to Boccacio, its original author, which perhaps may deserve attention. It is highly probable that Boccacio learned many anecdotes of Grecian history and Grecian fable, not to be found in any Greek writer now extant, from his preceptors Barlaam, Leontius, and others, who had lived at Constantinople while the Greek literature was yet flourishing. Some of these are perhaps scattered up and down in the composition before us, which contains a considerable part of the Grecian story; and especially in his treatise of the genealogies of the gods^x. Boccacio himself calls his master Leontius an inexhaustible archive of Grecian tales and fables, although not equally conversant with those of the Latins^y. He confesses that he took many things in his book of the genealogies of the gods from a vast work entitled *COLLECTIVUM*, now lost, written by his cotemporary Paulus Perusinus; the materials of which had in great measure been furnished by Barlaam^z. We are informed also, that Perusinus made use of some of these fugitive Greek scholars, especially Barlaam, for collecting rare books in that language. Perusinus was librarian, about the year 1340, to Robert king of Jerusalem and Sicily; and was the most curious and inquisitive man of his age for searching after unknown or uncommon manuscripts, especially histories and poetical compositions, and particularly such as were written in Greek. I will beg leave to cite the words of Boccacio, who records this anecdote. "Et, si usquam *CURIOSISSIMUS* fuit homo in perquirendis, jussu etiam principis, *PEREGRINIS* undecunque libris,

ANDALUS DE NIGRO as one of his masters, in his *Geneal. Deor. lib. xv. cap. vi.* and says, that Andalus has extant many *Opuscula astrorum cælique motus ostentantia*. I think Leander, in his *ITALIA*, calls this Andalus, *Andalotius niger, curiosus astrologus*. See Papyrius Mass. *Elog. tom. ii. p. 195.*

^u B. vii. Prol. fol. i. b. col. 2. ad calc. He calls himself older than sixty years.

^y Prol. B. i. f. ii. a. col. 2. seq.

^z [Among these, the following invites citation:—

My master CHAUCER with his fresh comedies,
Is deade, alas! chiefe poete of Brytayne:
That sumtime made ful piteous tragedies.

The *fall of prynces* he did also complayne,
As he that was of making soverayne,
Whom al this lande of ryght ought [to] prefarre;
Sith of our langage he was the lode-starre.
—PARK.]

^x In fifteen books. First printed in 1481. fol. And in Italian by Betussi, Venet. 1553. In French at Paris, 1531. fol. In the interpretation of the fables he is very prolix and jejune.

^y *Geneal. Deor. lib. xv. cap. vi.*

^z "Quicquid apud Græcos inveniri potest, ADJUTORIO BARLÆ arbitror collegisse." *Geneal. Deor. lib. xv. cap. vi.*

HISTORIIS et POETICIS operibus, iste fuit. Et ob id, singulari amicitie Barlae conjunctus, quæ a Latinis habere non poterat eo medio INNUMERA exhaustit a GRÆCIS^a." By these HISTORIE and POETICA OPERA, brought from Constantinople by Barlaam, undoubtedly works of entertainment, and perhaps chiefly of the romantic and fictitious species, I do not understand the classics. It is natural to suppose that Boccacio, both from his connections and his curiosity, was no stranger to these treasures; and that many of these pieces, thus imported into Italy by the dispersion of the Constantinopolitan exiles, are only known at present through the medium of his writings. It is certain that many oriental fictions found their way into Europe by means of this communication.

Lydgate's STORIE OF THEBES was first printed by William Thinne, at the end of his edition of Chaucer's works, in 1561. The author introduces it as an additional Canterbury tale. After a severe sickness, having a design to visit the shrine of Thomas a Becket at Canterbury, he arrives in that city while Chaucer's pilgrims were assembled there for the same purpose; and by mere accident, not suspecting to find so numerous and respectable a company, goes to their inn. There is some humour in our monk's travelling figure.^b

In a cope of black, and not of grene,
On a palfray, slender, long, and lene,
With rusty bridle, made not for the sale,
My man toforne with a void male.^c

He sees, standing in the hall of the inn, the convivial host of the tabard, full of his own importance; who, without the least introduction or hesitation thus addresses our author, quite unprepared for such an abrupt salutation.

— — — Dan Pers,
Dan Dominike, Dan Godfray, or Clement,
Ye be welcome newly into Kent;
Though your bridle have neither boss, ne bell^d,
Beseeching you that you will tell,
First of your name, &c. — —
That looke so pale, all devoid of blood,
Upon your head a wonder thredbare hood.^e—

Our host then invites him to supper, and promises that he shall have, made according to his own directions, a large pudding, a round *hagis*, a French *moile*, or a *phrase* of eggs; adding, that he looked extremely lean for a monk, and must certainly have been sick, or else belong to a poor monastery; that some nut-brown ale after supper will be of

^a Geneal. Deor. lib. xv. cap. vi.

^b Edit. 1687. fol. ad calc. Chaucer's Works, pag. 623. col. i. Prol.

^c portmanteau.

^d See supra, vol. i. p. 167. Note 7.

^e Ibid.

service, and that a quantity of the seed of annis, cummin, or coriander, taken before going to bed, will remove flatulencies. But above all, says the host, cheerful company will be your best physician. You shall not only sup with me and my companions this evening, but return with us to-morrow to London; yet on condition, that you will submit to one of the indispensable rules of our society, which is to tell an entertaining story while we are travelling.

What, looke up, Monke! For by cockes' blood,
 Thou shall be mery, whoso that say nay;
 For to-morrowe, anone as it is day,
 And that it ginne in the east to dawen,
 Thou shall be bound to a newe lawe,
 At going out of Canterbury toun,
 And lien aside thy professioun;
 Thou shall not chese^b, nor thyself withdrawe,
 If any mirth be found in thy mawe,
 Like the custom of this company;
 For none so proude that dare me deny,
 Knight, nor knave, chanon, priest, ne nonne,
 To telle a tale plainly as they conne^c,
 When I assigne, and see time oportune;
 And, for that we our purpose woll contune^d,
 We will homeward the same custome use.¹

Our monk, unable to withstand this profusion of kindness and festivity, accepts the host's invitation, and sups with the pilgrims. The next morning, as they are all riding from Canterbury to Ospringe, the host reminds his friend DAN JOHN of what he had mentioned in the evening, and without further ceremony calls for a story. Lydgate obeys his commands, and recites the tragical destruction of the city of Thebes^m. As the story is very long, a pause is made in descending a very steep hill near the *Thrope*ⁿ of *Broughton on the Blee*; when our author, who was not furnished with that accommodation for knowing the time of the day, which modern improvements in science have given to the traveller, discovers by an accurate examination of his calendar, I suppose some sort of graduated scale, in which the sun's horary progress along the equator was marked, that it is nine in the morning.^o

It has been said, but without any authority or probability, that Chaucer first wrote this story in a Latin narrative, which Lydgate

^a God's.

^b dawn.

^c choose.

^d can, or know.

^e continue.

^f Pag. 622. col. 2. seq.

^g Ibid.

^h Or *Thorpe*. Properly a lodge in a

forest. A hamlet. It occurs again pag. 661. col. 1.

Bren townes, *thropes*, and villages.

And in the *Troye-Boke*, he mentions "provinces, borowes, vyllages, and *thropes*." B. ii. c. x.

ⁱ Pag. 630. col. 2.

afterwards translated into English verse. Our author's originals are Guido Colonna, Statius, and Seneca the tragedian^p. Nicholas Trevet, an Englishman, a Dominican friar of London, who flourished about the year 1330, has left a commentary on Seneca's tragedies^q: and he was so favourite a poet as to have been illustrated by Thomas Aquinas^r. He was printed at Venice so early as the year 1482. Lydgate in this poem often refers to *myne auctor*, who, I suppose, is either Statius or Colonna^s. He sometimes cites Boccacio's Latin tracts; particularly the *GENEALOGIÆ DEORUM*, a work which at the restoration of learning greatly contributed to familiarise the classical stories; *DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM*, the ground-work of the *FALL OF PRINCES* just mentioned; and *DE CLARIS MULIERIBUS*, in which pope Joan is one of the heroines^t. From the first, he has taken the story of Amphion building the walls of Thebes by the help of Mercury's harp, and the interpretation of that fable, together with the fictions^u about Lycurgus king of Thrace^w; from the second, as I recollect, the accoutrements of Polymites^x; and from the third, part of the tale of Isophile^y. He also characterises Boccacio for a talent, by which he is not now so generally known, for his poetry; and styles him, "among poetes in Itaile stalled^z." But Boccacio's *THESEID* was yet in vogue. He says, that when Œdipus was married, none of the Muses were present, as they were at the wedding of *SAPIENCE* with *ELOQUENCE*, described by that poet *whilom so sage, Matrician inamed de Capella*. This is Marciianus Mineus-Felix de Capella, who lived about the year 470, and whose Latin prosaico-metrical work, *de Nuptiis Philologie et Mercurii*, in two books, an introduction to his seven books, or system, of the *SEVEN SCIENCES*, I have mentioned before^a: a writer highly extolled by Scotus Erigena^b, Peter of Blois^c, John of Salisbury, and other early authors in corrupt Latinity^d; and of such eminent estimation in the dark centuries, as to be taught in the seminaries of philological education as a classic^e. Among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum, a ma-

^p See pag. 630. col. 1.

^q MSS. Bodl. N.E. F. 8. 6. Leland saw this Commentary in the library of the Cistercian abbey of Buckfast-Lees in Devonshire. Col. iii. p. 257.

^r Some say, Thomas Anglicus.

^s Pag. 623. col. 2. 630. col. 1. 632. col. 2. 635. col. 2. 647. col. 2. 654. col. 1. 659. col. 1. See supra, vol. i. p. 129.

^t First printed, Ulm, 1473. fol.

^u Lydgate says, that this was the same Lycurgus who came as an ally with Palamon to Athens against his brother Arcite, drawn by four white bulls, and crowned with a wreath of gold. Pag. 650. col. 2. See Kn. Tale, Urry's Ch. p. 17. v. 2131. seq. col. 1. Our author expressly refers to Chaucer's Knight's Tale about Theseus, and with some address, "As ye have be-

fore heard it related in passing through Deptford," &c. pag. 568. col. 1.

^w Pag. 623. col. 2. 624. col. 1. 651. col. 1.

^x Pag. 634. col. 2.

^y Pag. 648. col. 1. seq.

^z Pag. 651. col. 1.

^a See supra, p. 166.

^b De Divis. Natur. lib. iii. p. 147. 148.

^c Epist. 101.

^d See Alcuin. De Sept. Artib. p. 1256. Honorius Augustodunus, de Philosophia Mundi, lib. ii. cap. 5. and the book of Thomas Cantipratanus attributed to Boethius, De Disciplina Scholarium. Compare Barth. ad Claudian. p. 32.

^e Barth. ad Briton. p. 110. "Medii ævi scholas tenuit, adolescentibus prælectus," &c. See Willibaldus, Epist. 147. tom. ii. Vet. Monum. Marten. p. 334.

nuscript occurs, written about the eleventh century, which is a commentary on these nine books of Capella, compiled by Duncant an Irish bishop^f, and given to his scholars in the monastery of saint Remigius^g. They were early translated into Latin leonine rhymes, and are often imitated by Saxo Grammaticus^h. Gregory of Tours has the vanity to hope, that no readers will think his Latinity barbarous; not even those who have refined their taste, and enriched their understanding with a complete knowledge of every species of literature, by studying attentively this treatise of Marcianusⁱ. Alexander Necham, a learned abbot of Cirencester, and a voluminous Latin writer about the year 1210, wrote annotations on Marcianus, which are yet preserved^k. He was first printed in the year 1499, and other editions appeared soon afterwards. This piece of Marcianus, dictated by the ideal philosophy of Plato, is supposed to have led the way to Boethius's celebrated CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY^m.

The marriage of SAPIENCE and ELOQUENCE, or Mercury and Philology, as described by Marcianus, at which Clio and Calliope with all their sisters assisted, and from which DISCORD and SEDITION, the great enemies of literature, were excluded, is artfully introduced, and beautifully contrasted with that of CEdipus and Jocasta, which was celebrated by an assemblage of the most hideous beings.

Ne was there none of the Muses nine,—
By one accorde to maken melody:
For there sung not by heavenly harmony,
Neyther Clio nor Caliope,
None of the sistren in number thrise thre,
As they did, when PHILOLAIE^a
Ascended up highe above the skie,
To be wedded, this lady virtuous,
Unto her lord the god Mercurius.—
But at this weddinge, plainly for to telle,
Was CERBERUS, chiefe porter of hell;
And HEREBUS, fader to Hatred,
Was there present with his holle kindred,

^f Leland says he saw this work in the library of Worcester abbey. Col. iii. p. 268.

^g MSS. Reg. 15. A. xxxlii. *Liber olim S. Remig. Studio Gifardi scriptus*. Labb. Bibl. Nov. Manuscr. p. 66. In imitation of the first part of this work, a Frenchman, Jo. Boræus, wrote *NUPTIÆ JURISCONSULTI ET PHILOLOGIÆ*, Paris. 1651. 4to.

^h Stephan. in Prolegomen. c. xix. and in the Notes, passim. He is adduced by Fulgentius.

ⁱ Hist. Fr. lib. x. ad calc. A manuscript of Marcianus, more than seven hundred years old, is mentioned by Ber-

nard a Pez. Thesaur. Anecd. tom. iii. p. 620. But by some writers of the early ages he is censured as obscure. Galfredus Canonicus, who flourished about 1170, declares, "Non petimus nos, aut lascivire cum Sidonio, aut vernare cum Hortensio, aut involvere cum Marciano." Apud Marten. ubi supra, tom. i. p. 506. He will occur again.

^k Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 221. and in other places. As did Scotus Erigena, Labb. Bibl. Nov. Manuscr. p. 45. and others of that period.

^m See Mabillon. Itin. Ital. p. 221.

^a PHILOLOGIA.

His WIFE also^o with her browes blacke,
 And her daughters, sorow for to make,
 Hideously chered, and uglie for to see,
 MEGERA, and THESIPHONEE,
 ALECTO eke: with LABOUR, and ENVIE,
 DREDE, FRAUDE, and false TRETCHERIE,
 TRESON, POVERT, INDIGENCE, and NEDE,
 And cruell DEATH in his rent wede^p:
 WRETCHEDNESSE, COMPLAINT, and eke RAGE,
 FEAR full pale, DRONKENESSE, croked Age:
 Cruell MARS, and many a tigre wood^a,
 Brenning^r IRE, and UNKINDE BLOOD,
 FRATERNALL HATE depe sett in the roote,
 Sauf only death that there was no boote^s:
 ASSURED OTHES at fine untrew^t,
 All these folkes were at weddyng new;
 To make the town desolate and bare,
 As the story after shall declare.^u

The bare conception of the attendance of this allegorical group on these incestuous espousals, is highly poetical: and although some of the personifications are not presented with the addition of any picturesque attributes, yet others are marked with the powerful pencil of Chaucer.

This poem is the *THEBAID* of a troubadour. The old classical tale of Thebes is here clothed with feudal manners, enlarged with new fictions of the Gothic species, and furnished with the descriptions, circumstances, and machineries, appropriated to a romance of chivalry. The Sphinx is a terrible dragon, placed by a necromancer to guard a mountain, and to murder all travellers passing by.^w Tydeus being wounded sees a castle on a rock, whose high towers and *crested* pinnacles of polished stone glitter by the light of the moon: he gains admittance, is laid in a sumptuous bed of cloth of gold, and healed of his wounds by a king's daughter^x. Tydeus and Polymite tilt at midnight for a lodging, before the gate of the palace of king Adrastus; who is awakened with the din of the strokes of their weapons, which shake all the palace, and descends into the court with a long train by torch-light: he orders the two combatants to be disarmed, and clothed in rich mantles studded with pearls; and they are conducted to repose by *many a stair* to a stately tower, after being served with a refection of hypocras from golden goblets. The next day they are both espoused to the king's two daughters, and entertained with tournaments, feasting, revels,

^o NIGHT.^p garment.^t "Oaths which proved false in the end."^q the attendants on Mars.^a Pag. 629. col. 1.^r burning.^w Pag. 627. col. 2.^s "Death was the only refuge, or remedy."^x Pag. 640. col. 2. seq.

and masques.^y Afterwards Tydeus having a message to deliver to Eteocles king of Thebes, enters the hall of the royal palace, completely armed and on horseback, in the midst of a magnificent festival^z. This palace, like a Norman fortress, or feudal castle, is guarded with barbicans, portcullisses, chains, and fosses^a. Adrastus wishes to close his old age in the repose of rural diversions, of hawking and hunting^b.

The situation of Polymite, benighted in a solitary wilderness, is thus forcibly described :

Holding his way, of hertè nothing light,
Mate^o and weary, till it draweth to night :
And al the day beholding envirown,
He neither sawe ne castle, towre, ne town ;
The which thing greveth him full sore,
And sodenly the see began to rore.
Winde and tempèst hidiously to arise,
The rain down beten in ful grisly wise ;
That many à beast thereof was adrad,
And nigh for ferè gan to waxè mad,
As it seemed by the full wofull sownes
Of tigres, beres, of bores, and of liounes ;
Which to refute, and himself for to save,
Evrich in haste draweth to his cave.
But Polymitè in this tempest huge
Alas the whilè findeth no refuge.
Ne, him to shrowde, saw no where no succour,
Till it was passed almost midnight hour.^d

When Œdipus consults concerning his kindred the oracle of Apollo, whose image stood on a golden chariot with four wheels *burned bright and sheen*, animated with a fiend, the manner in which he receives his answer is touched with spirit and imagination :

And when Edipus by great devotion
Finished had fully his orison,
The fiend anon, within invisible,
With a voice dredefull and horrible,
Bade him in haste take his voyage
Towrds Thebes, &c.^e — — —

In this poem, exclusive of that general one already mentioned, there are some curious mixtures of manners, and of classics and scripture.

^y Pag. 633. col. 1. seq. Concerning the dresses, perhaps, in the masques, we have this line, pag. 635, col. 2.

And the DEVISE of many a SOLEIN WEDE.

^z Pag. 637. col. 2.

^a Pag. 644. col. 2.

^b Pag. 635. col. 1.

^c *afraid* ; fatigued.

^d Pag. 631. col. 2.

^e Pag. 626. col. 2.

The nativity of Œdipus at his birth is calculated by the most learned astronomers and physicians.^f Eteocles defends the walls of Thebes with great guns^g. And the priest^h Amphiorax, or Amphiaraus, is styled a bishopⁱ, whose wife is also mentioned. At a council held at Thebes, concerning the right of succession to the throne, Esdras and Solomon are cited: and the history of Nehemiah rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem is introduced^k. The moral intended by this calamitous tale consists in showing the pernicious effects of war; the diabolical nature of which our author still further illustrates by observing, that discord received its origin in hell, and that the first battle ever fought was that of Lucifer and his legion of rebel angels.^l But that the argument may have the fullest confirmation, St. Luke is then quoted to prove that avarice, ambition, and envy, are the primary sources of contention; and that Christ came into the world to destroy these malignant principles, and to propagate universal charity.

At the close of the poem the mediation of the holy virgin is invoked, to procure peace in this life, and salvation in the next.* Yet it should be remembered that this piece is written by a monk, and addressed to pilgrims.^m

SECTION XXIII.

Lydgate's Troy-Boke. A paraphrase of Colonna's Historiu Trojana. Homer, when and how first known in Europe. Lydgate's powers in rural painting. Dares and Dictys. Feudal manners, and Arabian imagery engrafted on the Trojan story. Anecdotes of ancient Gothic architecture displayed in the structure of Troy. An ideal theatre at Troy so described as to prove that no regular stage now existed. Game of chess invented at the siege of Troy. Lydgate's gallantry. His anachronisms. Hector's shrine and chantry. Specimens of another Troy-Boke, anonymous, and written in the reign of Henry the Sixth.

THE third of Lydgate's poems which I proposed to consider, is the TROY-BOKE, or the DESTRUCTION OF TROY. It was first printed at the command of king Henry the Eighth, in the year 1513, by Richard Pinson, with this title, "THE HYSTORY SEGE AND DESTRUCCION OF TROYE. *The table or rubricke of the content of the chapitres, &c. Here after foloweth the TROYE-BOKE, otherwise called the SEGE OF TROYE.*

^f Pag. 625. col. 1.

^g Pag. 644. col. 2. Great and small, and some as large as tonnes.

^h As in Chaucer.

ⁱ Pag. 645. col. 1.

^k Pag. 636. col. 1.

^l Pag. 660. col. 1.

* [Pious invocations commonly conclude romances, as prayers for the king, &c. did plays and songs.—ASHBY.]

^m Lydgate was near fifty when this poem was written. pag. 622. col. 2.

Translated by JOHN LYDGATE monke of Bury, and empynted at the commaundement of our souveraygne lorde the kynge Henry the Eighth, by Richarde Pinson, &c. the yere of our lorde god a. m. cccccc. and xiii."^a Another, and a much more correct edition followed, by Thomas Marshe, under the care of one John Braham, in the year 1555.^o It was begun in the year 1414, the last year of the reign of king Henry the Fourth. It was written at that prince's command, and is dedicated to his successor. It was finished in the year 1420. In the Bodleian library there is a manuscript of this poem elegantly illuminated, with the picture of a monk presenting a book to a king^p. From the splendour of the decorations, it appears to be the copy which Lydgate gave to Henry the Fifth.

This poem is professedly a translation or paraphrase of Guido de Colonna's romance, entitled *HISTORIA TROJANA*^q. But whether from Colonna's original Latin, or from a French version^r mentioned in Lydgate's Prologue, and which existed soon after the year 1300, I cannot ascertain^s. I have before observed^t, that Colonna formed his Trojan History from Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis^u, who perpetually

^a Among other curious decorations in the title page, there are soldiers firing great guns at the city of Troy. Carton, in his *Recuyle of the Hystories of Troye*, did not translate the account of the final destruction of the city from his French author Rauol le Feure, "for as muche as that worshipfull and religious man Dan John Lydgate monke of Burye did *translate it but late*, after whose worke I feare to take upon me," &c. At the end of B. ii.

^b With this title:—"The auncient historie, and only true and syncere cronicle, of the warres betwixte the Grecians and the Troyans, and subsequently of the fyrst evercyon of the auncient and famous cyte of Troye under Laomedon the king, and of the last and synall destruction of the same under Pryam: wrytten by Daretus a Troyan and Dictus a Grecian, both souldiours and present at and in all the sayd warres, and digested in Latyn by the learned Guydo de Columpnis, and sythes translated into Englyshe verse by John Lydgate moncke of Burye and newly imprinted." The colophon, "Imprinted at London in Flete-strete at the sygne of the Princes Armes by Thomas Marshe. Anno do. m.d.l.v." This book was modernised, and printed in five-lined stanzas, under the title, "The Life and Death of Hector, &c. written by John Lydgate monk of Berry, &c. At London, printed by Thomas Purfoot. Anno Dom. 1614." fol. But I suspect this to be a second edition. *Princip.* "In Thessalie king Peleus once did

raigne." See Farmer's Essay, p. 39. 40. edit. 1767. This spurious Troye-Boke is cited by Fuller, Winstanley, and others, as Lydgate's genuine work.

[The above in 1614 might perhaps be a second edition of the *Life and Death of Hector*; but I never heard, says Herbert [MS. note], of any prior edition in this stanza form.—PARK.]

^p MSS. Digb. 232.

^q *Princip.* "Licet cotidie vetera recentioribus obruantur." [Of the original Latin, Panzer in his *Annales Typographici* enumerates about nine editions in the fifteenth century. See Dibdin's ed. of Herbert, i. 11.—PARK.]

^r Of a Spanish version, by Petro Nunez Degaldo, see Nic. Anton. *Bibl. Hispan.* tom. ii. p. 179. [Guido's *Latin* can hardly mean any thing but the original Colonna's *Historia Trojana*.—ASHBY.]

^s See *supra*, vol. i. p. 131. Notes. Yet he says, having finished his version, B. v. Signat. EE. i.

I have no more of *Latin* to translate, After Dytes, Dares, and Guydo.

Again, he despairs of translating Guido's *Latin* elegantly. B. ii. c. x. See also B. iii. Sign. R. iii. There was a French translation of Dares printed, Cadom. 1573. See *Works of the Learned*. A. 1703. p. 222.

^t *Supra*, vol. i. p. 130, Note^u.

^u As Colonna's book is extremely scarce, and the subject interesting, I will translate a few lines from Colonna's Prologue and Postscript. From the Prologue. "These

occur as authorities in Lydgate's translation. Homer is however referred to in this work; particularly in the catalogue, or enumeration, of the ships which brought the several Grecian leaders with their forces to the Trojan coast. It begins thus, on the testimony of Colonna^w:

Myne auctor telleth how Agamamnon,
The worthi kynge, an hundred shippis brought.

And is closed with these lines:

Full many shippès was in this navye,
More than GUIDO maketh rehersayle,
Towards Troyè with Grekès for to sayle:
For as HOMER in his discrypcion
Of Grekès shippès maketh mencion,
Shortly affirminge the man was never borne
That such a nombre of shippes sawe to forne.^x

In another place Homer, notwithstanding *all his rhetorike and sugred eloquence*, his *lusty songes* and *dytees swete*, is blamed as a prejudiced writer, who favours the Greeks^y: a censure, which flowed from the favourite and prevailing notion held by the western nations of their descent from the Trojans. Homer is also said to paint with colours of gold and azure^z. A metaphor borrowed from the fashionable art of illumining. I do not however suppose, that Colonna, who flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century, had ever seen Homer's poems: he might have known these and many other particulars, contained in the Iliad, from those factitious historians whom he professes to follow.

things, originally written by the Grecian Dictys and the Phrygian Dares, (who were present in the Trojan war, and faithful relators of what they saw,) are transferred into this book by Guido, of Colonna, a judge.—And although a certain Roman, Cornelius by name, the nephew of the great Sallustius, translated Dares and Dictys into Latin, yet, attempting to be concise, he has very improperly omitted those particulars of the history, which would have proved most agreeable to the reader. In my own book therefore every article belonging to the Trojan story will be comprehended." And in his Postscript, "And I Guido de Colonna have followed the said Dictys in every particular; for this reason, because Dictys made his work perfect and complete in every thing.—And I should have decorated this history with more metaphors and ornaments of style, and by incidental digressions, which are the *pictures* of composition. But deterred by the difficulty of the work," &c. Guido has indeed made Dictys nothing more than the ground-work of his story. All this is translated in Lydgate's Prologue.

^w From Dict. Cretens. lib. i. c. xvii. p. 17 seq. edit. Dacer. Amstel. 1702. 4to. And Dar. Phryg. cap. xiv. p. 158. *ibid.* There is a very ancient edition of Dares in quarto, without name or place. Of Dictys at Milan, 1477. 4to. Dares is in German, with cuts, by Marcus Tattius, August. Vindel. 1536. fol. Dictys, by John Herold, at Basil, 1554. Both in Russian, at Moscow, 1712. 8vo.

^x B. ii. c. xvi.

^y B. iv. c. xxxi. And in the PROLOGUE, Virgil is censured for following *the traces of HOMERIS style*, in other respects a *true* writer. We have the same complaint in our author's Fall of Princis. See *supr.* And in Chaucer's House of Fame, Colonna is introduced, among other authors of the Trojan story, making this objection to Homer's veracity. B. iii. p. 468. col. l. v. 389. Urr. edit.

One said that OMERE made lies,
And feinyng in his poetries:
And was to the Grekès favorable,
And therefore held he it but fable.

^z B. iv. c. xxxi. Signat. X. ii.

Yet it is not, in the mean time, impossible, that Lydgate might have seen the Iliad, at least in a Latin translation. Leontius Pilatus, already mentioned, one of the learned Constantinopolitan exiles, had translated the Iliad into Latin prose, with part of the Odyssey, at the desire of Boccaccio^a, about the year 1360. This appears from Petrarch's Epistles to his friend Boccaccio^b: in which, among other curious circumstances, the former requests Boccaccio to send him to Venice that part of Leontius's new Latin version of the Odyssey, in which Ulysses's descent into hell, and the vestibule of Erebus, are described. He wishes also to see, how Homer, blind and an Asiatic, had described the lake of Averno and the mountain of Circe. In another part of these letters, he acknowledges the receipt of the Latin Homer; and mentions with how much satisfaction and joy the report of its arrival in the public library at Venice was received, by all the Greek and Latin scholars of that city^c. The Iliad was also translated into French verse, by Jacques Milet, a licentiate of laws, about the year 1430^d. Yet I cannot believe that Lydgate had ever consulted these translations, although he had travelled in France and Italy. One may venture to pronounce peremptorily, that he did not understand, as he probably never had seen, the original. After the migration of the Roman emperors to Greece, Boccaccio was the first European that could read Homer; nor was there perhaps a copy of either of Homer's poems existing in Europe, till about the time the Greeks were driven by the Turks from Constantinople^e. Long after Boccaccio's time, the knowledge of the Greek tongue, and consequently of Homer, was confined only to a few scholars. Yet some ingenious French critics have insinuated, that Homer was familiar in France very early; and that Christina of Pisa, in a poem never printed^f, written in the year 1398, and entitled *L'ÉPITRE D'OTHEA A HECTOR*^g, borrowed the word Othea, or WISDOM, from *Ὀθεα* in Homer, a formal appellation by which that poet often invokes Minerva^h.

This poem is replete with descriptions of rural beauty, formed by a

^a It is a slight error in Vigneul Marville, that this translation was procured by Petrarch, *Mel. Litt. tom. i. p. 21*. The very ingenious and accurate author of *Mémoires pour la Vie de Petrarque*, is mistaken in saying that Hody supposes this version to have been made by Petrarch himself. *lib. vi. tom. iii. p. 633*. On the contrary, Hody has adjusted this matter with great perspicuity, and from the best authorities. *De Græc. Illustr. lib. i. c. 1. p. 2 seq.*

^b Senil. lib. iii. cap. 5.

^c Hody, ubi supr. p. 5. 6. 7. 9. The Latin Iliad in prose was published under the name of Laurentius Valla, with some slight alterations, in 1497.

^d *Mem. de Litt. xvii. p. 761. edit. 4to.*

^e See Boccac. *Geneal. Deor. xv. 6. 7.*

Theodorus archbishop of Canterbury in the seventh century brought from Rome into England a manuscript of Homer, which is now said to be in Bennet library at Cambridge. See the Second Dissertation. In it is written with a modern hand, *Hic liber quondam THEODORI archiepiscopi Cant.* But probably this Theodore is THEODORE GAZA, whose book, or whose transcript, it might have been. Hody, ubi supr. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 59. 60.

^f [It has been printed more than once. —M.]

^g In the royal manuscripts of the British Museum, this piece is entitled *LA CHEVALERIE SPIRITUELLE de ce monde*. 17 E. iv. 2.

^h Mons. L'Abbé Sallicr, *Mem. Litt. xvii. p. 518.*

selection of very poetical and picturesque circumstances, and clothed in the most perspicuous and musical numbers, The colouring of our poet's mornings is often remarkably rich and splendid.

When that the rowes^b and the rayes redde
Eastward to us full early ginnen spredde,
Even at the twylyght in the dawneyng,
Whan that the larke of custom ginneth synge,
For to salüè^l in her heavenly laye,
The lusty goddessse of the morowe graye,
I meane Aurora, which afore the sunne
Is wont t' enchase^k the blackè skyès dunne,
And al the darknesse of the dimmy night:
And freshe Phebùs, with comforte of his light,
And with the brightnes of his bemès shene,
Hath overgylt the hugè hyllès grene;
And flourès eke, agayn the morowe-tide,
Upon their stalkes gan playn^l their leavès wide.^m

Again, among more pictures of the same subject.

When Aurorà the sylver droppès shene,
Her teares, had shed upon the freshè grene;
Complaynyng aye, in weping and in sorowe,
Her chyldren's death on every sommer-morowe:
That is to sayè, when the dewe so soote,
Embawmed hath the floure and eke roote
With lustie lycoür in Aprill and in Maye:
When that the larke, the messenger of daye,
Of custom aye Aurora doth salüe,
With sundry notes her sorowe to ⁿtransmuè.^o

The spring is thus described, renewing the buds or blossoms of the groves, and the flowers of the meadows.

And them whom winter's blastes have shaken bare
With sotè blosomes freshly to repare;
And the meaddøws of many a sundry hewe,
Tapitid ben with divers flourès newe
Of sundry motless^p, lusty for to sene;
And holsome balm is shed among the grene.

Frequently in these florid landscapes we find the same idea differently expressed. Yet this circumstance, while it weakened the description,

^b streaks of light. A very common word in Lydgate. Chaucer, Kn. T. v. 597. col. 2. Urr. p. 455.

And while the twilight and the rowis red
Of Phebus light.——

^l salute.

^l open.

ⁿ change.

^p colours.

^k chase.

^m B. i. c. vi.

^o B. iii. c. xxiii.

taught a copiousness of diction, and a variety of poetical phraseology. There is great softness and facility in the following delineation of a delicious retreat.

Tyll at the last, amonge the bowès glade,
Of adventure, I caught a plesaunt shade ;
Ful smothe, and playn, and lusty for to sene,
And softe as velvette was the yongè grene :
Where from my hors I did alight as fast,
And on a bowe aloft his reynè cast.
So faynte and mate of werynesse I was,
That I me layd adowne upon the gras,
Upon a brinckè, shortly for to telle,
Besyde the river of a cristall welle ;
And the watèr, as I rehersè can,
Like quickè-sylver* in his streames yran,
Of which the gravell and the bryghtè stone,
As any golde, agaynst the sun yshone.[†]

The circumstance of the pebbles and gravel of a transparent stream glittering against the sun, which is uncommon, has much of the brilliancy of the Italian poetry. It recalls to my memory a passage in Theocritus, which has been lately restored to its pristine beauty.

Εἶρον αεανναον κραναν ὑπο λισσαδι πετρῇ,
‘Υδατι πεπληθυιαν ακηρατῷ’ αἱ δ’ ὑπενερθεν
Λαλλαι κρυσταλλῷ ἢ ἀργυρῷ ἰνδαλλοντο
Εκ βυθου. — —

*They found a perpetual spring, under a high rock,
Filled with pure water : but underneath
The pebbles sparkled as with crystal and silver
From the bottom[‡]. — —*

There is much elegance of sentiment and expression in the portrait of Creseide weeping when she parts with Troilus.

And from her eyen the teare's round drops tryll,
That al fordedew have her blackè wede ;
And eke untrussd her haire abroad gan sprede,
Lyke golden wyre, forrent and alto torn.—
And over this, her freshe and rosey hewe,
Whylom ymeynt[§] with whitè lylyes newe,
Wyth wofull wepyng pyteously disteynd ;
And lyke the herbes in April all bereynd,

* [Perhaps the poet only means to express quick motion : but Swinburn tells us that in a room of the Moorish palace at Corduba, where water could not be had, there is a shallow cavity in the floor, which

was filled with quicksilver to give the appearance of water.—ASHBY.]

[†] B. ii. cap. xii.

[‡] Διοσκουρ. Idyll. xxii. v. 37.

[§] mingled.

Or floures freshè with the dewes swete,
Ryght so her chekès moystè were and wete.^t

The following verses are worthy of attention in another style of writing, and have great strength and spirit. A knight brings a steed to Hector in the midst of the battle.

And brought to Hector. Sothly there he stooode
Among the Grekes, al bathed in their bloode:
The which in haste ful knightly he bestrode,
And them amonge like Mars himselfe he rode.^u

The strokes on the helmets are thus expressed, striking fire amid the plumes.

But strokys felle, that men might herden ryng,
On bassenets, the fieldès rounde aboute,
So cruelly, that the fyre sprange oute
Amonge the tuftès brodè, bright and shene,
Of foyle of golde, of fethers white and grene.^w

The touches of feudal manners, which our author affords, are innumerable: for the Trojan story, and with no great difficulty, is here entirely accommodated to the ideas of romance. Hardly any adventure of the champions of the round table was more chimerical and unmeaning than this of our Grecian chief; and the cause of their expedition to Troy was quite in the spirit of chivalry, as it was occasioned by a lady. When Jason arrives at Colchos, he is entertained by king Oetes in a Gothic castle. Amadis or Lancelot were never conducted to their fairy chambers with more ceremony and solemnity. He is led through many a hall and many a tower, by a stair, to a sumptuous apartment, whose walls, richly painted with the histories of ancient heroes, glittered with gold and azure.

Through many a halle, and many a riche toure,
By many a tourne, and many divers waye,
By many a gree^x ymade of marbyll graye.—
And in his chambre^y, englosed^y bright and cleare,
That shone ful shene with gold and with asùre,
Of many image that ther was in picture,
He hath commaunded to his offycers,
Only^z in honou^r of them that were straungers,
Spyces and wyne.^z — —

^t B. iii. c. xxv. So again of Polyxena,
B. iv. c. xxx.

And aye she rentè with her fingers
smale
Her golden heyre upon her blackè wede.

^u B. iii. c. xxii. ^w B. ii. c. xviii.

^x Greece, degree, step, stair, gradus.

^y Painted; or *r.* Englosed. Skelton's
Crowne of Lawrell, p. 24. edit. 1736.

Wher the postis wer embulioned with
saphir's indy blew
Englosed glitteringe, &c.

^z B. i. c. v. See Colonna, Signat. b.

The siege of Troy, the grand object of the poem, is not conducted according to the classical art of war. All the military machines, invented and used in the Crusades, are assembled to demolish the bulwarks of that city, with the addition of great guns. Among other implements of destruction borrowed from the holy war, the Greek fire, first discovered at Constantinople, with which the Saracens so greatly annoyed the Christian armies, is thrown from the walls of the besieged.^a

Nor are we only presented in this piece with the habits of feudal life, and the practices of chivalry. The poem is enriched with a multitude of oriental fictions, and Arabian traditions. Medea gives to Jason, when he is going to combat the brazen bulls, and to lull the dragon who guarded the golden fleece asleep, a marvellous ring; in which was a gem whose virtue could destroy the efficacy of poison, and render the wearer invisible. It was the same sort of precious stone, adds our author, which Virgil celebrates, and which Venus sent her son Eneas that he might enter Carthage unseen. Another of Medea's presents to Jason, to assist him in this perilous achievement, is a silver image, or talisman, which defeated all the powers of incantation, and was framed according to principles of astronomy^b. The hall of king Priam is illuminated at night by a prodigious carbuncle, placed among sapphires, rubies, and pearls, on the crown of a golden statue of Jupiter, fifteen cubits high^c. In the court of the palace, was a tree made by magic, whose trunk was twelve cubits high; the branches, which overshadowed distant plains, were alternately of solid gold and silver, blossomed with gems of various hues, which were renewed every day^d. Most of these extravagancies, and a thousand more, are in Guido de Colonna, who lived when this mode of fabling was at his height. But in the fourth book, Dares Phrygius is particularly cited for a description of Priam's palace, which seemed to be founded by FAYRIE, or enchantment; and was paved with crystal, built of diamonds, sapphires, and emeralds, and supported by ivory pillars, surmounted with golden images^e. This is not, however, in Dares. The warriors who came to the assistance of the Trojans, afford an ample field for invention. One of them belongs to a region of forests; amid the gloom of which wander many monstrous beasts, not real, but appearances or illusive images, formed by the deceptions of necromancy, to terrify the traveller^f. King Epistrophus brings from the land beyond the Amazons, a thousand knights; among which is a terrible archer, half man and half beast, who neighs like a horse, whose eyes sparkle like a furnace, and strike dead like lightning^g. This is Shakspeare's DREADFUL SAGITTARY^h. The

^a B. ii. c. xviii. See *supr.* vol. i. p. 161. In Caxton's *Troy-Book*, Hercules is said to make the *fire artificall* as well as Cacus, &c. ii. 24.

^b B. ii. c. xviii.

^c B. ii. c. xi.

^d *Ibid.*

^e B. ii. c. xviii.

^f So described by Colonna, *Signat. n* 4 *seq.*

^g *Ibid.* And B. iii. c. xxiv. The Sa-

^h Cap. xxvi.

Trojan horse, in the genuine spirit of Arabian philosophy, is formed of brass¹; of such immense size, as to contain a thousand soldiers.

Colonna, I believe, gave the Trojan story its romantic additions. It had long before been falsified by Dictys and Dares; but those writers, misrepresenting or enlarging Homer, only invented plain and credible facts. They were the basis of Colonna; who first filled the faint outlines of their fabulous history with the colourings of eastern fancy, and adorned their scanty forgeries with the gorgeous trappings of Gothic chivalry. Or, as our author expresses himself in his Prologue, speaking of Colonna's improvements on his originals,

For he ENLUMINETH, by crafte and cadence,
This noble story with many a FRESHE COLOURE
Of rhetorike, and many a RYCHE FLOURE
Of eloquence, to make it sound the bett.²

Clothed with these new inventions, this favourite tale descended to later times. Yet it appears, not only with these, but with an infinite variety of other embellishments, not fabricated by the fertile genius of Colonna, but adopted from French enlargements of Colonna, and incorporated from romances on other subjects, in the French *RECUYEL OF TROY*, written by a French ecclesiastic, Raoul le Fevre, about the year 1464, and translated by Caxton.¹

The description of the city of Troy, as newly built by king Priam, is extremely curious; not for the capricious incredibilities and absurd inconsistencies which it exhibits^m, but because it conveys anecdotes of ancient architecture, and especially of that florid and improved species, which began to grow fashionable in Lydgate's age; although much of this is in Colonna. He avoids to describe it geometrically, having never read Euclid. He says that Priam procured

gittary is not in Dictys or Dares, in whom also, these warriors are but barely named, and are much fewer in number. See Dar. cap. xviii. p. 161. Dict. lib. ii. cap. xxxv. p. 51. The description of the persons of Helen, and of the Trojan and Grecian heroes [B. ii. c. xv.] is from Dares through Colonna, Daret. Hist. c. xii. p. 156 seq.

¹ In Dictys, "tabulatis extruntur lignea." lib. v. c. x. p. 113. In Gower he is also a *hors of brasse*. Conf. Amant. lib. i. fol. xliii. a. col. 1. From Colonna, Signat. t. 4. Here also are Shakspeare's fabulous names of the gates of Troy. Signat. d. 4. seq.

² better.

¹ As for instance, Hercules having killed the eleven giants of Cremona, builds over them a vast tower, on which he placed eleven images of metal, of the size and figure of the giants. B. ii. c. 24.

Something like this, I think, is in *Amadis de Gaul*. Robert Braham, in the Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to the edition of Lydgate's *Troy-Book* of 1555, is of opinion, that the fables in the French *RECUYEL* ought to be ranked with the *trifeling tales* and *barrayne leurdries* of *ROBYN HODE* and *BEVYS OF HAMPTON*, and are not to be compared with the *faithful* and *trewe* reports of this history given by Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis.

^m It is three days journey in length and breadth. The walls are two hundred cubits high, of marble and alabaster, and machiocolated. At every angle was a crown of gold, set with the richest gems. There were great guns in the towers. On each turret were figures of savage and monstrous beasts in brass. The gates were of brass, and each has a portcullis. The houses were all uniform, and of marble, sixty cubits high.

——— Eche carver, and curious joyner,
To make knottes with many a queint floure
To sette on crestes within and eke without.—

That he sent for such as could "grave, groupe, or carve, were sotyll in their fantasye, good devysours, marveyulous of castinge, who could raise a wall with batayling and crestes marciall, every imageour in entayle", and every portreyour who could paynt the work with fresh hewes, who could pullish alabaster, and make an ymage."

And yf I shulde rehersen by and by,
The corvè knottes by craft of masonry;
The fresh embowíng^o with verges right as lynes,
And the housyng full of bachewines,
The ryche coynyng, the lusty tablemènts,
Vinettes^p running in casemènts.—
Nor how they put, instedè of mortère,
In the joyntoures, coper gilt ful clere;
To make them joyne by levell and by lyne,
Among the marbell freshly for to shyne
Agaynst the sunne, whan that his shenè light
Smote on the goldè that was burned bright.

The sides of every street were covered with *freshe alures*^a of marble, or cloisters, crowned with rich and lofty pinnacles, and fronted with tabernacular or open work^r, vaulted like the dormitory of a monastery, and called *deambulatories*, for the accommodation of the citizens in all weathers.

And every house ycovered was with lead;
And many a gargoyle, and many a hideous head,
With spoutès thorough, &c.—

And again, of Priam's palace.

And the walles, within and eke without,
Endilong were with knottes graven clere,
Depeynt with asure, golde, cinople, and grene.—
And al the wyndowes and eche fenestrall
Wrought were with beryll^a and of clere crystall.

With regard to the reality of the last circumstance, we are told, that

^a Intaglia.

^o arching.

^p vignettes.

^a Allies, or covert-ways. Lat. *Alura*. viz. "*ALURA quæ ducit a coquina conventus, usque ad cameram prioris.*" Hearne's Otterb. Præf. Append. p. cxi. Where Hearne derives it from *ALA*, a wing, or side. Rather from *Aller*, whence *Allée*, Fr. *Alley*. Robert of Gloucester mentions

the ladies standing "upe [upon] the *alurs* of the castle," to see a tournament. See supr. vol. i. p. 48. The word *Alura* is not in Du Cange.

^r Like the latticed stone-work, or *cancelli*, of a Gothic shrine.

^a Said to have been invented by Marchion of Arezzo. Walpole, Anecd. Paint. i. p. 111.

in Studley castle in Shropshire*, the windows, so late as the reign of Elizabeth, were of beryl.

The account of the Trojan theatre must not be omitted, as it displays the imperfect ideas of the stage, at least of dramatic exhibition, which now prevailed; or rather, the absolute inexistence of this sort of spectacle. Our author supposes that comedies and tragedies were first represented at Troy†. He defines a comedy to begin with complaint and to end with *gladnesse*; expressing the actions of those only who live in the lowest condition: but tragedy, he informs us, begins in prosperity, and ends in adversity; showing the wonderful vicissitudes of fortune which have happened in the lives of kings and mighty conquerors. In the theatre of Troy, he adds, was a pulpit, in which stood a poet, who rehearsed the *noble dedes that were historial of kýnges, prynces, and worthy emperours*; and, above all, related those fatal and sudden catastrophes, which they sometimes suffered by murder, poison, conspiracy, or other secret and unforeseen machinations.

And this was tolde and redde by the poete.
 And while that he in the pulpet stode
 With deadlye facè all devoyd of blode,
 Syngynge his dities with tresses al to rent;
 Amydde the theatre, shrowded in a tent,
 There came out men, gastfull of their cheres,
 Disfygured their faces with vyseres,
 Playing by signès in the people's syght
 That the poete songe hathe on height^u:
 So that there was no maner discourdaunce,
 Atween his ditees and their countenaunce.
 For lyke as he aloftè dyd expresse
 Wordes of joyè or of hevynesse,—
 So craftely they^v could them^w transfygure.^x

It is added, that these plays, or *rytes of tragedyes old*, were acted

* [Should we not read Sudeley Castle, near Winchcomb in Gloucestershire? See Leland's Itinerary, iv. fol. 170, where it is said that "part of the windowes of it were glaxed with berall." This, however, has been doubted by an intelligent friend in his account of Sudeley. See Monthly Mag.—PARK.]

† Harrison's Descript. Brit. Cap. xii. p. 188. The occupations of the citizens of Troy are mentioned. There were goldsmiths, jewellers, embroiderers, weavers of woollen and linen, of cloth, of gold, damask, satin, velvet, *sendel*, or a thin silk-like cypress, and double *samyte*, or satin; smiths, who forged poll-axes, spears, and *quarrel-heads*, or cross-bow darts shaped square; armourers, bowyers, fletchers, makers of trappings, ban-

ners, standards, penons, and for the *felde freshe and gaye* GETOURS. I do not precisely understand the last word. Perhaps it is a sort of ornamented armour for the legs.

All that follows on this subject is not in Colonna.

^u "That which the poet sung, standing in the pulpit."

^v the actors.

^w themselves. [Mr. Horne Tooke queried whether *them* did not refer to *words* in the line preceding. This observation seems to be made with his customary acuteness, which was so critically displayed in the Diversions of Purley.—PARK.]

^x Lib. ii. cap. x. See also, B. iii. c. xxviii.

at Troy, and in the theatre halowed and yholde, when the months of April and May returned.

In this detail of the dramatic exhibition which prevailed in the ideal theatre of Troy, a poet, placed on the stage in a pulpit, and characteristically habited, is said to have recited a series of tragical adventures; whose pathetic narrative was afterwards expressed by the dumb gesticulations of a set of masqued actors. Some perhaps may be inclined to think that this imperfect species of theatric representation was the rude drama of Lydgate's age. But surely Lydgate would not have described at all, much less in a long and laboured digression, a public show, which from its nature was familiar and notorious. On the contrary, he describes it as a thing obsolete, and existing only in remote times. Had a more perfect and legitimate stage now subsisted, he would not have deviated from his subject to communicate unnecessary information, and to deliver such minute definitions of tragedy and comedy. On the whole, this formal history of a theatre conveys nothing more than an affected display of Lydgate's learning; and is collected, yet with apparent inaccuracy and confusion of circumstances, from what the ancient grammarians have left concerning the origin of the Greek tragedy. Or perhaps it might be borrowed by our author from some French paraphrastic version of Colonna's Latin romance⁷.

Among the ancient authors, beside those already mentioned, cited in this poem, are Lollius for the history of Troy, Ovid for the tale of Medea and Jason, Ulysses and Polyphemus, the Myrmidons and other stories, Statius for Polynices and Eteocles, the venerable Bede, Fulgentius the mythologist, Justinian, with whose institutes Colonna as a civilian must have been well acquainted, Pliny, and Jacobus de Vitriaco. The last is produced to prove that Philometer, a famous philosopher, invented the game of chess, to divert a tyrant from his cruel purposes, in Chaldea; and that from thence it was imported into Greece. But Colonna, or rather Lydgate, is of a different opinion; and contends, in opposition to his authority, that this game, *so sotyll and so marvaylous*, was discovered by *prudent clerkes* during the siege of Troy, and first practised in that city. Jacobus de Vitriaco was a canon regular at Paris, and, among other dignities in the church, bishop of Ptolemais in Palestine, about the year 1230. This tradition of the invention of chess is mentioned by Jacobus de Vitriaco in his *ORIENTAL AND OCCIDENTAL HISTORY*⁸. The anecdote of Philometer is, I think, in Egidius Romanus on this subject, above mentioned. Chaucer calls Athalus, that is Attalus Philometer, the same person, and who is often mentioned in Pliny, the inventor of chess⁹.

I must not pass over an instance of Lydgate's gallantry, as it is the gallantry of a monk. Colonna takes all opportunities of satirising the

⁷ Colonna calls him, *ille FABULARIUS Sulmonensis,—fabulose commentans*, &c. Signat. b. 2.

⁸ in three books.

⁹ Dreme, p. 408. col. 2. edit. Urr.

fair sex ; and Lydgate, with great politeness, declares himself absolutely unwilling to translate those passages of this severe moralist, which contain such unjust and illiberal misrepresentations of the female character. Instead of which, to obviate these injurious reflections, our translator enters upon a formal vindication of the ladies ; not by a panegyric on their beauty, nor encomiums on those amiable accomplishments, by which they refine our sensibilities, and give elegance to life ; but by a display of that religious fortitude with which some women have suffered martyrdom ; or of that inflexible chastity, by means of which others have been snatched up alive into heaven, in a state of genuine virginity. Among other striking examples which the calendar affords, he mentions the transcendent grace of the eleven thousand virgins who were martyred at Cologne in Germany. In the mean time, female saints, as I suspect, in the barbarous ages were regarded with a greater degree of respect, on account of those exaggerated ideas of gallantry which chivalry inspired : and it is not improbable that the distinguished honours paid to the virgin Mary might have partly proceeded from this principle.

Among the anachronistic improprieties which this poem contains, some of which have been pointed out, the most conspicuous is the fiction of Hector's sepulchre, or tomb ; which also merits our attention for another reason, as it affords us an opportunity of adding some other notices of the modes of ancient architecture to those already mentioned. The poet from Colonna supposes, that Hector was buried in the principal church of Troy, near the high altar, within a magnificent oratory, erected for that purpose, exactly resembling the Gothic shrines of our cathedrals, yet charged with many romantic decorations.

With crafty archys raysyd wonder clene,
 Embowed over all the work to cure,
 So marveyulous was the celature :
 That al the rofe, and closure envyrowne,
 Was of^b fyne goldè plated up and downe,
 With knottès gravè wonder curyous
 Fret ful of stonys rich and precious, &c.

The structure is supported by angels of gold. The steps are of crystal. Within, is not only an image of Hector in solid gold ; but his body embalmed, and exhibited to view with the resemblance of real life, by means of a precious liquor circulating through every part in golden tubes artificially disposed, and operating on the principles of vegetation*. This is from the chemistry of the times. Before the body

^b with.

* [I wonder nobody ever thought of proving that the circulation of the blood was known before Harvey, from this passage. However, it seems difficult to conceive how this liquor was *seen* to circulate

through *golden* tubes let into a mummy. Had he made his *body* of crystal instead of the *steps*, with proper tubular passages, we might fancy the blood circulated, as it is seen to do in a great length of glass tube artificially twisted.—ASHBY.]

were four inextinguishable lamps in golden sockets. To complete the work, Priam founds a regular chantry of priests, whom he accommodates with mansions near the church, and endows with revenues, to sing in this oratory for the soul of his son Hector^c.

In the Bodleian library, there is a prodigious folio manuscript on vellum, a translation of Colonna's *TROJAN HISTORY* into verse^d; which has been confounded with Lydgate's *TROYE-BOKE* now before us. But it is an entirely different work, and is written in the short minstrel-metre. I have given a specimen of the Prologue above^e. It appears to me to be Lydgate's *TROYE-BOKE* divested of the octave stanza, and reduced into a measure which might more commodiously be sung to the harp^f.

^c B. iii. c. xxviii. Joseph of Exeter in his Latin poem entitled *Antiocheis*, or the *Crusade*, has borrowed from this tomb of Hector, in his brilliant description of the mausoleum of Teuthras, lib. iv. 451. I have quoted the passage in the Second Dissertation.

^d MSS. Laud. K. 76. fol.

^e Supr. vol. i. p. 124.

^f It may, however, be thought, that this poem is rather a translation or imitation of some French original, as the writer often refers to *The Romance*. If this be the case, it is not immediately formed from the *Troye-boke* of Lydgate, as I have suggested in the text. I believe it to be about Lydgate's age; but there is no other authority for supposing it to be written by Lydgate, than that, in the beginning of the Bodleian manuscript now before us, a hand-writing, of about the reign of James the First, assigns it to that poet. [In this prefix: "Dares a Trojan haralte and Dictas a Grecian haralt, wrat this booke in Greeke, and leste it in Athenes, and theare it was founde by Guido de Columpnis, a notary of Rome, and digested into Lattyn, and in anno 1414 translated into Englishe by John Lidgate munke of Bury. Vide fo. secunda." Of the latter assertion there appears no correspondent proof. —PARK.] I will give a few lines from the poem itself; which begins with Jason's expedition to Colchos, the constant prelude to the Trojan story in all the writers of this school.

In Colkos ile a cite was,
That men called hanne Jaconitas;
Fair, and mekel¹, large, and long,
With walles huge and wondir strong,
Ful of toures, and heye paleis,
Off rich knyghtes, and burgeis:
A kyng that tyme hete² Eetes
Gouerned than that lond in pes³,
With his baronage, and his meynè,
Dwellen thanne in that citè:

For al aboute that riche toun
Stode wodes, and parkis, envirooun,
That were replenyshed wonderful
Of herte, and hyud, bore, and bul,
And othir many savage bestis,
Betwixt that wode and that forestia.
Ther was large contray and playn,
Faire wodes, and champayn
Ful of semely-rennyng welles,
As the ROMAUNCE the sothe⁴ telles,
Withoute the cite that ther sprong.
Ther was of briddes michel song,
Thorow al the yer⁵ and michel cry,
Of al joyes gret melody.
To that citè [of] Eetes
Jode⁶ Jason and Hercules,
And al the felawes that he hadde
In clothe of golde as k ynges he cladde, &c.

Afterwards, the sorceress Medea, the king's daughter, is thus characterised.

Sche couthe the science of clergy,
And mochel of nigramauncy.—
Sche coude with conjurisons,
With here schleyght⁷, and oresouns,
The day, that was most fair and lyght,
Make as darke as any nyght:
Sche couthe also, in selcouthe wise,
Make the wynde both blowe and rise,
And make him so loude blowe,
As it schold howses overthrowe.
Sche couth turne, verament,
All weders⁸, and the firmament, &c.

The reader, in some of these lines, observes the appeal to *The Romance* for authority. This is common throughout the poem, as I have hinted. But at the close, the poet wishes eternal salvation to the soul of the author of the *Romaunce*.

And he that this romaunce wrought and made,
Lord in heaven thow him glade.

If this piece is translated from a French

¹ great.

⁵ year.

² *high*, named.

⁶ came.

³ peace.

⁷ sleight, art.

⁴ truth.

⁸ weathers.

It is not likely that Lydgate is its author; that he should either thus transform his own composition, or write a new piece on the subject. That it was a poem in some considerable estimation, appears from the size and splendour of the manuscript; and this circumstance induces me to believe that it was at a very early period ascribed to Lydgate. On the other hand, it is extraordinary that the name of the writer of so prolix and laborious a work, respectable and conspicuous at least on account of its length, should have never transpired. The language accords with Lydgate's age, and is of the reign of Henry the Sixth; and to the same age I refer the hand-writing, which is executed with remarkable elegance and beauty.

SECTION XXIV.

Reign of Henry the Sixth continued. Hugh Campeden translates the French romance of Sidrac. Thomas Chestre's Sir Launfale. Metrical romance of the Erle of Tholouse. Analysis of its Fable. Minstrels paid better than the clergy. Reign of Edward the Fourth. Translation of the classics and other books into French. How it operated on English literature. Caxton. Anecdotes of English typography.

Two more poets remain to be mentioned under the reign of Henry the Sixth, if mere translation merit that appellation. These are Hugh Campeden and Thomas Chester.

The first was a great traveller, and translated into English verse the French romance of SIDRAC^s. This translation, a book of uncommon

romance, it is not from the ancient metrical one of Benoit, to whom, I believe, Colonna is much indebted; but perhaps from some later French romance, which copied, or translated, Colonna's book. This, among other circumstances, we may collect from these lines.

Dares the heraud of Troye says,
And Dites that was of the Gregeis, &c.
And after him cometh *maister Gy*,
That was of Rome a notary.

This *maister Gy*, or *Guy*, that is Guido of Colonna, he adds, wrote this history,

In the *manere* I schall telle.

That is "my author, or romance, follows Colonna." See *supr.* vol. i. p. 129. *Dares*

the heraud is Dares Phrygius, and *Dites* Dictys Cretensis.

This poem, in the Bodleian manuscript aforesaid, is finished, as I have partly observed, with an invocation to God, to save the author, and the readers, or hearers; and ends with this line,

Seythe alle Amen for charite.

But this rubric immediately follows, at the beginning of a page: "*Hic bellum de Troye finit et Greci transierunt versus patriam suam.*" Then follow several lined pages of vellum, without writing. I have never seen any other manuscript of this piece.

^s See *supr.* vol. i. p. 145.

rarity, was printed with the following title, at the expense of Robert Saltwood, a monk of St. Austin's convent at Canterbury, in the year 1510. "The Historie of king Boccus and SYDRACKE how he confoundyd his lerned men, and in the sight of them dronke stronge venyme in the name of the trinite and dyd him no hurt. Also his divynite that he lerned of the boke of Noe. Also his profesyes that he had by revelation of the angel. Also his aunsweris to the questyons of wysdom both morall and naturall with muche wysdom contayned in [the] nounber ccclxv. Translated by Hugo of Caumpeden out of French into Englissh," &c.^a There is no sort of elegance in the diction, nor harmony in the versification. It is in the minstrel-metre¹.

Thomas Chestre appears also to have been a writer for the minstrels. No anecdote of his life is preserved. He has left a poem entitled Sir LAUNFAL^k, one of Arthur's knights, who is celebrated with other cham-

^a With a wooden cut of Bocchus and Sidracke. There is a fine manuscript of this translation, Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. G. 57. pergam.

¹ MS. Laud. G. 57. Princip.
Men may fynde in olde bookes
Who soo yat in them lookes
That men may mooche here
And yerefore yff yat yee wolle lere
I shall teche yoowe a lytill jeste
That befell oonyis in the este.
There was a kynge that Bocheus hyght
And was a man of mooche myght
His londe lay be grete Inde
Bectorye hight hit as we fynde
After the tyme of Noe even
viii^o hundred yere fourty and seven
The kynge Bocheus hym bethought
That he would have a citee wrought
The rede Jewes fro hym spere
And for to mayntene his were
Ayenst a kyng that was hys foo
And hath moste of Inde longyng hym too
His name was Garaab the kyng.
Bocchus tho proved all this thing
And smartly a towre begenne he
There he wolde make his citee
And it was right at the incomyng
Of Garabys londe the kyng.
The masons with grete laboure
Beganne to worke uppon the toure
And all that they wroghten on day
On night was hit done away.
On morn when Bocheus hit herde
Hee was wroth that hit so ferde
And dyd hyt all new begynne
At even whan they shuld blynne
Off worke when they went to reste
In the night was all downe keste.
Well vii monthes this thei wrought
And in the night awaylid yt nought

Boccus was wroth wonderly
And callid his folke that was hym by
Councellith me lordinges seyde hee
Howe I may beste make this citee
They sayde sir sendith anoon
After your philosophers everychon
And the astronomers of your londe
Of hem shall yee counsell fonde.

Afterwards king Tractabare is requested to send

—— the booke of astronomye
That whilom Noe had in baylye,
together with his astronomer Sidracke.

At the end,

And that Hugh of Campedene
That this boke hath thorough soght
And untoo Englyssh ryme hit brought.

Sidrake, who is a Christian, at length builds the tower in *Nomine S. Trinitatis*, and he teaches Bocchus, who is an idolater, many articles of true religion. The only manuscript I have seen of this translation is among MSS. Laud. G. 57. fol. ut supr.

^k It begins thus.

LAUNFAL MILES.

Be doughty Artours dawes
That held Engelond yn good lawes,
Ther fell a wondyr cas,
Of a ley¹ that was yasette,
That hyght LAUNVAL and hatte yette.

Now herkeneth how hyt was;
Doughty Artour som whyle
Sojournede yn Kardevyle²,
Wyth joye and greet solas,
And knyghtes that wer profitable,
With Artour of the rounde table,
Never noon better ther was.

¹ liege, [lay.]

² or, Kerdevyle. f. Caerliile.

pions in a set of French metrical tales or romances, written by some Armorican bard [Marie de France], under the name of LANVAL. They are in the British Museum¹.

I think I have seen some evidence to prove that Chestre was also the author of the metrical romance called the ERLE OF THOLOUSE^m. This is one of the romances called LAIS by the poets of Britany, or Armoric; as appears from these lines,

In romance this gest

A LEYⁿ of BRITAYN callyd I wys, &c.

And that it is a translation appears from the reference to an original, "The *Romans* telleth so." I will however give the outlines of the story, which is not uninteresting, nor inartificially constructed.

Dioclesian, a powerful emperor in Germany, has a rupture with Barnard earl of Tholouse, concerning boundaries of territory. Contrary to the repeated persuasions of the empress, who is extremely beautiful, and famous for her conjugal fidelity, he meets the earl, with a numerous army, in a pitched battle, to decide the quarrel. The earl is vic-

Sere Persevall, and syr Gawayn,
Syr Gyheryes, and syr Agrafrayn,
And Launcelot du Lake,
Syr Kay, and syr Ewayn,
That well couthe fyghte yn plain,
Bateles for to take.
Kyng Ban Booght, and kyng Bos,
Of ham ther was a greet los,
Man sawe tho no wher³ her make⁴,
Syr Galafré, and syr LAUNFALE,
Whereof a noble tale
Among us schall a-wake.

With Artour ther was a bachelere
And hadde y-be well many a yer,
LAUNFAL for soht⁵ he byght,
He gaf gyfys largelyche
Gold and sylver and clodes ryche,
To squyer and to knyght.
For hys largesse and hys bounté
The kynges stuward made was he
Ten yer y you plyght,
Of alle the knyghtes of the table rounde
So large ther was noyn y-founde,
Be dayes ne be nyght.

So hyt befyll yn the tenthe yer
Marlyn was Artours counsalere,
He radde hym for to wende
To kyng Ryon of Irland ryght,
And fette him ther a lady bryght
Gwennere hys doughtyr hende, &c.

In the conclusion.

THOMAS CHESTRE made thys tale,
Of the noble knyght syr Launfale
Good of chyvalrye;

Jhesus that ys hevene kyng
Yeve us alle hys blessing
And hys modyr Marye.

EXPLICIT LAUNFALE.

Never printed. MSS. Cotton. Calig. A. 2 f. 33. I am obliged to Dr. Percy for this transcript. It was afterwards altered into the romance of Sir Lambwell. [This Romance forms a part of Mr. Ritson's collection, from whose transcript the text has been corrected. Under the title of Sir Lambwell it occurs in Bishop Percy's folio MS.—PRICE.]

¹ MSS. Harl. 978. 112. fol. i. 154.

"En Bretains l'apellent LAUNVAL."

See a note at the beginning of Diss. i.

^m Never printed. MSS. Ashmol. Oxon. 45. 4to. [6926.] And MSS. More. Camb. 27. *Princip.*

Jesu Crist in trinite,
Only god in persons thre, &c.
Lefe frendys I shall you telle
Of a tale that sometyne befell
Far in unkouth lande,
Howe a lady had grete myschefe, &c.

[A copy from the Camb. MS. has since been published by Mr. Ritson. In orthography it varies considerably from the Ashmole MS., and is evidently of an earlier date.—PRICE.]

ⁿ Perhaps *ley* in the fourth line of Sir LAUNFAL may mean Lay in this sense. See note at the beginning of the First Dissertation. [See Note A. at the end of the Section.]

³ ther.

⁴ match.

⁵ soth.

torious, and carries home a great multitude of prisoners, the most respectable of which is sir Tralabas of Turkey, whom he treats as his companion. In the midst of their festivities they talk of the beauties of the empress; the earl's curiosity is inflamed to see so matchless a lady, and he promises liberty to sir Tralabas, if he can be conducted unknown to the emperor's court, and obtain a sight of her without discovery. They both set forward, the earl disguised like a hermit. When they arrive at the emperor's court, sir Tralabas proves false, treacherously imparts the secret to the empress that he has brought with him the earl of Tholouse in disguise, who is enamoured of her celebrated beauty, and proposes to take advantage of so fair an opportunity of killing the emperor's great and avowed enemy. She rejects the proposal with indignation, enjoins the knight not to communicate the secret any further, and desires to see the earl next day in the chapel at mass. The next day the earl in his hermit's weeds is conveniently placed at mass. At leaving the chapel, he asks an alms of the empress, and she gives him forty florins and a ring. He receives the present of the ring with the highest satisfaction, and although obliged to return home, in point of prudence and to avoid detection, comforts himself with this reflection :

Well is me, I have thy grace,
Of the to have thys thyng !
If ever I have grace of the,
That *any love betweene us be*,
This may be a TOKENYNG.

He then returns home. The emperor is called into some distant country, and leaves his consort in the custody of two knights, who attempting to gain her love without success, contrive a stratagem to defame her chastity. She is thrown into prison, and the emperor returns unexpectedly*, in consequence of a vision. The tale of the two treacherous knights is believed, and she is sentenced to the flames; yet under the restriction, that if a champion can be found who shall foil the two knights in battle, her honour shall be cleared, and her life saved. A challenge is published in all parts of the world; and the earl of Tholouse, notwithstanding the animosities which still subsist between him and the emperor, privately undertakes her quarrel. He appears at the emperor's court in the habit of a monk, and obtains permission to act as confessor to the empress, in her present critical situation. In the course of the confession, she protests that she was always true to the

* The emperor's disappointment is thus described.

Anon to the chamber went he,
He longyd sore his wyf to se,
That was so swete a wyght:
He callyd them that shulde her kepe,
Wher is my wif is she on slepe?

How farys that byrd so bryght?
The traytors answerd anon,
And ye wist how she had done, &c.—
The yonge knyght sir Artour,
That was her hervour, &c.
For bale his armys abrode he sprede,
And fell in swoone on his bed.

emperor; yet owns that once *she gave a ring to the earl of Tholouse*. The supposed confessor pronounces her innocent of the charge brought against her; on which one of the traitorous knights affirms that the monk was suborned to publish this confession, and that he deserved to be consumed in the same fire which was prepared for the lady. The monk pretending that the honour of his religion and character was affected by this insinuation, challenges both the knights to combat: they are conquered; and the empress, after this trial, is declared innocent. He then openly discovers himself to be the earl of Tholouse, the emperor's ancient enemy. A solemn reconciliation ensues. The earl is appointed seneschal of the emperor's domain. The emperor lives only three years, and the earl is married to the empress.

In the execution of this performance, our author was obliged to be concise, as the poem was intended to be sung to the harp. Yet, when he breaks through this restraint, instead of dwelling on some of the beautiful situations which the story affords, he is diffuse in displaying trivial and unimportant circumstances. These popular poets are never so happy as when they are describing a battle or a feast.

It will not perhaps be deemed impertinent to observe that about this period the minstrels were often more amply paid than the clergy. In this age, as in more enlightened times, the people loved better to be pleased than instructed. During many of the years of the reign of Henry the Sixth, particularly in the year 1430, at the annual feast of the fraternity of the HOLIE CROSSE at Abingdon, a town in Berkshire, twelve priests each received four pence for singing a dirge; and the same number of minstrels were rewarded each with two shillings and four pence, beside diet and horse-meat. Some of these minstrels came only from Maydenhithe, or Maidenhead, a town at no great distance in the same county^p. In the year 1441, eight priests were hired from Coventry to assist in celebrating a yearly obit in the church of the neighbouring priory of Maxtoke; as were six minstrels, called MIMI, belonging to the family of lord Clinton, who lived in the adjoining castle of Maxtoke, to sing, harp, and play, in the hall of the monastery, during the extraordinary refecton allowed to the monks on that anniversary. Two shillings were given to the priests, and four to the minstrels^q; and the latter are said to have supped in *camera picta*, or the painted chamber of the convent, with the subprior^r, on which occasion the chamberlain furnished eight massy tapers of wax^s. That the gratuities allowed to priests, even if learned, for their labour, in the same age of devotion, were extremely slender, may be collected from other

^p Hearne's Lib. Nig. Scacc. Append. p. 598.

^q Ex Computis Prioris Priorat. de Maxtoke, penes me. [See supr. vol. i. p. 82-83.] "Dat. sex Mimis domini Clynton cantantibus, citharisantibus, et ludentibus,

in aula in dicta Pietantia, iiii. s."

^r "Mimis cenantibus in camera picta cum supprior eodem tempore," [the sum obliterated.]

^s Ex comp. Camerarii, ut supr.

expenses of this priory^t. In the same year, the prior gives only sixpence^u for a sermon, to a DOCTOR PRÆDICANS, or an itinerant doctor in theology of one of the mendicant orders, who went about preaching to the religious houses.

We are now arrived at the reign of king Edward the Fourth, who acceded to the throne in the year 1461^v. But before I proceed in my series, I will employ the remainder of this section in fixing the reader's attention on an important circumstance, now operating in its full extent, and therefore purposely reserved for this period, which greatly contributed to the improvement of our literature, and consequently of our poetry: I mean the many translations of Latin books, especially classics, which the French had been making for about the two last centuries, and were still continuing to make, into their own language. In order to do this more effectually, I will collect into one view the most distinguished of these versions; not solicitous about those notices on this subject which have before occurred incidentally; nor scrupulous about the charge of anticipation, which, to prepare the reader, I shall perhaps incur by lengthening this inquiry, for the sake of comprehension, beyond the limits of the period just assigned. In the mean time it may be pertinent to premise, that from the close communication which formerly subsisted between England and France, manuscript copies of many of these translations, elegantly written, and often embellished with the most splendid illuminations and curious miniatures, were presented by the translators or their patrons to the kings of England; and that they accordingly appear at present among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum. Some of these, however, were transcribed, if not translated, by command of our kings; and others brought into England, and placed in the royal library, by John duke of Bedford, regent of France.

It is not consistent with my design, to enumerate the Latin legends, rituals, monastic rules, chronicles, and historical parts of the Bible, such as the BOOK OF KINGS and the MACCABEES, which were looked upon as stories of chivalry^x, translated by the French before the year 1200. These soon became obsolete, and are, besides, too deeply tainted with the deplorable superstition and barbarity of their age, to bear a recital^y. I will therefore begin with the thirteenth century. In

^t Ex comp. prædict.

^u Worth about five shillings of our present money.

^v I know not whether it is worth mentioning, that a metrical *Dialogue between God and the penitent Soul*, belonging to the preceding reign, is preserved at Caius college, Cambridge. *Pr.* "Our gracious lord prince of pite." MSS. E. 147. 6. With other pieces of the kind. The writer, William Lichfield, a doctor in theology, shone most in prose; and is said to have written, with his own hand, 3083

English sermons. See T. Gascoign, (MS.) *Diction. V. PRÆDICATOR*. He died 1447. See Stowe, Lond. 251. 386. Newcourt, i. 819.

^x As "Plusieurs Batailles des Roys d'Israel en contre les Philistiens et Assyriens," &c. Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 D. 1. 7.

^y I must however except their *LAPIDAIRE*, a poem on precious stones, from the Latin of Marbodeus; and the *BES-TIAIRE*, a set of metrical fables, from the Latin Esop. These, however, ought to

the year 1210, Peter Comestor's* *HISTORIA SCHOLASTICA*, a sort of breviary of the Old and New Testament, accompanied with elaborate expositions from Josephus and many pagan writers, a work compiled at Paris about the year 1175, and so popular; as not only to be taught in schools, but even to be publicly read in the churches with its glosses, was translated into French by Guiart des Moulins, a canon of Aire^a. About the same time, some of the old translations into French made in the eleventh century by Thibaud de Vernon, canon of Rouen, were re-touched; and the Latin legends of many lives of saints, particularly of saint George, of Thomas a Beckett, the martyrdom of saint Hugh, and a child murdered in 1206* by a Jew at Lincoln^b, were reduced into French verse. These pieces, to which I must add a metrical version of the Bible from Genesis to Hezekiah, by being written in rhyme, and easy to be sung, soon became popular, and produced the desired impression on the minds of the people^c. They were soon followed by the version of *ÆGIDIUS DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM*^d, by Henri de Gauchi. Dares Phrygius, *THE SEVEN SAGES OF ROME* by Herbers^e, Eutropius^f, and Aristotle's *SECRETUM SECRETORUM*^g, appeared about the same time in French. To say nothing of voluminous versions of *PANDECTS* and feudal *COUTUMES*^h, Michael de Harnes translated Turpin's *CHARLEMAGNE* in the year 1207ⁱ. It was into prose, in opposition to the practice which had long prevailed of turning Latin prose into French rhymes. This piece, in compliance with an age addicted to romantic fiction, our translator undoubtedly preferred to the more rational and

be looked upon as efforts of their early poetry, rather than translations.

* Or *Le Mangeur*, because he devoured the Scriptures.

^a The French was first published, without date or place, in two tomes. With old wood-cuts. Vossius says that the original was abridged by Gualter Hunte, an English Carmelite, about the year 1460. *Hist. Lat. lib. iii. c. 9. p. 197. edit. Amst. 1689. fol.* It was translated into German rhymes about 1271. Sander. *Bibl. Belg. pag. 285.* There are numerous and very sumptuous manuscripts of this work in the British Museum. One of them, with exquisite paintings, was ordered to be written by Edward the Fourth at Bruges, 1470. *MSS. Reg. 15 D. i.* Another is written in 1382. *Ibid. 19 B. xvii.*

^b [Mr. Churton has pointed out a mistake in this date. The deed, he says, was perpetrated, according to Richard of Bardney, on the first of August 1255, and the king's commission for trial of the fact, and his warrant to sell the goods of the Jews who were executed for it, are dated the 40th of Henry III. (i. e. 1256.) See *Life of Bishop Smyth, p. 221.*—PARK.]

^b See Chaucer, *Prioress. T. p. 144. col. 2. v. 3193.* [Everything known relative to St. Hugh has been collected together with great industry by M. Francisque Michel, and published under the following title: "Hugues de Lincoln; Recueil de Ballades Anglo-Normandes et Ecossaises relatives au meurtre de cet enfant," etc. 8vo. Par. Silvestre, 1834. —M.]

^c It is rather beside my purpose to speak particularly of some of the divine Offices now made French, and of the church-hymns.

^d See modo *supr. p. 259.* And *MSS. Reg. 15 E. vi. 11.* And *ibid. 19 B. i.* And *ibid. 19 A. xx.* "Stephanus Fortis clericus scripsit. An. 1395."

^e See *supra, p. 220.*

^f He was early translated into Greek at Constantinople.

^g *Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 B. iv. 3.*

^h See a French Justinian, &c. *Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 D. ix. 2. 3.* A manuscript before 1300.

ⁱ Caxton printed a life of Charles the Great, 1485.

sober Latin historians of Charlemagne and of France, such as Gregory of Tours, Fredegair, and Eginhart. In the year 1245, the *SPECULUM MUNDI*, a system of theology, the seven sciences, geography, and natural philosophy^k, was translated at the instance of the duke of Berry and Auvergne^l. Among the royal manuscripts, is a sort of system of pious tracts, partly of ritual offices, compiled in Latin by the confessors of Philip in 1279, translated into French^m; which translation queen Isabel ordered to be placed in the church of saint Innocents at Paris, for the use of the people.

The fourteenth century was much more fertile in French translation. The spirit of devotion, and indeed of this species of curiosity, raised by saint Louis, after a short intermission, rekindled under king John and Charles the Fifth. I pass over the prose and metrical translations of the Latin Bible in the years 1343, and 1380, by Macè, and Raoul de Presles. Under those reigns, saint Austin, Cussianus, and Gregory the Greatⁿ, were translated into French; and they are the first of the fathers that appeared in a modern tongue. Saint Gregory's *HOMILIES* are by an anonymous translator^o. His *DIALOGUES* were probably translated by an English ecclesiastic^p. Saint Austin's *DE CIVITATE DEI* was translated by Raoul de Presles, who acted professedly both as confessor and translator to Charles the Fifth^q, about the year 1374. During the work he received a yearly pension of six hundred livres from that liberal monarch, the first founder of a royal library in France, at whose command it was undertaken. It is accompanied with a prolix commentary, valuable only at present as preserving anecdotes of the opinions, manners, and literature of the writer's age; and from which I am tempted to give the following specimen, as it strongly illustrates the antient state of the French stage, and demonstrably proves that comedy and tragedy were now known only by name in France^r. He observes, that Comedies are so denominated from a room of entertainment, or from those places, in which banquets were accustomed to be

^k One of the most eminent astronomers in this work is the poet Virgil. I know not when "*LE LIVRE ROYALL*," a sort of manual, was made French. The Latin original was compiled at the command of Philip le Bel, king of France in 1279. Pref. to Caxton's Engl. Translat. 1484. fol.

^l See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 A. ix. This version was translated into English, and printed by Caxton, 1480.

^m Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 C. ii.

ⁿ See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 15 D. v. 1. 2.

^o Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 15 D. v. 1. 20 D. v.

^p It is supposed that they were rendered by an Englishman, or one living in England, as the translator's name is

marked by an A. and as there is a prayer in the manuscript to saint Frideswide, an Oxford saint. Mem. Litt. xvii. p. 735. 4to. It is very rare that we find the French translating from us. Yet Fauchet mentions a French poetess, named Marie de France, who translated the fables of Esop MORALISED, from English into French, about the year 1310. But this was to gratify a *comte Guillaume*, with whom she was in love, and who did not perhaps understand English. See Fauchet, Recueil, lxxiv. p. 163. edit. 1581. I know nothing of the fables. [See Dissertation i.]

^q Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 F. iii. With pictures. And 14 D. i.

^r See supra, p. 17.

closed with singing, called in Greek *CONIAS*; that they were like those *jeux* or plays, which the minstrel, *le Chanteur*, exhibits in halls or other public places, at a feast; and that they were properly styled *INTERLUDIA*, as being presented between the two courses. Tragedies, he adds, were spectacles, resembling those personages which at this day we see acting in the *LIFE* and *PASSION* of a martyr^a. This shows that only the religious drama now subsisted in France. But to proceed: Cassianus's *COLLATIONES PATRUM*, or the *CONFERENCES*, was translated by John Goulain, a Carmelite monk, about 1363. Two translations of that theological romance Boethius's *CONSOLATION*, one by the celebrated Jean de Meun, author of the *ROMANCE OF THE ROSE*, existed before the year 1340. Others of the early Latin Christian writers were ordered to be turned into French by queen Jane, about 1332. But finding that the archbishop of Rouen, who was commissioned to execute this arduous task, did not understand Latin, she employed a Mendicant friar. About the same period, and under the same patronage, the *LEGENDA AUREA*, written by James de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa, about the year 1260, that inexhaustible repository of religious fable^b, was translated by Jehan de Vignay, a monk hospitalier^c. The same translator gave also a version of a famous ritual entitled *SPECULUM ECCLESIE*, or the *MIRROUR OF THE CHURCH*, of *CHESS MORALISED*, written by Jacobus de Casulis^d; and of Odoricus's *VOYAGE INTO THE EAST*^e. Thomas Benoit, a prior of saint Genevieve, gratified the religious with a translation into a more intelligible language of some Latin liturgic pieces about the year 1330. But his chief performance was a translation into French verse of the *RULE OF SAINT AUSTIN*. This he undertook merely on a principle of affection and charity, for the edification of his pious brethren who did not understand Latin.

Pour l'amour de vous, très chers freres,
En François ai traduit ce Latin.

And in the preface he says, "Or sçai-je que *plusieurs* de vous n' *entendent pas bien* LATIN, auquel il fut chose necessaire de la rieuë [regle] *entendre*." Benoit's successor in the priorate of saint Genevieve was not equally attentive to the discipline and piety of his monks. Instead of translating monkish Latin, and enforcing the salutary regulations of saint Austin, he wrote a system of rules for *BALLAD-WRITING*, *L'ART*

^a Ch. viii. liv. ii.

^b In the year 1555, the learned Claud. Espence was obliged to make a public recantation for calling it *LEGENDA FERREA*. Thuan. sub ann. Laun. Hist. Gymnas. Navarr. p. 704. 297.

^c Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 B. xvii. The copy was written 1382. This version seems to be the same which Caxton

translated and printed, 1483. While it was printing, William lord Arundel gave Caxton annually a buck in summer and a doe in winter.

^d Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 C. xi. 1. This version was translated in English, and printed, by Caxton, 1474.

^e Ibid. 19 D. i. 4. 5.

DE DICTIER BALLADE ET RONDELS, the first Art of poetry that ever appeared in France.

Among the moral books now translated, I must not omit the SPIRITUELLE AMITIE of John of Meun, from the Latin of Aldred an English monk¹. In the same style of mystic piety was the treatise of CONSOLATION, written in Latin, by Vincent de Beauvais, and sent to saint Louis, translated in the year 1374. In the year 1340, Henri de Suson, a German dominican and a mystic doctor, wrote a most comprehensive treatise called HOROLOGIUM SAPIENTIÆ. This was translated into French by a monk of saint François². Even the officers of the court of Charles the Fifth were seized with the ardour of translating religious pieces, no less than the ecclesiastics. The most elegant tract of moral Latinity translated into French, was the celebrated book of our countryman John of Salisbury, DE NUGIS CURIALIUM. This version was made by Denis Soulechart, a learned Cordelier, about the year 1360. Notwithstanding the EPISTLES of Abelard and Eloisa, not only from the celebrity of Abelard as a Parisian theologian, but on account of the interesting history of that unfortunate pair, must have been as commonly known, and as likely to be read in the original, as any Latin book in France, they were translated into French in this century, by John of Meun; who prostituted his abilities when he relinquished his own noble inventions, to interpret the pedantries of monks, schoolmen, and proscribed classics. I think he also translated Vegetius, who will occur again³. In the library of saint Genevieve, there is, in a sort of system of religion, a piece called IERARCHIE, translated from Latin into French, at the command of our queen Elinor, in the year 1297, by a French friar⁴. I must not however forget, that amidst this profusion of treatises of religion and instruction, civil history found a place. That immense chaos of events real and fictitious, the HISTORICAL MIRROR of Vincent de Beauvais, was translated by Jehan de Vignay above mentioned⁵. One is not surprised that the translator of the GOLDEN LEGEND should make no better choice.

The desolation produced in France^d by the victorious armies of the English, was instantly succeeded by a flourishing state of letters.

¹ It is mentioned in the catalogue of his *traductions*, at the beginning of his *Consolation philosophique*. I am not acquainted with the English monk.

² Englished, and printed, by Caxton, very early.

³ There is a copy written in 1284, [1384,] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 B. xv. Often, *ibid.* John of Meun is also said to have translated *Mirabilia Hiberniæ*.

⁴ "Cette IERARCHIE translata frere Jehan de Penham de Latin en François, à la requeste la reine d'Engleterre Aliénore femme le roy Edward." There is also this note in the manuscript: "Cest

livre resigna frere Jordan de Kyngestone à la commune des freres Menurs de Southampton, par la volente du graunt frere Willame Notington [f. Northington in Hampshire,] ministre d'Engleterre...l'an. de grace M.CCC.XVII."

⁵ Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 14 E. i.

^d A curious picture of the distracted state of France is recorded by Petrarch. The king, with the Dauphin, returning from his captivity in England, in passing through Picardy, was obliged to make a pecuniary bargain with the numerous robbers that infested that country, to travel unmolested. *Vie Petr.* iii. 543.

King John, having indulged his devotion, and satisfied his conscience, by procuring numerous versions of books written on sacred subjects, at length turned his attention to the classics. His ignorance of Latin was a fortunate circumstance, as it produced a curiosity to know the treasures of Latin literature. He employed Peter Bercheur, prior of saint Eloi at Paris, an eminent theologian, to translate Livy into French*; notwithstanding that author had been anathematised by pope Gregory. But so judicious a choice was undoubtedly dictated by Petrarch, who regarded Livy with a degree of enthusiasm, who was now resident at the court of France, and who perhaps condescended to direct and superintend the translation. The translator in his Latin work called *REPERTORIUM*, a sort of general dictionary, in which all things are proved to be allegorical, and reduced to a moral meaning, under the word *ROMA*, records this great attempt in the following manner: "*TITUM LIVIUM, ad requisitionem domini Johannis inclyti Francorum regis, non sine labore et sudoribus, in linguam Gallicam transtulit.*" To this translation we must join those of Sallust, Lucan, and Cesar; all which seem to have been finished before the year 1365. This revival of a taste for Roman history, most probably introduced and propagated by Petrarch during his short stay in the French court, immediately produced a Latin historical compilation called *ROMULEON*, by an anonymous gentleman of France; who soon found it necessary to translate his work into the vernacular language. Valerius Maximus could not remain long untranslated. A version of that favourite author, begun by Simon de Hesdin, a monk, in 1364, was finished by Nicholas de Gonesse, a master in theology, 1401[†]. Under the last-mentioned reign, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* *MORALISED*[‡] were translated by Guillaume de Nangis; and the same poem was translated into French verse, at the request of Jane de Bourbonne, afterwards the consort of Charles the Fifth, by Philip de Vitri, bishop of Meaux, Petrarch's friend, who was living in 1361[§]. A bishop would not have undertaken this work, had he not perceived much moral doctrine couched under the pagan stories. Jean le Fevre, by command of Charles the Fifth, translated the poem

* See Henault, *Nouvel. Abreg. Hist. Fr.* p. 229. edit. 1752. 4to. And *Vie de Petrarque*, iii. 547.

† This was the translation of Livy, which, with other books, the duke of Bedford, regent of France, about 1425, sent into England to Humphrey duke of Gloucester. The copy had been a present to the king of France. *Mem. Litt.* ii. 747. 4to. See the Second Dissertation. In the Sorbonne library at Paris, there is a most valuable manuscript of this version in two folio volumes. In the front of each book are various miniatures and pictures, most beautifully finished. *Dan. Maichel de Bibliothec. Paris.* pag. 79. There is a copy, transcribed about the time the trans-

lation was finished. *Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg.* 15 D. vi. *Des Fais de Romains.* With pictures.

‡ *Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg.* 18 E. iii. iv. With elegant delineations; and often in the same library.

§ Perhaps written in Latin by Joannes Grammaticus, about 1070. See the Second Dissertation.

¶ There was a French Ovid in duke Humphrey's library at Oxford. See *supra*, p. 264. And *Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg.* 17 E. iv. 1. This version, as I apprehend, is the same that Caxton translated into English prose, and printed, 1480. A manuscript is in *Bibl. Pepys. Magd. Coll. Cant.* *Cat. MSS. Angl. &c. tom. ii. N. 6791.*

DE VETULA, falsely ascribed to Ovid^k. Cicero's RHETORICA appeared in French by master John de Antioche, at the request of one friar William, in the year 1383. About the same time, some of Aristotle's pieces were translated from Latin; his PROBLEMS by Evrard de Conti, physician to Charles the Fifth; and his ETHICS and POLITICS by Nicholas d'Oresme, while canon of Rouen. This was the most learned man in France, and tutor to Charles the Fifth; who, in consequence of his instructions, obtained a competent skill in Latin, and in the rules of the grammar^l. Other Greek classics, which now began to be known by being translated into Latin, became still more familiarised, especially to general readers, by being turned into French. Thus Poggius Florentinus's recent Latin version of Xenophon's CYROPÆDIA was translated into French by Vasque de Lucerne, 1370^m. The TACTICS of Vegetius, an author who frequently confounds the military practices of his own age with those of antiquity, appeared under the title of LIVRES DES FAIS D'ARMES ET DE CHEVALLERIE, by Christina of Pisaⁿ. Petrarch DE REMEDIIS UTRISQUE FORTUNÆ, a set of Latin dialogues, was translated, not only by Nicholas d'Oresme, but by two of the officers of the royal household^o, in compliment to Petrarch at his leaving France^p. Many philosophical pieces, particularly in astrology, of which Charles the Fifth was remarkably fond, were translated before the end of the fourteenth century. Among these, I must not pass over the QUADRIPARTITUM of Ptolemy, by Nicholas d'Oresme; the AGRICULTURE^q, or LIBRI RURALIUM COMMODORUM, of Peter de Crescentiis, a physician of Bononia, about the year 1285, by a name-

^k Polycarpus Leyserus supposes this piece to be the forgery of one Leo Protonotarius, an officer in the court at Constantinople, who writes the preface. Hist. Poes. Med. Æv. p. 2089. He proves the work supposititious, from its several Arabicisms and scriptural expressions, &c. Bradwardine cites many lines from it, Advers. Pelag. p. 33. as does Bacon, in his astrological tracts. It is condemned by Bede as heretical. In Boeth. de Trinit. Selden intended a DISSERTATION on this forgery, De Synedr. iii. 16. It is in hexameters, in three books.

^l Christin. Vie Charles V.

^m Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. v. 1. And 16 G. ix. With pictures.

ⁿ MSS. Reg. 19 B. xviii. &c. Vegetius was early translated into all the modern languages. There is an English one, probably by John Trevisa, as it is addressed to his patron lord Berkeley, A.D. 1408. MSS. Digb. 233. Princ. "In olde tyme it was the manere." There is a translation of Vegetius, written at Rhodes, "die 25 Octobris, 1459, per Johannem Newton," ad calc. Bibl. Bodl. K. 53. Laud. MSS. Christina's version was trans-

lated, and printed, by Caxton, 1489. See supra, p. 282.

^o See Nicéron. tom. 28. p. 384.

^p Mons. l'Ab. Lebeuf says Seneca instead of Petrarch. Mem. Litt. xvii. p. 752.

I must not forget to observe, that several whole books in Brunetto's Tresor consist of translations from Aristotle, Tully, and Pliny, into French. Brunetto was a Florentine, and the master of Dante. He died in 1295. The Tresor was a sort of Encyclopede, exhibiting a course of practical and theoretic philosophy, of divinity, cosmography, geography, history sacred and profane, physics, ethics, rhetoric, and politics. It was written in French by Brunetto during his residence in France; but he afterwards translated it into Italian, and it has been translated by others into Latin. It was the model and foundation of Bartholomeus of the Properties of Things, of Bercheur's Repertorium, and of many other works of the same species, which soon followed. See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. i. It will occur again.

^q Des Prouffits Champestres et Ruraux. Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 14 E.

less friar preacher^r; and the book *DE PROPRIETATIBUS RERUM* of Bartholomew Anglicus, the Pliny of the monks, by John Corbichon, an Augustine monk^s. I have seen a French manuscript of Guido de Colonna's Trojan romance, the hand-writing of which belongs to this century^t.

In the fifteenth century it became fashionable among the French, to polish and reform their old rude translations made two hundred years before; and to reduce many of their metrical versions into prose. At the same time, the rage of translating ecclesiastical tracts began to decrease. The latter circumstance was partly owing to the introduction of better books, and partly to the invention of printing. Instead of procuring laborious and expensive translations of the antient fathers, the printers, who multiplied greatly towards the close of this century, found their advantage in publishing new translations of more agreeable books, or in giving antient versions in a modern dress^u. Yet in this century some of the more recent doctors of the church were translated. Not to mention the Epistles of saint Jerom, which Antoine Dufour, a Dominican friar, presented in French to Anne de Bretagne, consort to king Charles the Eighth, we find saint Anselm's *CUR DEUS HOMO*^w, The LAMENTATIONS OF SAINT BERNARD, The SUM OF THEOLOGY of Albertus Magnus, The PRICK OF DIVINE LOVE^x of saint Bonaventure, a seraphic doctor^y, with other pieces of the kind, exhibited in the

^r In twelve books. See Jacob. Quetif. tom. i. p. 666.

^s Leland says, that this translation is elegant; and that he saw it in duke Humphrey's library at Oxford. Script. Brit. cap. ccclxviii. See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. iii. With pictures. Ibid. 15 E. ii. where the translation is assigned to the year 1362. the writing of the manuscript to 1482. With pictures.

^t Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 16 F. ix. A new translation seems to have been made by Raoul le Fevre, in 1464. Englished by Caxton, and printed, 1471. Caxton's Godefroy of Bologna, translated from the French, and printed 1481, had a Latin original. The French, a fine copy, is in Brit. Mus. 17 F. v. MSS. Reg. Sæpius ibid. [See *supra*, p. 304.]

^u I take this opportunity of observing, that one of these was the romance of sir Lancelot du Lac, translated from the Latin by Robert de Borron, at the command of our Henry the Second or Third. See *supra*, vol. i. p. 119. This new Lancelot, I believe, is the same which was printed at Paris by Antony Verard, 1494. in three vast folio volumes. Another, is the romance of Gyron le Courtois, translated also from Latin, at the command of the same monarch, by Lucas, or Luce, *chevalier du Chateau du Gast*, or *Gat*, or

Gal, and printed by Verard as above. See Lenglet, Bibl. Rom. ii. p. 117. The old Guiron le Courtois is said to be translated by "Lucz chevalier seigneur du chateau du Gal, [perhaps *Sal*, an abbreviation for Salisbury,] voisin prochain du sire du Sablieries, par le commandement de tres noble et tres puissant prince M. le roy Henry jadis roy d'Angleterre." Bibl. Reg. Paris. Cod. 7586. See *supra*, vol. i. p. 119. Note ^o.

[See on this subject the excellent work of M. Paris, of which only the first volume has yet appeared: "Les Manuscrits Francois de la Bibliothèque du Roi," 8vo. Par. Techener, 1836. pp. 167-177, 209-211.—M.]

[The above *Chateau du Gast* or *Gât*, says Ritson, is said to be *near* the "Cité de Saliberies," not "Sire du Sablieries." Mr. W., he adds, should have proved that the romance of LANCELOT had existed in *Latin*, before he mentioned it as a translation from that tongue. MS. note and Obs.—PARK.]

^w Written in 1098.

^x *Supra* vol. i. p. 72.

^y He flourished in Italy, about the year 1270. The enormous magnificence of his funeral deserves notice, more than any anecdote of his life; as it paints the high devotion of the times, and the attention

French language before the year 1480, at the petition and under the patronage of many devout duchesses. Yet in the mean time, the lives of saints and sacred history gave way to a species of narrative more entertaining and not less fabulous. Little more than Josephus, and a few MARTYRDOMS, were now translated from the Latin into French.

The truth is, the French translators of this century were chiefly employed on profane authors. At its commencement, a French abridgement of the three first decads of Livy was produced by Henri Romain, a canon of Tournay. In the year 1416, Jean de Courci, a knight of Normandy, gave a translation of some Latin chronicle, a HISTORY OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS, entitled BOUQUASSIERE. In 1403, Jean de Courteauisse, a doctor in theology at Paris, translated Seneca on the FOUR CARDINAL VIRTUES^a. Under the reign of king Charles the Seventh, Jean Cossa translated the CHRONOLOGY of Mattheus Palmerius a learned Florentine, and a writer of Italian poetry in imitation of Dante. In the dedication to Jane the Third, queen of Jerusalem, and among other titles countess of Provence, the translator apologises for supposing her highness to be ignorant of Latin; when at the same time he is fully convinced, that a lady endowed with so much natural grace must be perfectly acquainted with that language. "Mais pour ce que le vulgar François est plus commun, j'ai pris peine y traduire ladite oeuvre." Two other translations were offered to Charles the Seventh in the year 1445. One, of the FIRST PUNIC WAR of Leonard of Arezzo, an anonymous writer, who does not choose to publish his name *à cause de sa petitesse*; and the STRATAGEMS of Frontinus, often cited by John of Salisbury, and mentioned in the Epistles of Peter of Blois^a by Jean de Rouroy, a Parisian theologist. Under Louis the Eleventh, Sebastian Mamerot of Soissons, in the year 1466, attempted a new translation of the ROMULEON; and he professes, that he undertook it solely with a view of improving or decorating the French language^b.

formerly paid to theological literature. There were present pope Gregory the tenth, the emperor of Greece by several Greek noblemen his proxies, Baldwin the second the Latin eastern emperor, James king of Arragon, the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, all the cardinals, five hundred bishops and archbishops, sixty abbots, more than a thousand prelates and priests of lower rank, the ambassadors of many kings and potentates, the deputies of the Tartars and other nations, and an innumerable concourse of people of all orders and degrees. The sepulchral ceremonies were celebrated with the most consummate pomp, and the funeral oration was pronounced by a future pope. Mirai Auctar. Script. Eccles. p. 72. edit. Fabric. [See *supra*, vol. i. p. 72.]

^a It is supposititious. It was forged, about the year 560, by Martianus an archbishop of Portugal, whom Gregory of Tours calls the most eminent writer of his time. Hist. Franc. v. 38. It was a great favourite of the theological ages.

^a Epist. 94.

^b I am not sure whether this is not much the same as *Le Grande Histoire Cesar*, &c. taken from Lucan, Suetonius, Orosius, &c. written at Bruges at the command of our Edward the Fourth, in 1479. That is, ordered to be *written* by him. A manuscript with pictures. MSS. Reg. 17 P. ii. 1. Brit. Mus. But see *ibid.* ROMULEON, *ou des Faits des Romains*, in ten books. With pictures. MSS. Reg. 19 E. v. See also 20 C. i.

[Bruges seems to have been a shop

Many French versions of classics appeared in this century. A translation of Quintus Curtius is dedicated to Charles duke of Burgundy; in 1468^c. Six years afterwards, the same liberal patron commanded Cesar's COMMENTARIES to be translated by Jean du Chesne^d. Terence was made French by Guillaume Rippe, the king's secretary, in the year 1466. The following year a new translation of Ovid's METAMORPHOSES was executed by an ecclesiastic of Normandy^e. But much earlier in the century, Laurence Premierfait, mentioned above, translated, I suppose from the Latin, the OECONOMICS of Aristotle, and Tully's DE AMICITIA and DE SENECTUTE, before the year 1426^f. He is said also to have translated some pieces, perhaps the EPISTLES, of Seneca^g. Encouraged by this example, Jean de Luxembourg, Laurence's contemporary, translated Tully's Oration against Verres. I must not forget that Hippocrates and Galen were translated from Latin into French in the year 1429. The translator was Jean Tourtier, surgeon to the duke of Bedford, then regent of France; and he humbly supplicates Rauoul Palvin, confessor and physician to the duchess, and John Major, first physician to the duke, and graduate *en l'estude d'Auxonford*^h, and master Roullan, physician and astronomer of the University of Paris, amicably to amend the faults of this translation, which is intended to place the science and practice of medicine on a new foundation. I presume it was from a Latin version that the ILIAD, about this period, was translated into French metre.

Among other pieces that might be enumerated in this century, in the year 1412, Guillaume de Tignonville, provost of Paris, translated the DICTA PHILOSOPHORUMⁱ: as did Jean Gallopes dean of the collegiate church of saint Louis, of Salsoye, in Normandy, the ITER VITÆ HUMANÆ of Guillaume prior of Chalis^k. This version, entitled LE PELERINAGE DE LA VIE HUMAINE, is dedicated to Jean queen of

for this kind of work, long after printing had been discovered. See Journ. Encyclop. or L'Esprit des Journ.—ASHBY.]

^c Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 F. i. With beautiful pictures.

^d Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 16 G. viii. With pictures. Another appeared by Robert Gaguin in 1485.

^e Perhaps this might be Caxton's copy. See above, p. 315.

^f The two latter versions were translated into English by William Botoner, and John Tiptoft earl of Worcester, and printed by Caxton, 1481. Botoner presented his manuscript copy to William of Waynflete bishop of Winchester in 1473. See supra, p. 278. Caxton's English CATO, printed 1483, was from the French; as were his fables of Æsop, printed 1483.

^g Crucimanius mentions a version of Seneca by Premierfait, as printed at Paris, in 1500. Bibl. Gall. p. 287. A translation of Seneca's De Quatuor Virtu-

tibus Cardinalibus, but supposititious, is given to Premierfait, Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 A. xii. Sanders recites the Epistles of Seneca, translated into French by some anonymous writer, at the command of Messire Barthelemi Signulfe a nobleman of Naples. Bibl. Cathedr. Tornacens. p. 209. Pieces of Seneca have been frequently translated into French, and very early.

^h Oxonford. Oxford.

ⁱ Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 A. viii. Sæpius. *ibid.* This version was translated into English by lord Rivers, and printed by Caxton, 1477.

^k See Labb. Bibl. MSS. p. 317. Bibl. Roman. ii. 236. And Oudin. iii. 976. Guillaum lived about 1352. Some of the French literary antiquaries suppose this to be a Latin piece. It is, however, in French verse, which was reduced into prose by Gallopes.

Sicily, above mentioned; a duchess of Anjou and a countess of Provence; who, without any sort of difficulty, could make a transition from the Life of sir Lancelot to that of saint Austin, and who sometimes quitted the tribunal of the COURT OF LOVE to confer with learned ecclesiastics, in an age when gallantry and religion were of equal importance. He also translated, from the same author, a composition of the same ideal and contemplative cast, called *LE PELERINAGE DE L'ÂME*, highly esteemed by those visionaries who preferred religious allegory to romance, which was dedicated to the duke of Bedford¹. In Bennet college library at Cambridge, there is an elegant illuminated manuscript of Bonaventure's *LIFE OF CHRIST*, translated by Gallopès; containing a curious picture of the translator presenting his version to our Henry the Fifth^m. About the same time, but before 1427, Jean de Guerre translated a Latin compilation of all that was marvellous in Pliny, Solinus, and the *OTIA IMPERIALIA*, a book abounding in wonders, of our countryman Gervais of Tilburyⁿ. The French romance, entitled *L'ASSAILLANT*, was now translated from the Latin chronicles of the kings of Cologne; and the Latin tract *DE BONIS MORIBUS* of Jacobus Magnus, confessor to Charles the Seventh, about the year 1422, was made French^o. Rather earlier, Jean de Premierfait translated *BOCCACCIO DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM*^p. Nor shall I be thought to deviate too far from my detail, which is confined to Latin originals, when I mention here a book, the translation of which into French conducted in an eminent degree to circulate materials for poetry: this is Boccaccio's *DECAMERON*, which Premierfait also translated, at the command of queen Jane of Navarre, who seems to have made no kind of conditions about suppressing the licentious stories, in the year 1414^q.

¹ I am not certain, whether this is Caxton's *Pilgrimage of the Sowle*, an English translation from the French, printed in 1483. fol. Ames says, that Antonine Gerard is the author of the French, which was printed at Paris, 1480. *Hist. Print.* p. 34.

[By "Antonine Gerard the author," Ames meant *Antoine Verard* the printer. (Ritson's MS. note.) Mr. Dibdin's edition of Ames supplies much information on this point. See *Typogr. Antiq.* i. 150.—PARK.]

^m See *Archæol.* vol. ii. p. 194. And *Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg.* 16 G. iii. 20 B. iv. Englished about 1410, and printed by Caxton very early. The English translator, I believe, is John Morton, an Augustine friar.

ⁿ He flourished about the year 1218.

^o This version was Englished, and printed, by Caxton, 1487. [See Dibdin's Ames, i. 263.—M.]

^p See *supra*, p. 277. There is a version

of Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus*, perhaps by Premierfait, *Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg.* 20 C. v.

^q See *Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg.* 19 E. i. where it is said that the *Decameron* was first translated into Latin. It is not very literal. It was printed at Paris 1485. fol. Again, *ibid.* 1534. 8vo. It was again translated by Antoine le Maçon, fol. Paris 1543. And often afterwards.

[In Jean Petit's edition in 1535, and perhaps in that of 1485, of Premierfait's translation of the *DECAMERON*, it is said to be translated from Latin into French. But *Latin* here means *Italian*. Hence a mistake arose that Boccaccio wrote his *DECAMERON* in Latin. The Italian, as I have before observed, was antiently called *Il volgare Latino*. Thus the French romance of Meliadus de Leonnois is said to be *translaté du LATIN*, by Rusticien de Pise, edit. Par. 1532. fol. Thus also Gyron le Courtois is called a version from the Latin. [*Supra*, p. 317. Note ⁿ.] M.]

I am not exactly informed, when the *ENEID* of Virgil was translated into a sort of metrical romance or history of Eneas, under the title of *LIVRE D'ENEIDOS COMPILE PAR VIRGILE*, by Guillaume de Roy. But that translation was printed at Lyons in 1483, and appears to have been finished not many years before. Among the translator's historical additions, are the description of the first foundation of Troy by Priam, and the succession of Ascanius and his descendants after the death of Turnus. He introduces a digression upon Boccaccio, for giving in his *FALL OF PRINCES* an account of the death of Dido, different from that in the fourth book of the *Eneid*. Among his omissions, he passes over Eneas's descent into hell, as a tale manifestly forged, and not to be believed by any rational reader: as if many other parts of the translator's story were not equally fictitious and incredible².

The conclusion intended to be drawn from this long digression is obvious. By means of these French translations, our countrymen, who understood French much better than Latin, became acquainted with many useful books which they would not otherwise have known. With such assistances, a commodious access to the classics was opened, and the knowledge of ancient literature facilitated and familiarised in England, at a much earlier period than is imagined; and at a time, when little more than the productions of speculative monks, and irrefragable doctors, could be obtained or were studied. Very few Englishmen, I will venture to pronounce, had read Livy before the translation of Bercheur was imported by the regent duke of Bedford. It is certain that many of the Roman poets and historians were now read in England, in the original. But the Latin language was for the most part confined to a few ecclesiastics. When these authors, therefore, appeared in a language almost as intelligible as the English, they fell into the hands of illiterate and common readers, and contributed to sow the seeds of a national erudition, and to form a popular taste. Even the French versions of the religious, philosophical, historical, and allegorical compositions of those more enlightened Latin writers who flourished in the middle ages, had their use, till better books came into vogue: pregnant as they were with absurdities, they communicated instruction on various and new subjects, enlarged the field of information, and promoted the love of reading, by gratifying that growing literary curiosity which now began to want materials for the exercise of its operations. How greatly our poets in general availed themselves of these treasures, we may collect from this circumstance only: even such writers as Chaucer and Lydgate, men of education and learning,

de la Monnoye observes, "Que quand on trouve que certains VIEUX ROMANS ont été traduits de LATIN en François, par Luces de Salesberies, Robert de Borron, Rusticien de Pise, ou autres, cela signifie que ç'a été d'ITALIEN en François." Rem. au Bibl. Fr. du La Croix du Maine,

&c. tom. ii. p. 33. edit. 1772. *Premierfait's* French *DECAMERON*, which he calls *CAMERON*, is a most wretched caricature of the original.—*ADDITIONS.*]

² It was translated, and printed, by Caxton, 1490.

when they translate a Latin author, appear to execute their work through the medium of a French version. It is needless to pursue this history of French translation any further. I have given my reason for introducing it at all. In the next age, a great and universal revolution in literature ensued; and the English themselves began to turn their thoughts to translation.

These French versions enabled Caxton, our first printer, to enrich the state of letters in this country with many valuable publications. He found it no difficult task, either by himself, or the help of his friends, to turn a considerable number of these pieces into English, which he printed. Ancient learning had as yet made too little progress among us, to encourage this enterprising and industrious artist to publish the Roman authors in their original language*: and had not the

* It is, however, remarkable, that from the year 1471, in which Caxton began to print, down to the year 1540, during which period the English press flourished greatly under the conduct of many industrious, ingenious, and even learned artists, only the very few following classics, some of which hardly deserve that name, were printed in England. These were Boethius *de Consolatione*; both Latin and English, for Caxton, without date. The Latin *Esopian Fables*, in verse, for Wynkyn de Worde, 1503. 4to. [And once or twice afterwards.] Terence, with the Comment of Badius Ascensius, for the same, 1504. 4to. Virgil's *Bucolics*, for the same, 1512. 4to. [Again 1533. 4to.] Tully's *Offices*, Latin and English, the translation by Whittington, 1533. 4to. The university of Oxford, during this period, produced only the first book of Tully's *Epistles*, at the charge of cardinal Wolsey, without date, or printer's name; Cambridge not a single classic.

No Greek book, of any kind, had yet appeared from an English press. I believe the first Greek characters used in any work printed in England, are in Linacer's translation of Galen *de Temperamentis*, printed at Cambridge in 1521, 4to. A few Greek words, and abbreviations, are here and there introduced. The printer was John Siberch, a German, a friend of Erasmus, who styles himself *primus utriusque lingue in Anglia impressor*. There are Greek characters in some of his other books of this date. But he printed no entire Greek book. In Linacer's treatise *De emendata Structura Latini Sermonis*, printed by Pinson in 1524, many Greek characters are intermixed. In the sixth book are seven Greek lines together. But the printer apologises for his imperfections and unskillfulness in the Greek types; which, he says, were

but recently cast, and not in a sufficient quantity for such a work. The passage is curious. "*Æquo animo feras siquæ literæ, in exemplis Hellenismi, vel tonis vel spiritibus careant. His enim non satis instructus erat typographus, videlicet receens ab eo fusis characteribus Græciæ, nec parata ei copia qua ad hoc agendum opus est.*" About the same period of the English press, the same embarrassments appear to have happened with regard to Hebrew types; which yet were more likely, as that language was so much less known. In the year 1524, doctor Robert Wakefield, chaplain to Henry the Eighth, published his *Oratio de laudibus et utilitate trium linguarum Arabicæ, Chaldaicæ, et Hebraicæ*, &c. 4to. The printer was Wynkyn de Worde; and the author complains, that he was obliged to omit his whole third part, because the printer had no Hebrew types. Some few Hebrew and Arabic characters, however, are introduced; but extremely rude, and evidently cut in wood. They are the first of the sort used in England. This learned orientalist was instrumental in preserving, at the dissolution of monasteries, the Hebrew manuscripts of Ramsey abbey, collected by Holbech, one of the monks, together with Holbech's Hebrew Dictionary. Wood, *Hist. Ant. Univ. Oxon.* ii. 251. Leland. *Scriptor.* v. HOLBECCUS.

It was a circumstance favourable at least to English literature, owing indeed to the general illiteracy of the times, that our first printers were so little employed on books written in the learned languages. Almost all Caxton's books are English. The multiplication of English copies multiplied English readers, and these again produced new vernacular writers. The existence of a press induced many persons to turn authors, who were only qualified to write in their native tongue.

French furnished him with these materials, it is not likely, that Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, and many other good writers, would by the means of his press have been circulated in the English tongue, so early as the close of the fifteenth century.

NOTE ON BRITISH LAIS,

BY MR. PRICE.

NOTE A.—(*Referred to in page 307 of this volume, note ^a.*)

THESE BRITISH LAIS, of which I have given specimens at the beginning of the FIRST DISSERTATION, and of which sir LAUNFAL is one, are discovered to have been translated into French from the language of Armorican Bretagne, about the thirteenth century, by Marie a French poetess, who made the translation of ESOP above mentioned. See CANT. T. vol. iv. p. 165. edit. 1775. But Marie's was not the only Collection of BRITISH LAIS, in French; as appears, not only from the EARL of THOLOUSE, but by the romance of EMARE, a translation from the French, which has this similar passage, St. ult.

Thys ys on of *Brytayne layes*
That was used of old dayes.

MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A. ii. fol. 69. (see f. 70.) The SONG of SIR GOWTHER* is said by the writer to be taken from one of the *Layes of Bry-*

* [The reprint of Sir Gowther, and its close analogy with the romantic legends of Robert of Cicyle, and Robert the Devil, have already been noticed, (*supra*, vol. i. p. 187.) Though professing to be a lay of Brittany, it has no connexion with those early Armorican fictions, which centre in the achievements of Arthur and his knights; and the declaration was probably resorted to, from the popularity attached to the name. Whether it be of genuine English growth, as suggested by its recent editor, is a question not so easily decided. The allegation in the text can go for little unaided by evidence of a more conclusive nature; or, if received at all, can only be interpreted in the same literal sense as the assertions of Marie de France—that such fictions were derived from Brittany. The mention of "Godlake," the name of a well-known Saxon saint, and the agnomen under which Sir Gowther found his way into the calendar, might favour the supposition of an English origin. But the legend of the real St. Guthlac is still preserved both in Saxon and Latin, and has not the slightest affinity with the story detailed in the lay. The same motives which would prompt the assumption of a

well-known source of popular fiction, would not object to the adoption of an English name, when recommended by similar advantages. It is true the very premises are here gratuitous; but had the author been an Englishman, or had the poem been composed in England, we might reasonably expect that some direct or latent allusion would still be discoverable, either to this country generally, or to Croyland, the reputed scene of Saint Guthlac's miracles. As it is, a total silence is observed on either subject; and the principal agents are all foreigners;—the Duke of Ostrych, the Emperor of Almayn, the Sowdan of Perce, &c. The name itself speaks nothing. Guth-her, which a strong guttural accentuation would render Goughther, is a genuine Saxon appellative; but by the same process the French Gautier (Gowtere) would assume a form nearly similar. The old Platt-deutch romance of Zeno, which has been conjectured to be a kindred story, is a far more pleasing fiction; and though affording the same admixture of romantic and legendary lore, is free from that disgusting degradation of the hero, which marks Sir Gowther for the offspring of the mo-

tayne: and in another place he calls his story *the first Laye of Britanye*. MSS. REG. 17 B. xliii. Chaucer's FRANKLEIN'S TALE was also a *Bretagne Lay*, Urr. p. 107. In the Prologue he says,

The olde gentill Bretons in their dayes
Of divers aventoures madin their *Layes*,
Rymeyed first in their owne *Breton tonge*,
Whiche *layis* with ther instruments thei songe.

Here he translates from Marie, although this story is not in her manuscript, viz. fol. 181.

Li auntien Bretun curteis.

But in his DREME, he seems to have copied her LAY of ELIDUC. [See Diss. i.] To the *British Lais* I would also refer LA LAI DU CORN, which begins,

De un aventure ci avint
A la court del bon rei Artus.

MSS. DIGB. 86. Bibl. Bodl. membran. 4to. It probably existed before the year 1300. The story, which much resembles the old French metrical romance, called LE COURT MANTEL, is slightly touched in MORTÆ ARTHUR, ii. 33. A magical horn, richly garnished, the work of a fairy, is brought by a beautiful boy riding on a fleet courser, to a sumptuous feast held at Carleon by king Arthur, in order to try the fidelity of the knights and ladies, who are in number sixty thousand. Those who are false, in drinking from this horn, spill their wine. The only successful knight, or he who accomplishes the adventure, is *Garaduc* or *Cradok*. I will here give the description of the horn.

——— Un dauncel*,
Mout avenaunt et bel,

nastery. The child, whose malicious and insatiate appetite produces so much mischief, is not the son of Satan, but the "fowle fende" himself, who assumes the form and place of the infant Zeno; and the following passage of the German romance is the only one in strict parallel with Sir Gowther's narrative:

Do lach de bose Satanas
Unde wenede, also eyn kint dot.
Do entwakede de vruwe gut,
Unde wolde dem kinde spyse geven:
Do behelt se kume dat leven.
He soch so sere ut oren brosten,
Dat man se laben moete.
Se wunnen mennich vrone wif,
Se al verloren oren lif,
Van dem vil ungehuren.

Which may be thus *done* into English:

That evil Satanas then lough,
And whined as a child mote do;

Then awaked that lady good,
And thought to give the child some food;
But at her breast he soke so sore,
That she had nigh her life forlore.
They hired many a goodly wife,
But through that fiend they lost their life.

PRICE.]

* More properly written *dauzel*, or *danzel*. As in the old French romance of Garin,

Et la *danzel* que Bues ot norris.

And in other places. So our king Richard the First, in a fragment of one of his Provençal sonnets,

E lou *donzel* de Thuscana.

"For Boys Tuscany is the country." In Spanish, *Lo Donzell*. See Andr. Bosch, *Deis Titols de honor de Cathalanya*. L. iii. c. 3. § 16. In some of these instances, the word is restrained to the sense of

Seur un cheval corant,
 En palleis vint eraunt.
 En sa main tint un cor
 A quatre bendel de or,
 Ci com etoit diveure
 Entaillez de ad trifure¹;
 Peres ici ont assises,
 Qu'en le or furent mises,
 Berreles et sardoines,
 Et riches calcedoines.
 Il fu fust de ollifaunt,
 Ounques ne ni si graunt,
 Ne si fort, ne si bel;
 Desus ont un anel,
 Neele de ad argent;
 Eschelettes il ont cent
 Perfectées de or fin;
 En le tens Constantin,
 Les fist une Fée,
 Qu preuz ert, et senec,
 E le corn destina
 Si cum vous orres ja:
 Qui sour le corn ferroit
 Un petit de soun doit,
 Ses eschelettes cent
 Sounent tant doucement,

Squire. It is from the Latin DOMICELLUS. Froissart calls Richard the Second, when prince of Wales, "Le jeune *Damoisel* Richart." tom. i. c. 325.

[Mr. Ritson denies that the sonnet in question was written by Richard I.; and follows Nostradamus, who attributes it to the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa. It is, however, a well-known fact, that this Emperor was so firm in his predilection for his native tongue, that though acquainted with several European languages, he constantly refused to converse with the ambassadors of foreign states who were ignorant of German, except through the medium of an interpreter. This, coupled with the general inaccuracy of Nostradamus's historical notices, might justify a doubt as to the correctness of the statement. It would, however, be perfectly in character if spoken of the Emperor Frederic II., who was himself a Minnesinger or Troubadour, and a patron of Troubadours.—PRICE.]

¹ Or rather *trifore*. Undoubtedly from the Latin *triforium*, a rich ornamented edge or border. The Latin often occurs

under Dugdale's Inventory of saint Paul's, in the Monasticon, viz. "Morsus [a buckle] W. de Ely argenteus, cresta ejus argentea, cum TRIFORIO exterius aureo et lapillis insitis," &c. tom. iii. Eccl. Cath. p. 309. TRIFORIATUS repeatedly occurs in the same page, as thus. "Morsus Petri de Blois TRIFORIATUS de auro."—"Medio circulo [of a buckle] aurato, TRIFORIATO, inserto grossis lapidibus," &c.—"Cum multis lapidibus et perlis insitis in limbis, et quadraturis TRIPHORATUS aureis," &c. &c. ibid. p. 309. et seq. It is sometimes written TRIFORIA. As, "Pan-nus cujus campus purpureus, cum xiv listis in longitudine *ad modum* TRIFORIE contextis." ibid. p. 326. col. 2. TRIFURE, in the text, may be literally interpreted *jewel-work*. As in Chron. S. Dion. tom. iii. Collect. Histor. Franc. p. 183. "Il estoient de fin or esmere et aourné de tres riches pierres precieuses d' *ure* [œuvre] TRIPHORE." Which Aimon calls, "gem-misque ornata *Opere inclusorio*," that is, *work consisting of jewels set in*. De Gest. Franc. Lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 44. G. edit. Paris. 1603. fol.

Que harpe ne viele
 Ne deduit de pucelle,
 Ne sereigne du mer
 N'est tele desconter.

These lines may be thus interpreted. "A boy, very graceful and beautiful, mounted on a swift horse, came into the palace of king Arthur. He bore in his hand a horn, having four bandages of gold; it was made of ivory, engraved with *trifaire*: many pretious stones were set in the gold, beryls, sardonyces, and rich chalcedonies: it was of elephant [ivory]: nothing was ever so grand, so strong, so beautiful: at bottom was a ring [or rim] wrought of silver; where were hanging an hundred little bells, framed of fine gold, in the days of Constantine, by a Fairy, brave and wise, for the purpose which ye have just heard me relate. If any one gently struck the horn with his finger, the hundred bells sounded so sweetly, that neither harp nor viol, nor the sports of a virgin, nor the syrens of the sea, could ever give such music." The author of this *Lai* is one Robert Bikez, as appears by the last lines; in which the horn is said still to be seen at Cirencester. From this tale came Ariosto's ENCHANTED CUP, ORB. FURIOS. xlii. 92; and Fontaine's LA COUPE ENCHANTEE. From the COURT MANTEL, a fiction of the same tendency, and which was common among the Welsh bards, Spenser borrowed the wonderful virtues and effects of his FLORIMEL'S GIRDLE, iv. 5. 3. Both stories are connected in an ancient Ballad published by Percy, vol. iii. p. 1.

In the Digby manuscript, which contains *La Lai du Corn*, are many other curious chansons, romantic, allegorical, and legendary, both in old French and old English. I will here exhibit the rubrics, or titles, of the most remarkable pieces, and of such as seem most likely to throw light on the subjects or allusions of our ancient English poetry. *Le Romaunz Peres Aunfour* [Alfonse] *coment il aprist et chastia son fils belement*. [See Notes to CANTERB. T. p. 328. vol. iv.] *De un demi ami*.—*De un bon ami enter*.—*De un sage homme et de i fol*.—*De un gopil et de un mul*.—*De un roi et de un clerc*.—*De un homme et de une serpente et de un gopil*.—*De un roi et de un versifour*.—*De ii clerks escoliers*.—*De un prodome et de sa male femme*.—*Del engin de femme del nelons*.—*Del espee, autre engin de femme*.—*De un roy et de un fableour*.—*De une veille et de une lisette*.—*De la gile de la pere el pin*.—*De un prodfemme bone cointise*. [Pr. "Un Espagnol ceo vy counter."]—*De ii menestreus*. [i. e. Minstrels.]—*De un roy et de Platoun*.—*De un vilein de i lou et de un gopil*.—*De un roy fol large*.—*De Maimound mal esquier*.—*De Socrates et de roi Alisaundre*.—*De roi Alisaundre et de i philosophe*.—*De un philosofel et del alme*.—*Ci commence le romaunz de Enfer, Le Sounge Rauf de Hodenge de la voie denfer*. [Ad calc. "Rauf de Hodeng, saunz mensouge,—Qui cest romaunz fist de sun songe." See Verdier, BIBL. FR. ii. 394. v. 394. Paris, 1773.]—*De un vallet qui soutint dames et dammaisales*.—*De Romme et de Gerusalem*.

—*La lais du corn.*—*Le fabel del gelous.*—*Ci comence la Bestournée.*—*La vie de un vaillet amerous.*—*De iiii files . . .* [Pr. "Un rois estoit de graunt pouer."]—*How Jheu Crist herewede helle, &c.* [See Sect. xxvii. near the end.]—*Le xv singnes [signes] de domesday.* [Pr. "Fifteene toknen ich tellen may." Compare vol. ii. p. 5.]—*Ci comence la vie seint Eustace ci out nom Placidus.*

[Pr. "Alle that loveth godes lore,
Olde and yonge lasse and more."

See MS. VERNON, fol. 170. ut supr.]—*Le diz de seint Bernard.* [Pr. "The blessinge of hevene kinge."]—*Vbi sont ci ante nos fuerunt.* [In English.]—*Chaunçon de nostre dame.* [Pr. "Stond wel moder ounder rode."]—*Here beginneth the sawe of seint Bede preest.* [Pr. "Holi gost thi mijte."]—*Coment le saunter notre dame fu primes cuntroué.* [Pr. "Luedi swete and milde."]—*Les onze peines de enfer.* [Pr. "Oiez Seynours une demande."]—*Le regret de Maximian.* [Pr. "Herkeneth to mi ron." MSS. HARL. 2253. f. 82. See vol. i. p. 32.]—*Ci comence le content par entre le mavis et la russinole.* [Pr. "Somer is cumen with love to tounne." See vol. i. p. 29.]—*Of the fox and of the wolf.* [Pr. "A vox gon out of the wode go."]—*Hending the hende.* [MSS. HARL. 2253. 89. fol. 125.]—*Les proverbes del vilain.*—*Les miracles de seint NICHOLAS.*—*Ragemon le bon.*—*Chaucun del secle.* [In English.]—*Ci commence le fable et la courtise de dame Siriz.* [Pr. "As I com bi an waie."]—*Le noms de un leure Engleis.* [i. e. The name of the Hare in English.]—*Ci comence la vie nostre dame.*—*Ci comence le doctrial de enseignemens de curteisie.*—*Ci comence les Aves noustre dame.*—*De ii chevalers torts ke plenderent aroune.*—*Bonne prieur à nostre seigneur Jhu Crist.*—*Ci comence l'estrif de ii dames.*—*Hic incipit carmen inter corpus et animam.* [A Dialogue in English verse between a Body laid on a bier and its Soul. Pr. "Hon'on stude I stod an lutell estrif to here."]—*Ci commence la manere que le amour est pur assaier.* [Pr. "Love is soft, love is swete, love is goed sware."]—*Chaunçon de noustre seigneur.* This manuscript seems to have been written about the year 1304. Ralph Houdain, whose poem called *VISION D'ENFER* it contains, wrote about the year 1230.

The word *LAI**, I believe, was applied to any subject, and signified only the versification. Thus we have in the Bodleian library *La Lumere as LAIS, par Mestre Pierre de Feccham.*

Vrai deu omnipotent
K'estes fin et commencement.

MSS. BODL. 399. It is a system of theology in this species of metre.

* [Though the etymology of this word still remains inscrutable, its import is sufficiently manifest. And notwithstanding the versification of the several pieces bearing this title is nearly similar, the appellation appears rather to have been

given to the matter of them than to the form in which they were composed. Feccham's poem is not a lay; and its title would be rendered in more modern orthography *La Lumiere aux Laïques.*—PRICE.]

SECTION XXV.

Harding's Chronicle. First mention of the king's Poet Laureate occurs in the reign of Edward the Fourth. History of that office. Scogan. Didactic poems on chemistry by Norton and Ripley.

THE first poet that occurs in the reign of king Edward the Fourth is John Harding[†]. He was of northern extraction, and educated in the

[†] To the preceding reign of Henry the Sixth, belongs a poem written by James the First, king of Scotland, who was atrociously murdered at Perth in the year 1436. It is entitled the KING'S COMPLAINT, is allegorical, and in the seven-lined stanza. [The title of this poem is: "the Quair, maid be king James of Scotland the First, callit the king's Quair," where the king's Quair, means the king's book (Quire).—PRICE.] The subject was suggested to the poet by his own misfortunes, and the mode of composition by reading Boethius. At the close, he mentions Gower and Chaucer as seated on the *steppys of rhetorike*. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Selden. Archiv. B. 24. chart. fol. [With many pieces of Chaucer.] This unfortunate monarch was educated while a prisoner in England, at the command of our Henry the Fourth, and the poem was written during his captivity there. The Scotch historians represent him as a prodigy of erudition. He civilized the Scotch nation. Among other accomplishments, he was an admirable musician, and particularly skilled in playing on the harp. See Lesley, *De Reb. Gest. Scot.* lib. vii. p. 257. 266. 267. edit. 1675. 4to. The same historian says, "ita orator erat, ut ejus dictione nihil fuerit artificiosius: ita POETA, ut carmina non tam arte strinxisse, quam natura sponte fudisse videretur. Cui rei fidem faciunt carmina diversi generis, quæ in rhythmum Scotice illigavit, eo artificio," &c. Ibid. p. 267. See also Buchanan, *Rer. Scot.* lib. x. p. 186—196. Opp. tom. i. Edinb. 1715. Among other pieces, which I have never seen, Bale mentions his *CANTILENÆ SCOTICÆ*, and *RHYTHMI LATINI*. Bale, *paral. post. Cent.* xiv. 56. pag. 217. It is not the plan of this work to comprehend and examine in form pieces of Scotch poetry, except such only as are of singular merit. Otherwise, our royal bard would have been considered at large, and at his proper period, in the

text. I will, however, add here, two stanzas of the poem contained in the Selden manuscript, which seems to be the most distinguished of his compositions, and was never printed:

In ver that full of vertue is and gude,
When nature first begynneth her emprise,
That quilham was be cruell frost and fude,
And shoures scharp, opprest in many wyse;
And Cynthus gynneth to aryse
Heigh in the east a morow soft and swete
Upwards his course to drive in Ariete:

Passit bot mydday foure grees evyn
Off lenth and brede, his angel wingis
bright

He spred uppon the ground down fro
the hevyn;

That for gladness and confort of the sight,
And with the tiklyng of his hete and light
The tender floures opinyt thanne and sprad
And in thar nature thankit him for glad.

This piece is not specified by Bale, Dempster, or Mackenzie. See Bale, *ubi* supr. Dempster, *Scot. Scriptor.* ix. 714. pag. 380. edit. 1622. Mackenzie, vol. i. p. 318. Edinb. 1708. fol.

John Major mentions the beginning of some of his other poems, viz. "Yas sen," &c. And "At Beltayn," &c. [Both these poems are supposed to be still existing. They will be found in Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, vol. i. p. 55—129. There does not however appear to be any good authority for attributing the latter, usually called "Pebilis to the Play," to James the First. The internal evidence speaks decidedly for a later æra than the reign of this distinguished monarch.—PRICE.] Both these poems seem to be written on his wife, Joan daughter of the duchess of Clarence, with whom he fell in love while a prisoner in England. Major mentions besides, a *libellus artificiosus*, whether verse or prose I know not, which he wrote on this lady in England, before

family of lord Henry Percy^u; and, at twenty-five years of age, hazarded his fortunes as a volunteer at the decisive battle of Shrewsbury, fought against [Percy and] the Scots [under lord Douglas] in the year 1403. He appears to have been indefatigable in examining original records, chiefly with a design of ascertaining the fealty due from the Scottish kings to the crown of England; and he carried many instruments from Scotland, for the elucidation of this important inquiry, at the hazard of his life, which he delivered at different times to the Fifth and Sixth Henry, and to Edward the Fourth^w. These investigations seem to have fixed his mind on the study of our national antiquities and history. At length he clothed his researches in rhyme, which he dedicated under that form to king Edward the Fourth, and with the title of *The Chronicle of England unto the reigne of king Edward the Fourth in verse*^x. The copy probably presented to the king, although it exhibits at the end the arms of Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, most elegantly transcribed on vellum, and adorned with superb illuminations, is preserved among Selden's manuscripts in the Bodleian library^y. Our

his marriage; and which Bale entitles *Super Uzore futura*. This historian, who flourished about the year 1520, adds, that our monarch's CANTILENÆ were commonly sung by the Scotch as the most favourite compositions; and that he played better on the harp than the most skilful Irish or highland harper. Major does not enumerate the poem I have here cited. Major, Gest. Scot. lib. vi. cap. xiv. fol. 135. edit. 1521. 4to. Doctor Percy has one of James's CANTILENÆ, in which there is much merit.

^u One William Peeris, a priest, and secretary to the fifth earl of Northumberland, wrote in verse, *William Peeris's discente of the Lord Percis*. Pr. Prol. "Cronykills and annuel books of kyngs." Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 18. D. 9. Then immediately follows (10.) in the same manuscript, perhaps written by the same author, a collection of metrical proverbs painted in several chambers of Lekingfield and Wresille, [printed in the *Antiq. Repertory*, vols. iii. and iv. 1780-4], ancient seats of the Percy family.

^w Henry the Sixth granted immunities to Harding in several patents for procuring the Scottish evidences. The earliest is dated an. reg. xviii. [1440.] There is a memorandum in the exchequer, that, in 1458, John Harding of Kyme delivered to John Talbot, treasurer of England, and chancellor of the exchequer, five Scottish letters patent, acknowledging various homages of the kings and nobility of Scotland. They are inclosed in a wooden box in the exchequer, kept in a large chest, under the mark, Scotia. Harding. So says Ashmole [MSS. Ashmol. 860. p. 186.]

from a register in the exchequer called the Yellow-book.

^x Printed, at London, 1543. 4to. by Grafton, who has prefixed a dedication of three leaves in verse to Thomas duke of Norfolk. A continuation in prose from Edward the Fourth to Henry the Eighth is added, probably by Grafton. But see Grafton's Preface to his Abridgement of the Chronicle of England, edit. 1570.

[Harding "was a most dexterous and notable forger, and obtained great rewards from Henry the Sixth, and Edward the Fourth, for a number of supposititious charters of fealty and homage, from the Scottish monarchs to the kings of England; which he pretended to have obtained in Scotland at the hazard of his life, and which are still carefully preserved in the exchequer."—RITSON.]

[A new edition has since been published by Mr. Ellis, who has collated both the Selden and Ashmole MSS., together with a very valuable one now in the British Museum, and formerly belonging to lord Lansdowne. The text of Mr. Ellis has been followed upon the present occasion. It may be right to add, that this gentleman has suggested a *possibility*, that Harding was himself imposed upon in the affair of the charters; that he was the dupe, and not the perpetrator, of the fraud.—PRICE.]

^y MSS. Archiv. Seld. B. 26. It is richly bound and studded. At the end is a curious map of Scotland; together with many prose pieces by Harding of the historical kind. The Ashmolean manuscript is entitled, *THE CHRONICLE OF JOHN HARDING in metre from the beginning of*

author is concise and compendious in his narrative of events from Brutus to the reign of king Henry the Fourth: he is much more minute and diffuse in relating those affairs, of which, for more than the space of sixty years, he was a living witness, and which occurred from that period to the reign of Edward the Fourth. The poem seems to have been completed about the year 1470. In his final chapter he exhorts the king to recall his rival king Henry the Sixth, and to restore the partisans of that unhappy prince.

This work is almost beneath criticism, and fit only for the attention of an antiquary. Harding may be pronounced to be the most impotent of our metrical historians, especially when we recollect the great improvements which English poetry had now received. I will not even except Robert of Gloucester, who lived in the infancy of taste and versification. The chronicle of this authentic and laborious annalist has hardly those more modest graces, which could properly recommend and adorn a detail of the British story in prose. He has left some pieces in prose: and Winstanly says, "as his prose was very usefull, so was his poetry as much delightfull." I am of opinion that both his prose and poetry are equally useful and delightful. What can be more frigid and unanimated than these lines?

Kyng Arthure then in Avalon so died,
Wher he was buried in a chapell fayre,
Whiche nowe is made and fully edified,
The mynster church this daye of great repayre,
Of Glastenbury where nowe he hath his leyre;
But then it was called the blacke chapell
Of our Lady as chronicles can tell.

Wher Geryn erle of Chartres then abode,
Besyde his tounge for whole devocion,
Whether Launcelot de Lake came, as he rode
Upon the chace with trompette and clarion;
And Geryn tolde hym ther all up and downe,
Howe Arthure was there layde in sepulture,
For whiche with hym to byde he hight full sore*.

Fuller affirms our author to have "drunk as deep a draught of Helicon as any of his age." An assertion partly true: it is certain, however, that the diction and imagery of our poetic composition would have remained in just the same state had Harding never wrote.

In this reign, the first mention of the king's poet, under the appellation of LAUREATE, occurs. John Kay was appointed poet laureate to Edward the Fourth. It is extraordinary that he should have left no pieces of poetry to prove his pretensions in some degree to this office,

England unto the reign of Edward the Fourth. MSS. Ashmol. Oxon. 34. membran.

* Ch. lxxxiv. fol. lxxvii. edit. Graft. 1543.

with which he is said to have been invested by the king, at his return from Italy. The only composition he has transmitted to posterity is a prose English translation of a Latin history of the Siege of Rhodes^a: in the dedication addressed to king Edward, or rather in the title, he styles himself *hys humble poete laureate*. Although this our laureate furnishes us with no materials as a poet, yet his office, which here occurs for the first time under this denomination, must not pass unnoticed in the annals of English poetry, and will produce a short digression.

Great confusion has entered into this subject, on account of the degrees in grammar, which included rhetoric and versification^b, anciently taken in our universities, particularly at Oxford: on which occasion, a wreath of laurel was presented to the new graduate, who was afterwards usually styled *poeta laureatus*^c. These scholastic laureations, however, seem to have given rise to the appellation in question. I will give some instances at Oxford, which at the same time will explain the nature of the studies for which our academical philologists received their rewards. About the year 1470, one John Watson^d, a student in grammar, obtained a concession to be graduated and laureated in that science; on condition that he composed one hundred Latin verses in praise of the university, or a Latin comedy^d. Another grammarian†

^a MSS. Cotton. Brit. Mus. Vitell. D. xii. 10. It was printed at London, 1506. This impression was in Henry Worsley's library, Cat. MSS. Angl. etc. tom. ii. p. 212. N. 6873. 25. I know nothing of the Latin; except that Gulielmus Caorsinus, vice-chancellor for forty years of the knights of Malta, wrote an *OSSIDIO RHODIÆ URBIS*, when it was in vain attempted to be taken by the Turks in 1480. Separately printed without date or place in quarto. It was also printed in German, Argentorat. 1513. The works of this Gulielmus, which are numerous, were printed together, at Ulm, 1496. fol. with rude wooden prints. See an exact account of this writer, *Diar. Eruditor. Ital. tom. xxi. p. 412.*

One John Caius a poet of Cambridge is mentioned in sir T. More's Works, p. 204. And in Parker's Def. of Pr. Marr. against Martin, p. 99.

[Mr. Dibdin queries whether any English edition of Kay's Siege of Rhodes in 1506 really exists? A dateless edition, heretofore attributed to Caxton's press, is thought by Mr. D. to resemble more closely the types used by Lettou and Machlinia. *Typogr. Antiq. vol. i. p. 353.*—PARK.]

^b In the ancient statutes of the university of Oxford, every Regent Master in Grammar is prohibited from reading in his faculty, unless he first pass an examination *DE MODO VERSIFICANDI et dictandi, &c.* MSS. Bibl. Bodl. fol. membran. Arch. A. 91. [nunc 2874.] f. 55. b. This

scholastic cultivation of the art of Prosody gave rise to many Latin systems of Metre about this period. Among others, Thomas Langley, a monk of Hulm in Norfolk, in the year 1430, wrote, in two books, *DE VARIETATE CARMINUM*. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 100. One John Seguard, a Latin poet and rhetorician of Norwich, about the year 1414, wrote a piece of this kind called *METRISTENCHIRIDION*, addressed to Courtney bishop of Norwich, treating of the nature of metre in general, and especially of the common metres of the *Hymns* of Boecius and *Oracius* [Horace]. Oxon. MSS. Coll. Merton. Q. iii. 1.

^c When any of these graduated grammarians were licenced to teach boys, they were publicly presented in the Convocation-house with a rod and ferrel. *Registr. Univ. Oxon. G. fol. 72 a.*

^d [For John, says Mr. Churton, read Edward Watson, who was not graduated in grammar till the 18th of March 1511–12; the concession here spoken of having been obtained on the 11th of that month. *Life of Bishop Smyth, p. 153.*—PARK.]

^d *Registr. Univ. Oxon. G. fol. 143.* I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the learned Mr. Swinton, keeper of the Archives at Oxford, for giving me frequent and free access to the Registers of that university.

† [Richard Smyth, who petitioned for leave to teach, May 12, 1512; and he was ordered in January following to proceed to his degree before Easter. Churton, ut *supr.*—PARK.]

was distinguished with the same badge, after having stipulated, that, at the next public Act, he would affix the same number of hexameters on the great gates of saint Mary's church, that they might be seen by the whole university. This was at that period the most convenient mode of publication*. About the same time, one Maurice Byrchensaw*, a scholar in rhetoric, supplicated to be admitted to read lectures, that is, to take a degree, in that faculty; and his petition was granted, with a provision, that he should write one hundred verses on the glory of the university, and not suffer Ovid's *ART OF LOVE*, and the *Elegies of Pamphilus*†, to be studied in his auditory‡. Not long afterwards, one John Bulman†, another rhetorician, having complied with the terms imposed, of explaining the first book of Tully's *OFFICES*, and likewise the first of his *EPISTLES*, without any pecuniary emolument, was graduated in rhetoric; and a crown of laurel was publicly placed on his head by the hands of the chancellor of the university^b. About the year 1489¹, Skelton was laureated at Oxford, and in the year 1493, was permitted to wear his laurel at Cambridge^k. Robert Whittington‡ affords the last instance of a rhetorical degree at Oxford. He was a secular priest, and

* Registr. Univ. Oxon. G. fol. 162.

* [The date of Maurice Byrchynshaw's *grace* is Dec. 8, 1511. He was admitted to his degree afterwards, Feb. 6, on condition that he should not read to his auditors Pamphilus, nor Ovid's *Art of Love*. Churton, ut *supr.*—PARK.]

† Ovid's supposititious pieces, and other verses of the lower age, were printed together by Goldastus, Francof. 1610. 8vo. Among these is, "Pamphili Maurilliani PAMPHILUS, sive de Arte Amandi, Elegiæ lxiii." This is from the same school with Ovid *DE VETULA*, and by some thought to be forged by the same author.

^a Registr. Univ. Oxon. G. fol. 134 a.

† [John Bulman's is dated June 3, 1511: but the circumstance that a crown of laurel was placed on his head by the chancellor, as Wood also mentions in his *Annals*, escaped the notice of Mr. Churton.—PARK.]

^b Registr. ut *supr.* G. fol. 124 b.

¹ Caxton, in the preface to the English *ENEYDOS*, mentions "Mayster John Skelton, late created poete laureate in the universite of Oxenford," &c. This work was printed in 1490. Churchyard mentions Skelton's academical laureation, in his poem prefixed to Skelton's works, Lond. 1568. 8vo.

Nay, Skelton wore the *laurel wreath*,
And *past in scholes* ye knoe.

And again,

That was the garland wreath
Of *laurel leaves so late*.

^k Registr. Univ. Cantabrig. sub anno.

"Conceditur Johanni Skelton poëta in partibus transmarinis atque Oxonii laurea ornato, ut apud nos eadem decoraretur." And afterwards, an. 1504, 5. "Conceditur Johanni Skelton poëta laureato quod possit constare eodem gradu hic quo stetit Oxonii, et quod possit uti habitu sibi concesso a principe." The latter clause, I believe, relates to some distinction of habit, perhaps of fur or velvet, granted him by the king. Skelton is said to have been poet laureate to Henry the Eighth. He also styles himself *Orator regius*, p. 1. 6. 109. 107. 284. 285. 287. Works, 1736.

‡ [Robert Whittington had been a scholar of rhetoric fourteen years. He was admitted to the degree of bachelor April 15, 1513; allowed to wear a silk hood July 3, and crowned with laurel at the act next day. But Mr. Warton is not correct in saying that he affords the last instance of a rhetorical degree at Oxford: for Thomas More occurs June 13, 1513; John Bale and Thomas Thomson in 1514. It is much excuse, however, for a mind like that of our incomparable historian, intent upon objects great and various, that the dates in the university-register do not form a part of each distinct entry, but must be collected by tracing them back. Possibly too, Wood's *Annals*, then in manuscript, contributed to the above mistakes: but certain it is, that all these stipulated compositions, symptoms of growing taste and attention to learning of a better cast, belong to a period later by thirty years than that to which most of them are assigned by Mr. Warton. See Churton, ubi *supr.*—PARK.]

eminent for his various treatises in grammar, and for his facility in Latin poetry: having exercised his art many years, and submitting to the customary demand of an hundred verses, he was honoured with the laurel in the year 1512¹. This title is prefixed to one of his grammatical systems: "ROBERTI WHITTINTONI, *Lichfeldiensis, Grammatices Magistri*, PROTOVATIS *Angliæ, in florentissima Oxoniensi Achademia* LAUREATI, DE OCTO PARTIBUS ORATIONIS^m." In his PANEGYRIC to cardinal Wolsey, he mentions his laurel,

Suscipe LAURICOMI munuscula parva Roberti^a.

With regard to the Poet laureate of the kings of England, an officer of the court remaining under that title to this day, he is undoubtedly the same that is styled the KING'S VERSIFIER, and to whom one hundred shillings were paid as his annual stipend, in the year 1251^o. But when or how that title commenced, and whether this officer was ever solemnly crowned with laurel at his first investiture, I will not pretend to determine, after the searches of the learned Selden on this question have proved unsuccessful. It seems most probable, that the barbarous and inglorious name of VERSIFIER gradually gave way to an appellation of more elegance and dignity; or rather, that at length, those only were in general invited to this appointment, who had received academical sanction, and had merited a crown of laurel in the universities for their abilities in Latin composition, particularly Latin versification. Thus the *king's Laureate* was nothing more than "a *graduated* rhetorician employed in the service of the king." That he originally wrote in Latin, appears from the ancient title *versificator*; and may be moreover collected from the two Latin poems, which Baston and Gulielmus, who appear to have respectively acted in the capacity of royal poets to Richard the First and Edward the Second, officially composed on Richard's crusade, and Edward's siege of Striveling castle^p.

¹ Registr. Univ. Oxon. ut supr. G. 173 b. 187 b.

^m Lond. 1513. See the next note.

^a In his "Opusculum Roberti Whittintoni in florentissima Oxoniensi achademia laureati." Signat. A. iii. Bl. Let. 4to. Colophon, "Expliciunt Roberti Whittintoni Oxonii protovatis epigrammata, una cum quibusdam panegyricis, impressa Londini per me Wynandum de Worde. Anno post virgineum partum M.CCCC. xix. decimo vero Kal. Maii." The Panegyrics are, on Henry the Eighth, and cardinal Wolsey. The Epigrams, which are long copies of verse, are addressed to Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, sir Thomas More, and to Skelton, under the title *Ad lepidissimum poetam SCHELTONEM carmen*, &c. Some of the lines are in a very classical style, and much in the manner of the earlier Latin Italian poets. At the end of these Latin poems is a defence of the author, called ANTILYCON, &c. This book is ex-

tremely scarce, and not mentioned by Wood, Ames, and some other collectors. These pieces are in manuscript, Oxon. MSS. Bodl. D. 3. 22. [Mr. Heber possesses a copy of this rare Opusculum. It forms an elegant specimen of black-letter typography; but I do not trace any insertion under the title ANTILYCON. The splendid eulogium "in clarissimum SCHELTONEM Lovaniensem poetam" is followed by a Latin distich, and by twelve lines "in Zoilum," which close the collection, and may be considered indeed as an indignant defence. To the poetical panegyric on Wolsey succeeds a curious piece of adulation in prose, "ad eundem Dominum Legatum et Cardinalem; a laude quatuor virtutum cardinalium."—PARK.]

^o See supr. vol. i. p. 45.

^p See supra, vol. ii. p. 15. By the way, Baston is called by Bale "*laureatus apud Oxonienses*." Cent. iv. cap. 92.

Andrew Bernard, successively poet laureate of Henry the Seventh and the Eighth, affords a still stronger proof that this officer was a Latin scholar. He was a native of Tholouse, and an Augustine monk. He was not only the king's poet laureate^q, as it is supposed, but his historiographer^r, and preceptor in grammar to prince Arthur. He obtained many ecclesiastical preferments in England^s. All the pieces now to be found, which he wrote in the character of poet laureate, are in Latin^t. These are, an ADDRESS to *Henry the Eighth, for the most auspicious beginning of the tenth year of his reign*, with an EPITHALAMIUM on the marriage of *Francis the Dauphin of France with the king's daughter*^u; A NEW YEAR'S GIFT for the year 1515^w; and verses wishing prosperity to his majesty's thirteenth year^x. He has left some Latin hymns^y: and many of his Latin prose pieces, which he wrote in the quality of historiographer to both monarchs, are remaining^z.

I am of opinion, that it was not customary for the royal laureate to write in English, till the reformation of religion had begun to diminish the veneration for the Latin language; or rather, till the love of novelty,

^q See an instrument PRO POETA LAUREATO. dat. 1486. Rymer's Fœd., tom. xii. p. 317. But, by the way, in this instrument there is no specification of any thing to be done *officially* by Bernard. The king only grants to Andrew Bernard, *Poetæ laureato*, which we may construe either THE laureated poet, or A poet laureate, a salary of ten marcs, till he can obtain some equivalent appointment. This, however, is only a precept to the treasurer and chamberlains to disburse the salary, and refers to letters patent, not printed by Rymer. It is certain that Gower and Chaucer were never appointed to this office, notwithstanding this is commonly supposed. Skelton, in his CROWNE OF LAWRELL, sees Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate approach: he describes their whole apparel as glittering with the richest precious stones, and then immediately adds,

They wanted nothing but the LAURELL.

Afterwards, however, there is the rubric *Maister Chaucer LAUREATE poete to Skelton*. Works, p. 21. 22. edit. 1736.

^r Apostolo Zeno was both poet and historiographer to his imperial majesty. So was Dryden to James the Second. It is observable that Petrarch was laureated as poet and historian.

^s One of these, the mastership of saint Leonard's hospital at Bedford, was given him by bishop Smith, one of the founders of Brasen-nose college, Oxford, in the year 1498. Registr. Smith, episc. Lincoln. sub ann.

^t Some of Skelton's Latin poems seem

to be written in the character of the *Royal* laureate, particularly one, entitled "*Hæc Laureatus Skeltonus, orator reginæ, super triumphali*," &c. It is subscribed "*Per Skeltonida Laureatum, oratorem regium*." Works, p. 110. edit. ut sup. Hardly any of his English pieces, which are numerous, appear to belong to that character. With regard to the ORATOR REGIUS, I find one John Mallard in that office to Henry the Eighth, and his epistolary secretary. He has left a *Latin elegiac paraphrase on the Lord's prayer*, MSS. Bibl. Reg. 7 D. xiii. Dedicated to that king. *Le premier livre de la cosmographie*, in verse, *ibid.* 20 B. xii. And a *Psalter*, beautifully written by himself, for the use of the king. In the margin, are short notes in the hand-writing, and two exquisite miniatures, of Henry the Eighth. *Ibid.* 2 A. xvi.

^u MS. olim penes Thom. Martin de Palgrave.

^w MSS. Coll. Nov. Oxon. 287.

^x Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 12 A. x. The copy presented. In paper. There is a wretched false quantity in the first line,

Indue, honor, cultus, et adole munera flammis.

^y And a Latin life of saint Andrew. MSS. Cotton. Domitian. A. xviii. 15.

^z A chronicle of the life and achievements of Henry the Seventh on the taking of Perkin Warbeck, MSS. Cotton. Domitian. A. xviii. 15. Other historical commentaries on the reign of that king. *Ibid.* Jul. A. 4. Jul. A. 3.

[See *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii. pp. 154. 192.—M.]

and a better sense of things, had banished the narrow pedantries of monastic erudition, and taught us to cultivate our native tongue. In the mean time it is to be wished, that another change might at least be suffered to take place in the execution of this institution, which is confessedly Gothic, and unaccommodated to modern manners. I mean, that the more than annual return of a composition on a trite argument would be no longer required. I am conscious I say this at a time, when the best of kings affords the most just and copious theme for panegyric; but I speak it at a time, when the department is honourably filled by a poet of taste and genius, which are idly wasted on the most splendid subjects, when imposed by constraint, and perpetually repeated*.

To what is here incidentally collected on an article more curious than important, I add an observation, which shows that the practice of other nations in this respect altogether corresponded with that of our own. When we read of the laureated poets of Italy and Germany, we are to remember, that they most commonly received this honour from the state, or some university; seldom, at least not immediately, from the prince: and if we find any of these professedly employed in the department of a court-poet, that they were not, in consequence of that peculiar situation, styled poets laureate. The distinction, at least in general, was previously conferred*.

John Scogan is commonly supposed to have been a cotemporary of Chaucer, but this is a mistake^b. He was educated at Oriel college in

* [The birth-day of William III. in 1694 appears to have been officially celebrated by Tate, whom Rowe succeeded in the laureatship; and from the year 1718 a regular series may almost be traced of birth-day and new-year odes. Warton gave an historical dignity and a splendour of poetical diction to those he composed, which would hardly leave a reader to conceive that the subjects were "imposed by constraint." His predecessor Whitehead must strongly have felt the irksome force of this constraint; when he lamented, in his pathetic apology for all laureats, that

His muse, obliged by sack and pension,
Without a subject, or invention,
Must certain words in order set
As innocent as a gazette;
Must some half-meaning half disguise,
And utter neither truth nor lies.

Mr. Southey, the *primus poesis artifex* in our day, condescended to accept the office of poet-laureate on the death of Mr. Pye in 1813.—*PARK.*]

* The reader who requires a full and particular information concerning the first origin of the laureation of poets, and the solemnities with which this ceremony was performed in Italy and Germany, is referred to Selden's *Tit. Hon. Op.* tom. p.

457 seq. *Vie de Petrarque*, tom. iii. *Notes*, &c. p. 1. Not. quat.; and to a memoir of M. l'Abbé du Resnel, *Mem. Lit.* x. 507. 4to. I will only add the form of the creation of three poets laureate by the chancellor of the university of Strasburgh, in the year 1621. "I create you, being placed in a chair of state, crowned with laurel and ivy, and wearing a ring of gold, and the same do pronounce and constitute, *POETS LAUREATE*, in the name of the holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen."

^b See Hollinsh. *Chron.* iii. f. 710. It is uncertain whether the poem addressed by Chaucer to Scogan was really written by the former. *MSS. Fairfax*, xvi.

[Mr. Ritson has shown that the cotemporary of Chaucer was *Henry*, and the person mentioned by Hollinshed *John Scogan*. The *moral balade*, noticed in the text, must be attributed to the former, to whom Mr. Ritson also ascribes, on the authority of a MS. in C. C. C. Oxford, "a balade usually printed as Chaucer's, and beginning 'fle from the prese,' &c." Warton in a note below, says the same MS. calls it "*Proverbium Johannis Skogan*." John Scogan appears to have been the author of a poem called "*Colin Clout*," now unknown. See Ritson's *Bibl. Poetica*, p. 99.—*PRICE.*]

Oxford; and being an excellent mimic, and of great pleasantry in conversation, became the favourite buffoon of the court of Edward the Fourth, in which he passed the greatest part of his life. Bale inaccurately calls Scogan, the *JOCULATOR* of Edward the Fourth; by which word he seems simply to understand the king's *JOKER*, for he certainly could not mean that Scogan was his majesty's *MINSTREL*^c. Andrew Borde, a mad physician and a dull poet in the reign of Henry the Eighth, published his *JESTS*, under the title of *SCOGIN'S JESTS*^d, which are without humour or invention; and give us no very favourable idea of the delicacy of the king and courtiers, who could be exhilarated by the merriments of such a writer. A *MORAL BALADE*, printed in Chaucer's works, addressed to the dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester, and sent from a tavern in the Vintry at London, is attributed to Scogan^e. But our jocular bard evidently mistakes his talents when he attempts to give advice. This piece is the dullest sermon that ever was written in the octave stanza. Bale mentions his *COMEDIES*^f, which certainly mean nothing dramatic, and are perhaps only his *JESTS* above mentioned. He seems to have flourished about the year 1480.

Two didactic poets on chemistry appeared in this reign, John Norton and George Ripley. Norton was a native of Bristol^g, and the most skillful alchemist of his age^h. His poem is called the *ORDINAL*, or a manual of the chemical artⁱ. It was presented to Nevil archbishop of York, who was a great patron of the hermetic philosophers^k, which were lately grown so numerous in England, as to occasion an act of parliament against the transmutation of metals. Norton's reason for treating his subject in English rhyme, was to circulate the principles of

^c Script. xi. 70. By the way, the *SERJEANT* of the King's Minstrels occurs under this reign; and in a manner which shows the confidential character of this officer, and his facility of access to the king at all hours and on all occasions. "And as he [Edward IV.] was in the north contray in the moneth of Septembre, as he laye in his bedde, one namid Alexander Carlisle, that was *sariaunt of the mynstrallis*, cam to him in grete haste, and bade hym aryse, for he hadde enemys cummyng," &c. A *REMARKABLE FRAGMENT*, etc. [an. ix. Edward IV.] ad calc. Sportt Chron. edit. Hearne. Oxon. 1729. 8vo. Compare Percy's *Ess. Minstr.* p. 56. Anstis, *Ord. Gart.* ii. 303.

^d It is from these pieces we learn that he was of Oriol college; for he speaks of retiring, with that society, to the hospital of saint Bartholomew, while the plague was at Oxford. These *JESTS* are sixty in number. *Pr. Pref.* "There is nothing besides." *Pr.* "On a time in Lent." They were reprinted about the restoration. 4to.

^e It may yet be doubted whether it be-

longs to Scogan; as it must have been written before the year 1447, and the writer complains of the approach of old age. Col. i. v. 10. It was first printed, under Scogan's name, by Caxton, in the Collection of Chaucer's and Lydgate's Poems. The little piece printed as Chaucer's [Urr. ed. p. 548], called *FLEE FROM THE PRESSE*, is expressly given to Scogan, and called *PROVERBIUM JOANNIS SKOGAN*, MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 203.

^f xi. 70.

^g He speaks of the wife of William Canning, who will occur again below, five times mayor of Bristol, and the founder of saint Mary of Radcliffe church there. *Ordinal*, p. 34.

^h Printed by Ashmole, in his *Theatrum Chemicum*, Lond. 1652. 8vo. p. 6. It was finished A.D. 1477. *Ordin.* p. 106. It was translated into Latin by Michael Maier, M.D. Francof. 1618. 4to. Norton wrote other chemical pieces.

ⁱ See *Ordin.* p. 9. 10. Norton declares, that he learned his art in forty days, at twenty-eight years of age. *Ibid.* p. 33. 88.

^k Ashmole, *ubi* *supr.* p. 455. Notes.

a science of the most consummate utility among the unlearned¹. This poem is totally void of every poetical elegance. The only wonder which it relates, belonging to an art so fertile in striking inventions, and contributing to enrich the store-house of Arabian romance with so many magnificent imageries, is that of an alchemist, who projected a bridge of gold over the river Thames near London, crowned with pinnacles of gold, which being studded with carbuncles, diffused a blaze of light in the dark^m. I will add a few lines only, as a specimen of his versification.

Wherefore he would set up in hight
That bridge, for a wonderfull sight,
With pinnacles guilt, shininge as goulde,
A glorious thing for men to behoulde.
Then he remembered of the newe,
Howe greater fame shulde him pursewe,
If he mought make that bridge so brighte,
That it mought shine alsoe by night:
And so continewe and not breake,
Then all the londe of him would speake, &c.ⁿ

Norton's heroes in the occult sciences are Bacon, Albertus Magnus, and Raymond Lully, to whose specious promises of supplying the coinage of England with inexhaustible mines of philosophical gold, king Edward the Third became an illustrious dupe^o.

George Ripley, Norton's cotemporary, was accomplished in many parts of erudition; and still maintains his reputation as a learned chemist of the lower ages. He was a canon regular of the monastery of Bridlington in Yorkshire, a great traveller^p, and studied both in France and Italy. At his return from abroad, pope Innocent the Eighth absolved him from the observance of the rules of his order, that he might prosecute his studies with more convenience and freedom. But his convent not concurring with this very liberal indulgence, he turned Carmelite at saint Botolph's in Lincolnshire, and died an anachorite in that fraternity in the year 1490^q. His chemical poems are nothing more than the doctrines of alchemy clothed in plain language, and a very rugged versification. The capital performance is *THE COMPOUND OF ALCHEMIE*, written in the year 1471^r. It is in the octave metre, and

¹ Pag. 106.

^m Pag. 26.

ⁿ Ibid.

^o Ashmol. ubi supr. p. 443. 467; and Camden's Rem. p. 242. edit. 1674. By the way, Raymond Lully is said to have died at eighty years of age, in the year 1315. Whart. App. Cave, cap. p. 6.

^p Ashmole says, that Ripley, during his long stay at Rhodes, gave the knights of Malta 100,000*l.* annually, towards maintaining the war against the Turks. Ubi supr. p. 458. Ashmole could not have made this incredible assertion, without

supposing a circumstance equally incredible, that Ripley was in actual possession of the philosopher's stone.

^q Ashmol. p. 455 seq. Bale, viii. 49. Pits. p. 677.

^r Ashmol. Theatr. Chem. p. 193. It was first printed in 1591. 4to. Reprinted by Ashmole, Theatr. Chem. ut supr. p. 107. It has been thrice translated into Latin, Ashm. ut supr. p. 465. See ibid. p. 108. 110. 122. Most of Ripley's Latin works were printed by Lud. Combachius, Cassel. 1619. 12mo.

dedicated to Edward the Fourth^a. Ripley has left a few other compositions on his favourite science, printed by Ashmole, who was an enthusiast in this abused species of philosophy^t. One of them, the *MEDULLA*, written in 1476, is dedicated to archbishop Nevil^u. These pieces have no other merit than that of serving to develope the history of chemistry in England.^v—They certainly contributed nothing to the state of our poetry.

SECTION XXVI.

Poems under the name of Thomas Rowlie. Supposed to be spurious.

BUT a want of genius will be no longer imputed to this period of our poetical history, if the poems lately discovered at Bristol, and said to

^a He mentions the abbey church at Westminster as unfinished. Pag. 154. st. 27. P. 156. and st. 34.

^t Ashmole conjectures, that an English chemical piece in the octave stanza, which he has printed, called *Hermes's Bird*, no unpoetical fiction, was translated from Raymond Lully, by Cremer, abbot of Westminster, a great chemist; and adds, that Cremer brought Lully into England, and introduced him to the notice of Edward the Third, about the year 1334. Ashmol. ubi supra, p. 213. 467. The writer of *Hermes's Bird*, however, appears by the versification and language to have lived at least a hundred years after that period. He informs us, that he made the translation "owte of the Frensche." Ibid. p. 214. [It was translated by Lydgate from a French Fabliau. See Way's *Fabliaux*, vol. i. It had been previously printed by Caxton, *De Worde*, &c. under the title of the *Chorle* and the *Byrde*.—PRICE.] Ashmole mentions a curious picture of the *GRAND MYSTERIES OF THE PHILOSOPHER'S STONE*, which abbot Cremer ordered to be painted in Westminster abbey, upon an arch where the waxen kings and queens are placed; but that it was obliterated with a plasterer's brush by the puritans in Oliver's time. He also mentions a large and beautiful window, behind the pulpit in the neighbouring church of saint Margaret, painted with the same subject, and destroyed by the same ignorant zealots, who mistook these innocent hieroglyphics for some story in a popish legend. Ashmol. ibid. 211. 466. 467. Compare Widmore's *Hist. Westminster-Abbey*, p. 174 seq. edit. 1751. 4to.

^u Ashmol. p. 389. See also p. 374 seq.

^v It will be sufficient to throw some of the obscurer rhymers of this period into the Notes. Osborn Bokenham wrote or translated metrical *lives of the saints*, about 1445. See supra, vol. i. p. 14. note. Gilbert Banester wrote in English verse the *Miracle of saint Thomas*, in the year 1467. CCCC. MSS. Q. viii. See supra, vol. i. p. 70. note ^d, and *Lel. Collectan. tom. i.* (p. ii.) pag. 510. edit. 1770. Wydville earl of Rivers, already mentioned, translated into English distichs, *The morale Proverbs of Crystyne of Pyse*, printed by Caxton, 1477. They consist of two sheets in folio. This is a couplet;

Little vailleth good example to see

For him that wole not the contrarie flee.

This nobleman's only original piece is a *Balet* of four stanzas, preserved by Rouse, a cotemporary historian, *Ross. Hist.* p. 213. edit. Hearn. apud Leland. *Itin. tom. x.* edit. Oxon. 1745. I refer also the Notbrowne Mayde to this period. [Warton retracted this opinion, *Vid. infra*, Sect. xlv.]—See Capel's *Prolusions*, p. 23 seq. edit. 1760. and Percy's *Anc. Ball.* vol. ii. p. 26. seq. edit. 1767. Of the same date is perhaps the *DELECTABLE HISTORIE of king Edward the Fourth and the Tanner of Tamworth*, &c. &c. See Percy, ubi supra, p. 81. [This is but a modern version of an earlier poem published by Mr. Ritson under the title of the "Kyng and the Barker."—PRICE.] Hearne affirms, that in this piece there are some "romantic assertions:—otherwise 'tis a book of value, and more authority is to be given to it than is given to poetical books of LATE YEARS." Hearne's *Leland*, ut supra, vol. ii. p. 103.

have been written by Thomas Rowlie, a secular priest of that place, about the year 1470, are genuine.

It must be acknowledged, that there are some circumstances which incline us to suspect these pieces to be a modern forgery. On the other hand, as there is some degree of plausibility in the history of their discovery, as they possess considerable merit, and are held to be the real productions of Rowlie by many respectable critics; it is my duty to give them a place in this series of our poetry, if it was for no other reason than that the world might be furnished with an opportunity of examining their authenticity*. By exhibiting therefore the most spe-

* [Respecting the Rowleian question, Mr. Southey has lately thus delivered his sentiments: "Ever since I had the slightest acquaintance with old English literature, I was perfectly convinced that it was impossible the poems could be genuine. I will however mention one decisive argument, which I owe to a friend. The little *fac simile* of 'Canyng's Feast' contains manifest proofs that the hand-writing is forged, for the letter *e* is written in eighteen or twenty different ways. Now also there can be no impropriety in mentioning that there was a trait of insanity in the family. Chatterton's sister was once confined; and this is a key to the eccentricities of his life, and to the deplorable rashness of his death." Preface to Mr. Britton's Account of Redcliffe Church. It still remains to state that the Rev. Dr. Symmons in the London Review, and Dr. Sherwin in the Gentleman's Magazine, have most learnedly and ingeniously advocated the antiquity of the Rowleian poems. If the latter gentleman should have failed to produce conviction, he will at least have gained the praise of most critical readers; while he had to contend with the erudite phalanx of Warton and Tyrwhitt, Stevens and Malone, Pinkerton and Chalmers, Scott and Southey, Herbert Croft and Dr. Jamieson, with other scarcely less eminent or formidable names in the British republic of letters. But every obstacle seems to have vanished before the imagination of Dr. Sherwin, except one, viz. "the difficulty of rousing the attention of the literary world to a curious question which had once obtained rather more than its due share of public notice." This difficulty the reconde vindicator of Rowley appears himself to consider as insurmountable; and the experience of this, it is presumed, will furnish a sufficient apology for declining any further agitation of a question which, like the interminable scrutiny after the author of 'Junius's Letters,' might only conduct to "vanity and vexation."—PARK.]

[The editor is not clear that he understands the side intended to be taken by

Mr. Park in this question; but he will suggest a better reason for the inattention bestowed upon Dr. Sherwin's attempt—the knowledge so generally diffused of the spirit of our early poetry. It is this which has reduced the Rowleian controversy to a dead letter, and enabled most readers to decide for themselves upon the only important point, the internal evidence. Without this previous preparation of the public mind, the "erudite phalanx" mentioned above might have written in vain; for which of them could have defined that which is so purely a matter of feeling, and of which Rühnken has so justly observed in a parallel case, *Hoc a peritis sentiri potest; imperitis, quod sit, explicari non potest.* (Pref. in Hymn. Cerer.)? Dr. Sherwin's observations in his "Introduction to an Examination of the Rowleian Controversy" are chiefly glossarial; and of the principle upon which they are conducted, the following specimens may suffice: He considers that *evening* means the *equalizing* or rendering day and night as to light *eve* or *equal* (p. 22); that the *eaves* of a house take their name (its name, with submission; for eaves is itself of the singular number) from the exactness of the line; that the *eve-drop* (*r. eaves-drop*) which forms an *even* parallel line with the wall of the house is a name originating in the same idea (p. 21); that Chaucer's *gesse* (v. 2595) is to *jesse* (where is this word to be found?) or run a tilt at a tournament (p. 30); that *rowe* in the following passage means *raw*;

He felt a thing all rowe, and long yherd.
Chaucer, v. 3667.

that *kers* (a water-cress) means a *curse* (is this because modern ribaldry has chosen to make a punning paraphrase of the simple phrase in which this term occurs?); that *lane* implies a path or passage so narrow as to render it necessary for passengers to go *alane*, or alone (p. 45); that an *asenglaive* means a *provant glove* or a glove proper for actual service in the sharpest brutes or *assayes*, in contradistinction

cious evidences which I have been able to collect concerning the manner in which they were brought to light^a, and by producing such specimens as in another respect cannot be deemed unacceptable, I will endeavour, not only to gratify the curiosity of the public on a subject that has long engaged the general attention, and has never yet been fairly or fully stated, but to supply the more inquisitive reader with every argument, both external and internal, for determining the merits of this interesting controversy. I shall take the liberty to add my own opinion on a point at least doubtful: but with the greatest deference to decisions of much higher authority.

About the year 1470, William Cannyng, an opulent merchant and an alderman of Bristol, afterwards an ecclesiastic, and dean of Westbury college, erected the magnificent church of Saint Mary of Redcliffe, or Radcliff, near Bristol^b. In a muniment-room over the northern portico of the church, the founder placed an iron chest, secured by six different locks^c; which seems to have been principally intended to receive instruments relating to his new structure, and perhaps to his other charities^d, inventories of vestments and ornaments^e, accompts of

to the painted tilting-spear; (though Rowley has said

The assenglaive of his tylt lance was wet)
or, he adds, if the reader prefer the explanation of the provant sword or glave, he can be no stranger to the *assay* or proof of metals (i.e. be it sword or be it spear, what does it matter?); that the word *bound* in almost all its various inflections and usages, whether we speak of the *abounding* of the good things of this world, the *binding* of a garment, or the *boundary* hedge, ditch or wall of a garden or estate, implies service, benefit, preservation, or utility; evincing its derivation from or connection with the old English word *boon*, gift or benefit (p. 75); that *fair* is the contraction of *favour* into one syllable, the same as *wher* for *whether*, *nerr* for *nearer*, *ferr* for *further* (p. 86); that a *barbde* hall and *barbde* horse were so called for the same reason that the defensive parapet or casemate, an opening to shout out at, was called a *barbacan* (Qy? what reason) (p. 88); that a dagger was called a *bodekin* by Chaucer from its having been worn stuck in the girdle close to the *body* (p. 90); that *swaythe* is but a kindred word with *swarth* (p. 94); that *astende*, *stende* and *sten* are synonymous (98); that *fon*, a device, is derived from the Saxon *fon*, *vannus*, a vane; that a vane or pendant (synonymous in the Doctor's vocabulary) is a long gaudy streamer of various colours ornamented with devices; that a lady's fan, &c. &c. &c.; that *hancel* differs only in one letter from *cancel*, which it will be easy to show

is radically the same (as it would be that "handy, dandy, randy O" have all one meaning) (109); for as *mibi* was written *michi*, and *nihil*, *nichil*, it follows therefore that *hancelled*, *cancelled*, *chancelled*, convey literally and identically the same meaning (p. 110); and lastly, that *Pentland* Frith is a corruption of *peincte-land*, as that is synonymous with *pict-land*, i.e. *pinch'd*, *pink'd*, *pickt*, *pict*, *Anglice* painted, land (p. 84). Now what is all this but an obvious imitation of Swift's *sinape*, *snap-eye*, *pall-up-and-ease-us*, *Andro Mackay's daughter*, &c.? The editor has been scarcely able to copy this long list of illustrations with a serious face; but after the sober tone in which Mr. Park has noticed Dr. Sherwin's labours, (and which may have been intended for irony,) he was bound to produce something in self-justification, for his seeming neglect of this extraordinary work.—PRICE.]

^a I acknowledge myself greatly indebted to the ingenious Doctor Harrington of Bath, for facilitating my inquiries on this subject.

^b He is said to have rebuilt Westbury college. Dugd. Warwicksh. p. 634. edit. 1730. and Atkyns, Gloucestersh. p. 802. On his monument in Radcliffe church, he is twice represented, both in an alderman's and a priest's habit. He was five times mayor of Bristol. See Godwin's Bish. p. 446. [But see edit. fol. p. 467.]

^c It is said there were four chests; but this is a circumstance of no consequence.

^d These will be mentioned below.

^e See an inventory of ornaments given

churchwardens, and other parochial evidences. He is said to have directed that this venerable chest should be annually visited and opened by the mayor and other chief magistrates of Bristol, attended by the vicar and churchwardens of the parish; and that a feast should be celebrated every year, on the day of visitation. But this order, that part at least which relates to the inspection of the chest, was soon neglected.

In the year 1768, when the present new bridge at Bristol was finished and opened for passengers, an account of the ceremonies observed on occasion of opening the old bridge, appeared in one of the Bristol Journals; taken, as it was declared, from an ancient manuscript^f. Curiosity was naturally raised to know from whence it came. At length, after much inquiry concerning the person who sent this singular memoir to the newspaper, it was discovered that he was a youth about seventeen years old, whose name was Chatterton; and whose father had been sexton of Radcliffe church for many years, and also master of a writing-school in that parish, of which the churchwardens were trustees. The father however was now dead, and the son was at first unwilling to acknowledge, from whom or by what means, he had procured so valuable an original. But after many promises, and some threats, he confessed that he received a manuscript on parchment containing the narrative above mentioned, together with many other manuscripts on parchment, from his father; who had found them in an iron chest, the same that I have mentioned, placed in a room, situated over the northern entrance of the church.

It appears that the father became possessed of these manuscripts in the year 1748; for in that year, he was permitted, by the churchwardens of Radcliffe church, to take from this chest several written pieces of parchment, supposed to be illegible and useless, for the purpose of converting them into covers for the writing-books of his scholars. It is impossible to ascertain, what, or how many, writings were destroyed, in consequence of this absurd and unwarrantable indulgence. Our school-master, however, whose accomplishments were much above his station, and who was not totally destitute of a taste for poetry, found, as it is said, in this immense heap of obsolete manuscripts, many poems written by Thomas Rowley, above mentioned, priest of Saint John's church in Bristol, and the confessor of alderman Cannynge,

to this church by the founder, Jul. 4, 1470, formerly kept in this chest, and printed by Mr. Walpole, *Anecd. Paint.* i. p. 45.

^f The old bridge was built about the year 1248. *History of Bristol*, MS. Archiv. Bodl. C. iii. by Abel Wantner.

Archdeacon Furney, in the year 1755, left by will to the Bodleian library, large collections, by various hands, relating to the

history and antiquities of the city, church, and county of Gloucester, which are now preserved there, *Archiv. C.* ut supr. At the end of N. iii. is the manuscript *HISTORY* just mentioned, supposed to have been compiled by Abel Wantner, of Minchin-Hampton in Gloucestershire, who published proposals and specimens for a history of that county, in 1683.

which he carefully preserved. These, at his death, of course fell into the hands of his son.

Of the extraordinary talents of this young man more will be said hereafter. It will be sufficient to observe at present, that he saw the merit and value of these poems, which he diligently transcribed. In the year 1770, he went to London, carrying with him these transcripts, and many originals, in hopes of turning so inestimable a treasure to his great advantage. But from these flattering expectations, falling into a dissipated course of life, which ill suited with his narrow circumstances, and finding that a writer of the most distinguished taste and judgment, Mr. Walpole, had pronounced the poems to be suspicious, in a fit of despair, arising from distress and disappointment, he destroyed all his papers, and poisoned himself. Some of the poems, however, both transcripts and originals, he had previously sold, either to Mr. Catcott, a merchant of Bristol, or to Mr. Barrett, an eminent surgeon of the same place, and an ingenious antiquary, with whom they now remain*. But it appears, that among these there were but very few of parchment: most of the poems which they purchased were copies in his own hand. He was always averse to give any distinct or satisfactory account of what he possessed: but from time to time, as his necessities required, he produced copies of his originals, which were bought by these gentlemen. The originals, one or two only excepted, he chose to retain in his own possession*.

The chief of these poems are, *THE TRAGEDY OF ELLA*, *THE EXECUTION OF SIR CHARLES BAWDWIN*, *ODE TO ELLA*, *THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS*, *THE TOURNAMENT*, one or two *DIALOGUES*, and a *Description of CANNYNGE'S FEAST*.

THE TRAGEDY OF ELLA has six characters; one of which is a lady, named *Birtha*. It has a chorus consisting of minstrels, whose songs are often introduced. *Ella* was governor of the castle of Bristol, and a puissant champion against the Danes, about the year 920. The story seems to be the poet's invention. The tragedy is opened with the following soliloquy.

CELMONDE attē Brystowe.

Before yonne roddie sonne has droove hys wayne
Through half hys joornie, dyghte yn gites of gowlde,
Mee, hapless mee, he wylle a wretch behowlde,
Myselfe, and alle thatts myne, bounde yn Myschaunche's chayne!

* Mr. Barrett, to whom I am greatly obliged for his unreserved and liberal information on this subject, is now engaged in writing the *Antiquities of Bristol*.

* [These pretended originals, which

prove to be a series of contemptible and clumsy forgeries, were bequeathed to the British Museum by Dr. Glynne Clobery, M.D., in 1800, and are now marked MSS. Add. 5766. A. B. C.—M.]

Ah Byrtha, whie dydde nature frame thee fayre,
 Whie art thou alle that poyntelle^h canne bewreene?
 Whie art thou notte as coarse as odhers are?
 Botte thenne thie soughle^l woulde throwe thie vysage sheene,
 Yatte^k shemres^l onne thie comlie semlykeene^m,
 Or scarlette with waylde lynnyn clotheⁿ,
 Lyke woulde thie sprite^o [shine] upon thie vysage:
 This daie brave Ella dothe thyne honde and harte
 Clayme as hys owne to bee, whyche nee^p from hys moste parte.
 And cann I lynne to see herre with anere^q?
 Ytte cannotte, must notte, naie ytte shall notte bee!
 Thys nyght I'lle putt strong poysonne yn the beere,—
 And hymme, herre, and myselfe attones^r wylle slea.
 Assyst me helle, lette devylles rounde me tende,
 To slea myselfe, my love, and eke my doughttie friende!

The following beautiful descriptions of SPRING, AUTUMN, and MORNING, are supposed to be sung in the tragedy by the chorus of minstrels.

SPRING.

The boddyng flowrettes bloshe at the lyhte,
 The mees be springede^s with the yellowe hue,
 Yn daiseyd mantells ys the monntayne dyghte,
 The neshe^t younge cowslepe bendethe wythe the dewe;
 The trees enleafede, into heaven straught^u,
 Whanne gentle wyndes doe blowe, to whestlynge dynne ys^w brought.
 The evenyng commes, and brynges the dewe alonge,
 The rodie welkynne sheeneth toe the eyne,
 Arounde the alestake^x mynstrelles synge the songe,
 Yonge ivie rounde the doore-post doth entwine;
 I laie mee on the grasse: yette to mie wylle,
 Albeytte alle ys fayre, theere lackethe sommethyng stylle.

AUTUMN.

Whanne Autumne, blake, and sonne-brente doe appere,
 Wythe hys goulde honde, guylteynge the falleynge lefe,
 Bryngeynge oppe Wynterre to folfylle the yere,
 Beereynge uponne hys backe the riped shefe;

^h pencil. ^l soul. ^k that.
ⁱ glimmers. ^m seemliness; beauty.
ⁿ Perhaps we should read,

Or scarlette vailed with a linnen clothe.

^o soul. ^p never.
^q another. ^r at once.
^s The meadows are sprinkled, &c.
^t tender. ^u stretching; stretched.
^w i. e. are.

^x A sign-post before an ale-house. In Chaucer, the HOSTE says,

— Here at this *alehouse-stake*,
 I wol both drinke, and etin of a cake.
 WORDES HOST. v. 1835. Urr. p. 131.
 And in the SHIP OF FOOLLES, fol. 9 a,
 edit. 1570.

By the *ale-stake* knowe we the alehouse,
 And everic inne is knowen by the signe.

Whanne alle the hylls wythe woddie seedé is whyte,
 Whanne levyne fyres, ande lemes, do mete fromme farr the syghte :
 Whanne the fayre apple, ruddle as even skie,
 Doe bende the tree untoe the fructyle grounde,
 Whanne joicie peres, and berryes of blacke die,
 Doe daunce ynne ayre, and calle the eyne arounde ;
 Thanne, bee the even fowle, or even fayre,
 Meethynckes mie hartys joie ys steyned withe somme care.

MORNING.

Bryghte sonne han ynne hys roddie robes byn dyghte,
 Fro the redde easte hee flytted wythe hys trayne;
 The howers drawe awaie the geete of nyghte,
 Herre sable tapistrie was rente ynne twayne:
 The dauncynge streakes bedeckedd heavenne's playne,
 And onne the dewe dydd smyle wythe shemrynge^y eie,
 Lyche gottes^a of blodde whyche doe blacke armoure steyne,
 Sheenyng uponne the borne whyche stonde the bye:—
 The souldyerrs stoode uponne the hyllis syde,
 Lyche yonge enlefed trees whych ynne a forreste byde.^a

But the following ode, belonging to the same tragedy, has much more of the choral or lyric strain.

I.

O! synge unto mie roundelaie,
 O! drop the bryny tear with me,
 Daunce ne moe atte hallie day,
 Lyke a running river bee.
 My love is dedde,
 Gone to his death bedde,
 Al under the willowe tree.

II.

Blacke his cryne^b as the wyntere night,
 Whyte his rode^c as summer snowe,

^y glimmering.

^a drops.

^a There is a description of morning in another part of the tragedy.

The mornynge gyns alonge the east to sheene,

Darkling the lyghte does on the waters plaie;

The feynte rodde beam slowe creepethe over the leene,

To chase the morkynesse of nyghte awaie.

Swift fleis the bower that will brynge oute the daie,

The softe dewe falleth onne the greeynge grasse;

The shepeter mayden dyghtynge her arraie,

Scante sees her vysage ynne the wavis glasse:

By the fulle daylight wee scalle ELLE see,
 Or BRISTOWE'S walled towne. Damoy-selle followe mee.

^b hair.

^c neck.

Rodde his face as morning lyght,
Cold he lies in the grave below.
My love is dedde, &c.

III.

Swote his tounge as the throstle's note,
Quycke in daunce as thought can be,
Deft his tabor, codgelle stote,
Oh! he lies by the willowe tree.
My love is dedde, &c.

IV.

Hark! the raven flaps his wynges
In the brier'd dells belowe;
Hark! the dethe owl loud doth sing
To the night mares as they go.
My love is dedde, &c.

V.

See the white moon sheenes on hie!
Whyter is my true love's shrowde,
Whyter than the morning skie,
Whyter than the evening cloud.
My love is dedde, &c.

VI.

Here upon my true love's grave
Shall the garen^d fleurs be layde:
Ne one hallie saynte to save
Al the celness of a mayde.
My love is dedde, &c.

VII.

With my hondes I'll dente^e the brieres,
Round his hallie corse to gre^f;
Ouphante^g faeries, light your fyres;
Here my bodie still shall bee.
My love is dedde, &c.

VIII.

Come with acorne-cup, and thorne,
Drain mie harty's blodde awaie:
Lyfe and all its goodes I scorne,
Daunce by night, or feast by day.
My love is dedde, &c.

^d bright.^e *indent*; bend into the ground.^f grow.^g ouphan; elphin.

IX.

Watere wytyches crownde with reytes^h,
 Bere me to your lethale tyde;
 I die—I come—My true love waytes!
 Thos the damselle spake, and dy'd.

According to the date assigned to this tragedy, it is the first drama extant in our language. In an Epistle prefixed to his patron Cannynge, the author thus censures the MYSTERIES, or religious interludes, which were the only plays then existing.

Plaies made from HALLIE¹ TALES I hold unmete;
 Let some *great story of a man* be songe;
 Whanne, as a man, we Godde and Jesus trete,
 Ynne mie poore mynde we doe the godhead wronge.

The ODE TO ELLA is said to have been sent by Rowlie in the year 1468, as a specimen of his poetical abilities, to his intimate friend and cotemporary Lydgate, who had challenged him to write verses. The subject is a victory obtained by Ella over the Danes, at Watchett near Bristol^k. I will give this piece at length.

SONGE TO AELLE LORDE OF THE CASTLE OF BRISTOWE *ynne daies*
of yore.

Oh! thou (orr whatt remaynes of thee)
 EALLE the darlynge of futuritie!
 Lette thys mie songe bolde as thie courage bee,
 As everlastynge to posteritie!

^h reeds.

¹ *holy.*

^k With this address to Lydgate prefixed.

Well thenne, good John, sythe ytt muste
 needes so be,
 That thou and I a bowtyng matche
 muste have;
 Lett ytt ne breakynge of ould friend-
 shippe bee,
 Thys ys the onelie allaboone I crave.
 Remember Stowe, the Bryghtstowe Car-
 malyte,
 Who, when John Clackynge, one of myckle
 lore,
 Dydd throwe his gauntlette penne wythe
 hym to wryte,
 He shewde smalle wytte, and shewde his
 weaknesse more.
 Thys ys mie 'formance, whiche I now
 have wrytte,
 The best performance of mie lyttel wytte.
 Stowe should be Stone, a Carmelite friar

of Bristol, educated at Cambridge, and a famous preacher. Lydgate's answer on receiving the oda, which certainly cannot be genuine, is beneath transcription. The writer, freely owning his inferiority, declares, that Rowlie rivals Chaucer and Turgotus, who both lived in *Norman tymes*. The latter, indeed, may in some measure be said to have flourished in that era, for he died bishop of Saint Andrews in 1115. But he is oddly coupled with Chaucer in another respect, for he wrote only some Latin chronicles. Besides, Lydgate must have been sufficiently acquainted with Chaucer's age; for he was living, and a young man, when Chaucer died. The writer also mentions Stone, the Carmelite, as living with Chaucer and Turgotus; whereas he was Lydgate's cotemporary. These circumstances, added to that of the extreme and affected meanness of the composition, evidently prove this little piece a forgery.

Whanne Dacya's sonnes, whose hayres of bloude redde huc,
Lyche kynges cuppes brastyng wythe the mornynge due,

Arraung'd ynn dreare arraie,
Uppone the lethale daie,
Spredded farr and wyde onn Watchett's shore:
Thenn dyddst thou furyouse stonde,
And bie thie brondeous honde
Beesprengedd all the mees with gore.

Drawne bie thyne anlace felle¹,
Downe to the depthe of helle,
Thousandes of Dacyanns wente;
Brystowannes menne of myghte,
Ydar'd the bloudie fyghte,
And actedd deedes full quente.

Oh! thou, where'er (thie bones att reste)
Thie spryte to haunt delyghteth beste,
Whytherr upponn the bloude-embrewedd pleyne,
Orr whare thou kennst fromme farre
The dysmalle crie of warre,
Orr seeste somme mountayne made of corse of sleyne:

Orr seeste the harnessd steede,
Yprauncynge o'er the meede,
And neighe to bee amonge the poyntedd speeres;
Orr ynn blacke armoure staulke arounde
Embattell'd Brystowe, once thie grounde,
And glowe ardorous onn the castell steeres:

Orr fierie rounde the mynster^m glare:
Lette Brystowe styлле bee made thie care,
Guarde ytte fromme foemenne and consumynge fyre,
Lyche Avone streame ensyrke ytt rounde;
Ne lett a flame enharme the grounde,
'Tyll ynne onc flame all the whole worlde expyres.

The BATTLE OF HASTINGS is called a translation from the Saxon; and contains a minute description of the persons, arms, and characters of many of the chiefs, who fought in that important action. In this poem, Stonehenge is described as a Druidical temple.

The poem called the TOURNAMENT is dramatically conducted, among others, by the characters of a herald, a knight, a minstrel, and a king, who are introduced speaking.

The following piece is a description of an alderman's feast at Bristol; or, as it is entitled, ACCOUNT OF W. CANNYNGE'S FEAST.

¹ sword.

^m the monastery; now the cathedral.

Thorowe the hall the belle han sounde,
 Byalccoyle^a doe the grave beseeme;
 The ealdermenne doe sytte arounde,
 And snoffelle^o opp the cheorte steeme.
 Lyke asses wylde in deserte waste
 Swotely the morneynge doe taste,
 Syke kene thei ate: the mynstrells plaie,
 The dynne of angelles doe thei kepe:
 Thei style^p: the gwestes ha ne to saie,
 But nodde ther thankes, and falle asleepe.
 Thos echeone daie bee I to deene^q,

Gyff^r Rowley, Ischamm, or Tybb Gorges, be ne seen.

But a dialogue between two ladies, whose knights, or husbands, served in the wars between York and Lancaster, and were now fighting at the battle of Saint Albans, will be more interesting to many readers. This battle happened in the reign of Edward the Fourth, about the year 1471.

ELINOUR and JUGA.

Anne Ruddeborne^a bank twa pynyng maydens sate,
 Theire teares faste dryppeynge to the waterre cleere;
 Echone bementynge^t for her absente mate,
 Who atte Seyncte Albonns shouke the morthyngeⁿ speare.
 The nottebrowne Ellynor to Juga fayre,
 Dydde speke acroole^v, with languyshmente of eyne,
 Lyke droppes of pearlie dewe, lemed^w the quyvrynge brine.

ELINOUR.

O gentle Juga! hear mie dernie plainte^x,
 To fyghte for Yorke mie love is dyght^v in stele;
 O mai ne sanguen steine the whyte rose peyncte,
 Maie good Seyncte Cuthberte watch syrr Robynne wele!
 Moke moe thanne death in phantasie I feelle;
 See! see! upon the grounde he bleedyng lies!
 Inhild^s some joice^a of life, or else my deare love dies.

JUGA.

Systers in sorrowe on thys daise ey'd banke,
 Where melancholych broods, we wylle lamente:
 Be wette with mornynge dewe and evene danke;
 Lyche levynde^b okes in eche the oder bente:
 Or lyke forletten^c halles of merriemente,

^a Bellaccoyle; a personage in Chaucer's
 Rom. R. v. 2984, &c. i. e. Kind Welcome.
 From the Fr. *Bel accueil*.

^o snuff up.

^p the minstrels cease.

^q dine.

^r if.

^a Rudborn, in Saxon, red-water, a river
 near Saint Albans.

^t lamenting.

^v faintly.

^x sad complaint.

^w infuse.

^b blasted.

ⁿ murdering.

^w glistened.

^y arrayed, or cased.

^z juice.

^c forsaken.

Whose gastlie^d nitches holde the traine of fryghte^e,
Where lethale^f ravens bark, and owlets wake the nyghte.

No mo the miskynette^g shalle wake the morne,
The minstrelle daunce, good cheere, and morryce plaie;
No mo the amblynge palfrie and the horne,
Shall from the lessel^h rouze the foxe awaie:
Ill seke the foreste alle the lyve-longe daie:
Alle nete amenge the gravde chercheⁱ glebe wyll goe,
And to the passante spryghtes lecture^k mie tale of woe.

Whan mokie^l cloudes do hange upon the leme
Of leden^m moon, ynn sylver mantels dyghte:
The tryppeynge faeries weve the golden dreme
Of selynessⁿ, whyche flyethe with the nyghte;
Thenne (but the seynctes forbydde) gif to a spryghte
Syrre Rychardes forme is lyped; I'll holde dystraughte
Hys bledeynge clai-colde corse, and die eche dai yn thoughte.

ELINOUR.

Ah, woe-bementynge wordes; what wordes can showe!
Thou limed^o river, on thie linche^p mai bleede
Champyons, whose bloude wyll wythe thie waterres flowe,
And Rudborne streeme be rudborne streeme indeede!
Haste gentle Juga, trippe ytte o'ere the meade
To know or wheder wee muste waile agayne,
Or whythe oure fallen knyghte be menged onne the plain.

So saieing, lyke twa levyn-blasted trees,
Or twain of cloudes that holdeth stormie raine,
Theie moved gentle o'ere the dewe mees^q;
To where Seyncte Albon's holie shrynes remayne.
There dyd theye finde that bothe their knyghtes were sleyn;
Dystraughte^r, theie wandered to swollen Rudborne's syde,
Yelled theye leathalle knelle, sonke in the waves and dyde.

In a DIALOGUE, or ECLOGUE, spoken by two ladies, are these lines.

Sprytes of the blaste, the pious Nygelle sedde,
Powre oute your pleasaunce on mie fadres hedde.

Richard of lyonn's harte to fyghte is gonne,
Uppon the broad sea doe the banners gleme;
The aminusedd natyons be astonn

To ken syke^s large a fiete, syke fyne, syke brement^t:

^d ruins.

^e fear.

^f deadly, or death-boding.

^g a small bagpipe.

^h In a confined sense, a bush or hedge,
though sometimes used as a forest.

ⁱ church-yard, full of graves.

^k relate.

^l black.

^m decreasing.

ⁿ happiness. Chaucer, Tr. Cres. iii. 815.

^o glassy.

^p bank.

^q meads.

^r distracted.

^s so.

^t fierce.

The barkis heofods coupe the lymed^u streme:
 Oundes^w synkyng oundes uppon the hard ake^x rise;
 The waters slughornes wyth a swoty cleme
 Conteke^y the dynninge^z ayre, and reche^a the skies.
 Sprytes of the blaste, on gouldenn trones astedde^b,
 Powre oute your pleasaunce on mie fadres hedde!

I am of opinion that none of these pieces are genuine. The EXECUTION OF SIR CHARLES BAUDWIN is now allowed to be modern, even by those who maintain all the other poems to be ancient^c. The ODE TO ELLA, and the EPISTLE TO LYDGATE, with his ANSWER, were written on one piece of parchment; and, as pretended, in Rowlie's own hand. This was shown to an ingenious critic and intelligent antiquary of my acquaintance; who assures me, that the writing was a gross and palpable forgery. It was not even skilfully counterfeited. The form of the letters, although artfully contrived to wear an antiquated appearance, differed very essentially from every one of our early alphabets. Nor were the characters uniform and consistent; part of the same manuscript exhibiting some letters shaped according to the present round hand, while others were traced in imitation of the ancient court and text hands. The parchment was old; and that it might look still older, was stained on the outside with ochre, which was easily rubbed off with a linen cloth. Care had also been evidently taken to tincture the ink with a yellow cast. To communicate a stronger stamp of rude antiquity, the ODE was written like prose; no distinction, or termination,

^u polished; bright.

^w waters.

^y contend with.

^z noisy.

^b seated.

^x oak; ship.

^a reach.

^c It contains 98 stanzas, and was printed at London, in the year 1772. 4to. I am told that in the above-mentioned chest, belonging to Radcliffe-church, an ancient Record was discovered, containing the expenses for Edward the Fourth to see the execution of sir Charles Baldwin; with a description of a canopy under which the king sate at this execution. This Record seems to have given rise to the poem. A bond which sir Charles Baldwin gave to king Henry the Sixth, I suppose about seizing the earl of Warwick, is said to have been mentioned in one of Rowlie's manuscripts, called the YELLOW ROLL, perhaps the same found in Cannynge's chest, but now lost. See Stowe's Chron. by Howes, edit. fol. 1615. p. 406. col. 2. And Speed's, p. 669. col. 2. edit. 1611. Stowe says, that king Edward the Fourth was at Bristol, on a progress through England, in the *harvest season* of the year 1462, and that he was *most royally received*. Ibid. p. 416. col. 2. Cannynge was then mayor of Bri-

stol. Sir Charles Baldwin is said to have been executed at Bristol, in the presence of Edward the Fourth, in the year 1463. MS. Wantn. Bibl. Bodl. ut *supr*. The same king was at Bristol, and lodged in saint Augustine's abbey, in 1472, when he received a large gratuity from the citizens for carrying on the war against France. Wantner, *ibid*.

[I have received some notices from the old registers of saint Ewin's church at Bristol, anciently called the Minster, which import that the church pavement was *washed* against the coming of king Edward. But this does not at all prove or imply that the king *sat at the grete mynsterr windowe* to see the gallant Lancastrian, Baldwin, pass to the scaffold; a circumstance, and a very improbable one, mentioned in Rowlie's pretended poem on this subject. The notice at most will prove only, that the king assisted at mass in this church, when he came to Bristol. Nor is it improbable, that the other churches of Bristol were cleaned, or adorned, at the coming of a royal guest. Wantner, above quoted, is evidently wrong in the date 1463, which ought to be 1461, or 1462.—
 ADDITIONS.]

being made between the several verses. Lydgate's ANSWER, which makes a part of this manuscript, and is written by the same hand, I have already proved to be a manifest imposition. This parchment has since been unfortunately lost^d. I have myself carefully examined the original manuscript, as it is called, of the little piece entitled, ACCOUNT OF W. CANNYNGE'S FEAST. It is likewise on parchment, and I am sorry to say that the writing betrays all the suspicious signatures which were observed in that of the ODE TO ELLA. I have repeatedly and diligently compared it with three or four authentic manuscripts of the time of Edward the Fourth, to all which I have found it totally unlike. Among other smaller vestiges of forgery, which cannot be so easily described and explained here, at the bottom are added in ink two coats of arms, containing empalements of Cannyng and of his friends or relations, with family-names, apparently delineated by the same pen which wrote the verses. Even the style and drawing of the armorial bearings discover the hand of a modern herald. This, I believe, is the only pretended original of the poetry of Rowlie, now remaining.*

As to internal arguments, an unnatural affectation of ancient spelling and of obsolete words, not belonging to the period assigned to the poems, strikes us at first sight. Of these old words combinations are frequently formed, which never yet existed in the unpolished state of the English language: and sometimes the antiquated diction is most inartificially misapplied, by an improper contexture with the present modes of speech. The attentive reader will also discern, that our poet sometimes forgets his assumed character, and does not always act his part with consistency: for the chorus, or interlude, of the damsel who drowns herself, which I have cited at length from the TRAGEDY OF ELLA, is much more intelligible, and free from uncouth expressions, than the general phraseology of these compositions. In the BATTLE OF HASTINGS, said to be translated from the Saxon, Stonehenge is called a Druidical temple. The battle of Hastings was fought in the year 1066. We will grant the Saxon original to have been written soon afterwards; about which time, no other notion prevailed concerning this miraculous monument, than the supposition which had been delivered down by long and constant tradition, that it was erected in memory of Hengist's massacre. This was the established and uniform opinion of the Welsh and Armorican bards, who most probably received it from the Saxon minstrels: and that this was the popular belief at the time of the battle of Hastings, appears from the evidence of Geof-

^d At the same time, another manuscript on parchment, written, as pretended, by Rowlie, was shown to this gentleman; which, tallying in every respect with the ODE TO ELLA, plainly appeared to be forged, in the same manner, and by the same modern hand. It was in prose; and contained an account of Saxon coins, and

the rise of coining in England, with a list of coins, poems, ancient inscriptions, monuments, and other curiosities, in the cabinet of Cannyng above mentioned. This parchment is also lost; and, I believe, no copy remains.

* [See note, *supra*, p. 342. and Archæologia, vol. xxvii. p. 115.—M.]

frey of Monmouth, who wrote his history not more than eighty years after that memorable event. And in this doctrine Robert of Gloucester and all the monkish chroniclers agree. That the Druids constructed this stupendous pile for a place of worship, was a discovery reserved for the sagacity of a wiser age, and the laborious discussion of modern antiquaries. In the EPISTLE TO LYDGATE, prefixed to the TRAGEDY, our poet condemns the absurdity and impropriety of the religious dramas, and recommends SOME GREAT STORY OF HUMAN MANNERS, as most suitable for theatrical representation. But this idea is the result of that taste and discrimination which could only belong to a more advanced period of society*.

But, above all, the cast of thought, the complexion of the sentiments, and the structure of the composition, evidently prove these pieces not ancient. The ODE TO ELLA, for instance, has exactly the air of modern poetry; such, I mean, as is written at this day, only disguised with antique spelling and phraseology. That Rowlie was an accomplished literary character, a scholar, an historian, and an antiquarian, if contended for, I will not deny†. Nor is it impossible that he might write

* It would be tedious and trifling to descend to minute particulars. But I will mention one or two. In the ODE TO ELLA, the poet supposes, that the spectre of Ella sometimes appears in the *mynster*, that is Bristol cathedral. But when Rowlie is supposed to have lived, the present cathedral of Bristol was nothing more than an Augustine monastery, in which Henry the Eighth established long afterwards a bishop, and a dean and chapter, in the year 1542. *Minster* is a word almost appropriated to cathedrals; and I will venture to say, that the church of this monastery, before the present foundation took place, never was called *Bristol-minster*, or *The minster*. The inattention to this circumstance has produced another unfortunate anachronism in some of Rowlie's papers, where, in his panegyric on Cannynge, he says, "The favouryte of godde, the fryende of the chyrche, the companyonne of kynges, and the fadre of hys natyve citie, the grete and good Wylliamme Canynge." Bristol was never styled a CITY till the erection of its bishoprick in 1542. See Willis's Notit. Parliament. p. 43. Lond. 1750. See also king Henry's Patent for creating the bishoprick of Bristol, in Rymer, dat. Jun. 4. A.D. 1542. an. reg. 34. where the king orders, "Ac quod tota Villa nostra Bristollie canonicus et deinceps imperpetuum sit Civitas, ipsamque CIVITATEM BRISTOLLIE appellari et nominari volumus et decernimus," &c. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 749. Bristol was proclaimed a CITY, an. 35 Hen. VIII. M8. Wanter, ut supr. In which manuscript, to that period, it is constantly called a *town*.

[I have observed, but for what reason I know not, that saint Ewin's church at Bristol was called the *minster*. I, however, suspect, that the poet here means *Bristol cathedral*. He calls, with his accustomed misapplication of old words, *Worcester cathedral* the *minster of our ladie*, infr. p. 355. But I do not think this was a common appellation for that church. In Lydgate's LIFE OF SAINT ALBAN, *Minster* is used in its first simple acceptation. MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. Num. xxxviii. fol. 19.

Seynt Albone

Of that *mynstre* leyde the first stone.

That is, of saint Alban's monastery.— ADDITIONS.]

The description of Cannynge's feast is called an ACCOUNTE OF CANNYNGE'S FEAST. I do not think, that so early as the year 1470, the word *Accounts* had lost its literal and original sense of a *computus*, or *computation*, and was used in a looser acceptation for *narrative* or *detail*. Nor had it even then lost its true spelling *ac-compt*, in which its proper and primary signification is preserved and implied.

† He is also said to have been an eminent mechanic and mathematician. I am informed, that one of Rowlie's manuscripts, discovered in Cannynge's iron chest, was a plan for supporting the tower of the Temple-church in Bristol, which had greatly declined from its perpendicular. In a late reparation of that church, some subterraneous works were found, minutely corresponding with this manuscript.

English poetry. But that he is the writer of the poems which I have here cited, and which have been so confidently ascribed to him, I am not yet convinced.

On the whole, I am inclined to believe, that these poems were composed by the son of the schoolmaster before mentioned; who inherited the inestimable treasures of Cannynge's chest in Radcliffe-church, as I have already related at large. This youth, who died at eighteen, was a prodigy of genius; and would have proved the first of English poets, had he reached a maturer age. From his childhood, he was fond of reading and writing verses; and some of his early compositions, which he wrote without any design to deceive, have been judged to be most astonishing productions by the first critic of the present age. From his situation and connections, he became a skilful practitioner in various kinds of hand-writing. Availing himself therefore of his poetical talent, and his facility in the graphic art, to a miscellany of obscure and neglected parchments, which were commodiously placed in his own possession, he was tempted to add others of a more interesting nature, and such as he was enabled to forge, under these circumstances, without the fear of detection. As to his knowledge of the old English literature, which is rarely the study of a young poet, a sufficient quantity of obsolete words and phrases were readily attainable from the glossary to Chaucer, and to Percy's Ballads. It is confessed, that this youth wrote the EXECUTION OF SIR CHARLES BAWDWIN; and he who could forge that poem, might easily forge all the rest.

In the mean time, we will allow, that some pieces of poetry written by Rowlie might have been preserved in Cannynge's chest; and that these were enlarged and improved by young Chatterton. But if this was the case, they were so much altered as to become entirely new compositions. The poem which bids the fairest to be one of these originals is CANNYNGE'S FEAST. But the parchment-manuscript of this little poem has already been proved to be a forgery; a circumstance which is perhaps alone sufficient to make us suspect that no originals ever existed.

It will be asked, For what end or purpose did he contrive such an imposture? I answer, From lucrative views; or perhaps from the pleasure of deceiving the world; a motive which, in many minds, operates more powerfully than the hopes of gain. He probably promised himself greater emoluments from this indirect mode of exercising his abilities; or, he might have sacrificed even the vanity of appearing in the character of an applauded original author, to the private enjoyment of the success of his invention and dexterity.

I have observed above, that Cannynge ordered his iron chest in Radcliffe-church to be solemnly visited once in every year, and that an annual entertainment should be provided for the visitors. In the notices relating to this matter, which some of the chief patrons of Rowlie's poetry have lately sent me from Bristol, it is affirmed, that this order is

contained in Cannyng's will; and that he specifies therein, that not only his manuscript evidences above-mentioned, but that the POEMS OF HIS CONFESSOR ROWLIE, which likewise he had deposited in the afore-said iron chest, were also to be submitted to this annual inspection. This circumstance at first strongly inclined me to think favourably of the authenticity of these pieces. At least it proved, that Rowlie had left some performances in verse. But on examining Cannyng's will, no such order appears. All his bequests relating to Radcliffe-church, of every kind, are the following. He leaves legacies to the vicar, and the three clerks, of the said church; to the two chantry-priests, or chaplains, of his foundation; to the keeper of the PYXIS OBLATIONUM, in the north-door; and to the fraternity *Commemoracionis martirum*. Also vestments to the altars of saint Catharine, and saint George. He mentions his tomb built near the altar of saint Catharine, where his late wife is interred. He gives augmentations to the endowment of his two chantries^a, at the altars of saint Catharine and Saint George, above-mentioned. To the choir, he leaves two service-books, called *Liggers*, to be used there, on either side, by his two chantry-priests. He directs, that his funeral shall be celebrated in the said church with a *month's mind*, and the usual solemnities^b.

Very few anecdotes of Rowlie's life have descended to posterity. The following MEMOIRS of his life are said to have been written by himself in the year 1460, and to have been discovered with his poetry; which perhaps to many readers will appear equally spurious.

"I was fadre confessor to masteres Roberte and mastre William Cannings. Mastre Roberte was a man after his fadre's own harte, gree-die of gaynes and sparyng of alms deedes; but master William was

^a Compare Willis, Mitr. Abb. ii. 88.

^b This will is in Latin, dated Nov. 12, 1474. Proved Nov. 29. It was made in Westbury college. Cur. Prærog. Cant. Registr. WATTIS, quatern. xvii. fol. 125. Beside the bequests mentioned in the text, he leaves legacies to all the canons, the chaplains and deacons, and the twelve choristers, of Westbury college. To the six priests, six almsmen and six almswomen, founded in the new chapel at Westbury by Carpenter, bishop of Worcester. To many of the servants of the said college. To the fabric of the church of that college, xls. To rebuilding the tower of the church of Compton Graynefield, xls. He also makes bequests to his almshouses at Bristol, and to the corporation of that town. He remembers some of the religious foundations, chiefly the Mendicants, at Bristol. He styles himself, *nuper mercator villa Bristol, et nunc decanus collegii S. Trin. de Westbury*. The subdean of Westbury college is one of the executors. In this will the name of ROWLIE is not mentioned.

Compare Tanner, Notit. Monast. p. 484, and Atkyns's Gloucestersh. p. 802.

Bishop Carpenter, about the year 1460, was a considerable benefactor to Westbury college. He pulled down the old college, "and in the new building, enlarged it very much, compassing it about with a strong wall embattled, adding a faire gate with divers towers, more like unto a castle than a colledge: and lastly, bestowed much good land for augmenting the revenue of the same." Godwin, Success. Bishops, p. 446. edit. 1. ut supr. And Leland speaks much to the same purpose: "Hic [Carpenter] ex veteri collegio, quod erat Westberie, novum fecit, et prædiis auxit, addito pinnato muro, porta, et turribus, instar castelli." Itin. vol. viii. fol. 112 a. And hence it appears to be a mistake, that Cannyng, who was indeed dean while these benefactions took place, rebuilt the college. As Dugd. Warwicksh. p. 634. edit. 1730. Atkyns, Gloucestersh. p. 802. supr. citat. p. 452.

mickle courteous, and gave me many marks in my needs. At the age of twenty-two years decesd master Roberte, and by master William's desyre, bequeathd me one hundred marks; I went to thank master William for his mickle courtesie, and to make tender of my selfe to him.—Fadre, quod he, I have a crotchett in my brayne that will need your aide. Master William, said I, if you command me I will go to Roome for you; not so farr distant, said he: I ken you for a mickle learnd priest, if you will leave the parysh of our ladie, and travel for mee, it shall be mickle to your profits.

"I gave my hands, and he told mee I must goe to all the abbies and pryorys, and gather together auncient drawyngs¹, if of anie account at any price. Consented I to the same, and pursuant sett out the Mundaie following for the minster of our ladie^k and Saint Goodwyne, where a drawing of a steeple, contryyd for the belles when runge to swale out of the syde into the ayre, had I thence, it was done by syr Symon de Mambrie^l, who in the troublesomme rayne of kyng Stephen devoted himselfe, and was shorne.

"Hawkes showd me a manuscript^m in Saxonne, but I was onley to bargayne for drawyngs.—The next drawyngs I metten with was a church to be reard, so as in form of a cross, the end standing in the ground, a long manuscript was annexd. Master Canning thought no workman culd be found handie enough to do it.—The tale of the drawers deserveth relation.—Thomas de Blunderville, a preeste, although the preeste had no allows, lovd a fair mayden, and on her begett a sonn. Thomas educated his soon; at sixteen years he went into the warrs, and neer did return for five years.—His mother was married to a knight, and bare a daughter, then sixteen, who was seen and lovd by Thomas, son of Thomas, and married to him unknown to her mother, by Ralph de Mesching, of the Minster, who invited, as custom was, two of his brothers, Thomas de Blunderville and John Heschamme. Thomas nevertheless had not seen his sonn for five years, kenning him instauntly; and learning the name of the bryde, toke him asyde and disclosd to him that he was his sonn, and was weded to his own sistre.—Yoyng Thomas toke on so that he was shorne.

"He drew manie fine drawyngs on glass.

¹ I much doubt, if this word now existed, in the modern, or any sense. Indeed, the phrase *to draw a picture* might have been now known: but *to draw*, in its present uncombined use, had not yet acquired this meaning. So late as the reign of James the First, a painter was often called a *picture-drawer*. In ancient inventories of furniture, a *drawing* never occurs as any species of production of the art of designing: it became a technical and distinguishing term when that art began to attain some degree of maturity. *Pictures*, although this word is now con-

fined to a precise signification, would not have been improper here. Yet the word *Picture* was not anciently used in its present sense and manner; but, a *picture with a cloth*, a *table with a picture*, &c.

^k I suppose, Worcester cathedral.

^l Or Malmesbury.

^m This was not an English word at this early period: it was not used, and for obvious reasons, till after the invention of printing. So again we have below, "the Saxon *manuscripts*." These, at this time, would have been called *books*.

"The abott of the minster of Peterburrow sold it me, he might have bargaynd twenty marks better, but master William would not depart with it. The prior of Coventree did sell me a picture of great account, made by Badilian Y'allyanne, who did lyve in the rayne of kyng Henrie the First, a mann of fickle temper, havynge been tendred syx pounds of silver for it, to which he said naie, and afterwards did give it to the then abott^a of Coventree. In brief, I gathered together manie marks value of fine drawyngs, all the works of mickle cunning.—Master William culd the most choise parts, but hearing of a drawyng in Durham church hee did send me.

"Fadree you have done mickle well, all the chatills are more worth than you gave; take this for your paynes: so saying, he did put into my hands a purse of two hundreds good pounds, and did say that I should note be in need, I did thank him most heartily.—The choise drawyng, when his fadre did dye, was begunn to be put up, and somme houses neer the old church erased; it was drawn by Aflema, preest of Saint Cutchburts, and offered as a drawyng for Westminster, but cast asyde, being the tender did not speak French.

"I had now mickle of ryches, and lyvd in a house on the hyll, often repayryngs to mastere William, who was now lord of the house. I sent him my verses touching his church, for which he did send me mickle good things.

"In the year kyng Edward came to Bristow, Master Cannings send for me to avoid a marriage which the kyng was bent upon between him and a ladie he neer had seen, of the familie of the Winddivilles, the danger where nigh, unless avoided by one remidee, an holie one, which was, to be ordained a sonn of holy church, beyng franke from the power of kynges in that cause, and can be wedded.—Mr. Cannings instantly sent me to Carpenter, his good friend, bishop of Worcester, and the Fryday following was prepaired and ordaynd the next day, the daie of Saint Mathew, and on Sunday sung his first mass in the church of our ladie^b, to the astonishing of kyng Edward, who was so furiously madd and ravyngs withall, that master Cannings was wyling to give him three thousand markes, which made him peace again, and he was admyted to the presence of the kyng, staid in Bristow, partook of all his pleasures and pastimes till he departed the next year^c.

"I gave master Cannings my Bristow tragedy^d, for which he gave me in hands twentie pound, and did praise it more then I did think my self did deserve, for I can say in troth I was never proud of my verses

^a This should have been *Prior*. An *abbot* was never the title of the superiour in cathedral-convents. The *PRIOR OF COVENTRY* must have been a dignitary well known by that name, as he sate in parliament.

^b Most probably Worcester cathedral.

^c See above, p. 350, note ^c.

^d That is, the poem called the Execution of sir Charles Bawdwin, mentioned above, p. 350. What is there said concerning this poem, greatly invalidates the authenticity of these Memoirs. Rowlie might indeed write a poem on this subject, but not the poem circulated as his.

since I did read master Chaucer; and now haveing nought to do, and not wyling to be ydle, I went to the minster of our Ladie and Saint Goodwin, and then did purchase the Saxon manuscripts, and sett my self diligently to translate and worde it in English metre, which in one year I performd and settled in the Battle of Hastyns; master William did bargyin for one to be manuscript, and John Pelham, an esquire, of Ashley, for another.—Master William did praise it muckle greatly, but advisd me to tender it to no man, beying the mann whose name where therein mentioned would be offended. He gave me twenty markes, and I did goe to Ashley, to master Pelham, to be payd of him for the other one I left with him.

“But his ladie being of the family of the Fiscamps*, of whom some things are said, he told me he had burnt it, and would have me burnt too if I did not avaunt. Dureing this dinn his wife did come out, and made a dinn to speake by a figure would have over sounded the bells of our Ladie of the Cliffe; I was fain content to gett away in a safe skin.

“I wrote my Justice of Peace*, which master Cannings advisd me secrett to keep, which I did; and now being grown auncient I was seizd with great pains, which did cost me mickle of marks to be cured off.—Master William offered me a cannon's place in Westbury collige, which gladly had I accepted, but my pains made me to staie at home. After this mischance I livd in a house by the Tower, which has not been repaired since Robert Consull of Gloucester repayrd the castle and wall; here I livd warm, but in my house on the hyl the ayre was mickle keen, some marks it cost me to put it in repair my new house, and brynging my chattles from the ould; it was a fine house, and I much marville it was untenanted. A person greedy of gains was the then possessour, and of him I did buy it at a very small rate, having lookd on the ground works and mayne supports, and fynding them staunch, and repays no need wanting, I did buy of the owner, Geoffry Coombe, on a *repayring lease* for ninety-nine years†, he thinkyng it would fall down everie day; but with a few marks expence did put it up in a manner neat, and therein I lyvd.”

It is with regret that I find myself obliged to pronounce Rowlie's poems to be spurious. Ancient remains of English poetry, unexpectedly discovered, and fortunately rescued from a long oblivion, are contemplated with a degree of fond enthusiasm: exclusive of any real or intrinsic excellence, they afford those pleasures, arising from the idea of antiquity, which deeply interest the imagination. With these pleasures we are unwilling to part. But there is a more solid satisfaction, resulting from the detection of artifice and imposture.

[What is here said of Rowlie, was not only written, but printed, al-

* A Norman family:

† I know nothing of this piece.

‡ I very much question whether this

technical law-term, or even this mode of contract, existed in the year 1460.

most two years before the correct and complete edition of his Poems appeared. Had I been apprized of that publication, I should have been much more sparing in my specimens of these forgeries, which had been communicated to me in manuscript, and which I imagined I was imparting to my readers as curiosities. I had as yet seen only a few extracts of these poems; nor were those transcripts which I received always exact. Circumstances which I mention here, to show the inconveniences under which I laboured, both with regard to my citations and my criticisms. These scanty materials, however, contained sufficient evidence to convince me that the pieces were not genuine.

The entire and accurate collection of Rowlie's now laid before the public, has been so little instrumental in inducing me to change my opinion, that it has served to exemplify and confirm every argument which I have produced in support of my suspicions of an imposition. It has likewise afforded some new proofs.

Those who have been conversant in the works even of the best of our old English poets, well know that one of their leading characteristics is inequality. In these writers, splendid descriptions, ornamental comparisons, poetical images, and striking thoughts, occur but rarely: for many pages together they are tedious, prosaic and uninteresting. On the contrary, the poems before us are every where supported: they are throughout poetical and animated; they have no imbecilities of style or sentiment. Our old English bards abound in unnatural conceptions, strange imaginations, and even the most ridiculous absurdities: but Rowlie's poems present us with no incongruous combinations, no mixture of manners, institutions, customs, and characters: they appear to have been composed after ideas of discrimination had taken place; and when even common writers had begun to conceive, on most subjects, with precision and propriety. There are indeed, in the *BATTLE OF HASTINGS*, some great anachronisms; and practices are mentioned which did not exist till afterwards: but these are such inconsistencies, as proceeded from fraud as well as ignorance: they are such as no old poet could have possibly fallen into, and which only betray an unskilful imitation of ancient manners. The verses of Lydgate and his immediate successors are often rugged and unmusical; but Rowlie's poetry sustains one uniform tone of harmony; and, if we brush away the asperities of the antiquated spelling, conveys its cultivated imagery in a polished and agreeable strain of versification. Chatterton seems to have thought, that the distinction of old from modern poetry consisted only in the use of old words. In counterfeiting the coins of a rude age, he did not forget the usual application of an artificial rust: but this disguise was not sufficient to conceal the elegance of the workmanship.

The *BATTLE OF HASTINGS*, just mentioned, might be proved to be a palpable forgery for many other reasons. It is said to be translated from the Saxon of Turgot: but Turgot died in 1015 [1115], and the battle of Hastings was fought in 1066. We will, however, allow that

Turgot lived in the reign of the Conqueror. But, on that supposition, is it not extraordinary, that a cotemporary writer should mention no circumstances of this action which we did not know before, and which are not to be found in Malmsbury, Ordericus Vitalis, and other ancient chroniclers? especially as Turgot's description of this battle was professedly a detached and separate performance, and at least, on that account, would be minute and circumstantial. An original and a cotemporary writer, describing this battle, would not only have told us something new, but would otherwise have been full of particularities. The poet before us dwells on incidents common to all battles, and such as were easily to be had from Pope's HOMER. We may add, that this piece not only detects itself, but demonstrates the spuriousness of all the rest. Chatterton himself allowed the first part of it to be a forgery of his own: the second part, from what has been said, could not be genuine: and he who could write the second part was able to write every line in the whole collection. But while I am speaking of this poem, I cannot help exposing the futility of an argument which has been brought as a decisive evidence of its originality. It is urged, that the names of the chiefs who accompanied the Conqueror, correspond with the Roll of Battle-Abbey: as if a modern forger could not have seen this venerable record. But, unfortunately, it is printed in Hollingshead's Chronicle.

It is said that Chatterton, on account of his youth and education, could not write these poems. This may be true; but it is no proof that they are not forged. Who was their author, on the hypothesis that Rowley was not, is a new and another question. I am, however, of opinion that it was Chatterton: for if we attend only to some of the pieces now extant in a periodical magazine, which he published under his own signature, and which are confessedly of his composition; to his letters now remaining in manuscript; and to the testimony of those that were acquainted with his conversation;—he will appear to have been a singular instance of a prematurity of abilities; to have acquired a store of general information far exceeding his years; and to have possessed that comprehension of mind, and activity of understanding, which predominated over his situations in life, and his opportunities of instruction. Some of his publications in the magazines discover also his propensity to forgery, and more particularly in the walk of ancient manners, which seem greatly to have struck his imagination. These, among others, are *ETHELGAR*, a *Saxon poem* in prose; *KENRICK*, *translated from the Saxon*; *CERDICH*, *translated from the Saxon*; *GODRED CROVAN*, a poem, *composed by Dothnel Syrric, king of the isle of Man*; *THE HIRLAS*, *composed by Blythyn, prince of North Wales*; *GOTHMUND*, *translated from the Saxon*; *ANECDOTE* of CHAUCER, and of the ANTIQUITY of CHRISTMAS GAMES. The latter piece, in which he quotes a register of Keinsham NUNNERY, which was a priory of Black canons, and advances many imaginary facts, strongly shows his track of read-

ing, and his fondness for antiquarian imagery. In this monthly collection he inserted ideal drawings of six achievements of Saxon heraldry, of an inedited coin of queen Sexburgeo, wife of king Kinewalch, and of a Saxon amulet; with explanations equally fantastic and arbitrary. From Rowlie's pretended parchments he produced several heraldic delineations. He also exhibited a draught by Rowlie of Bristol castle in its perfect state. I very much doubt if this fortress was not almost totally ruinous in the reign of Edward the Fourth. This draught, however, was that of an edifice evidently fictitious. It was exceedingly ingenious; but it was the representation of a building which never existed, in a capricious and affected style of Gothic architecture, reducible to no period or system.

To the whole that is here suggested on this subject, let us add Chatterton's inducements and qualifications for forging these poems, arising from his character and way of living. He was an adventurer, a professed hireling in the trade of literature, full of projects and inventions, artful, enterprising, unprincipled, indigent, and compelled to subsist by expedients.—ADDITIONS.]

SECTION XXVII.

The reigns of Richard the Third and Henry the Seventh abound in obscure versifiers. Bertram Walton. Benedict Burgh translates Cato's Latin Distichs. History of that work. Julian Barnes. Abbesses fond of hunting and hawking. A religious poem by William of Nassington. His Prologue explained. Minstrels and Gestours to be distinguished. Gest of the Three Kings of Cologne, sung in the arched chamber of the Prior at Winchester. The Gest of the Seven Sleepers. Originally a Greek Legend. Bradshaw's Life of Saint Werburgh. Metrical chronicles of the Kings of England fashionable in this century. Ralph Higden proved to be the author of the Chester plays. Specimen of Bradshaw's poem, from his description of the historical tapestry in the hall of Ely monastery, when the Princess Werburgh was admitted to the veil. Legends and legend-makers. Fabyan. Watson. Caxton, a poet. Kalendar of Shepherds. Pageaunts. Transition to the Drama. Histrionic profession. Mysteries. Nicodemus's Gospel. Use of Mysteries.

THE subsequent reigns of Richard the Third, Edward the Fifth, and Henry the Seventh, abounded in obscure versifiers.

A mutilated poem which occurs among the Cotton manuscripts in the British Museum, and principally contains a satire on the nuns, who,

not less from the nature of their establishment than from the usual degeneracy which attends all institutions, had at length lost their original purity, seems to belong to this period*. It is without wit, and almost without numbers. It was written by one Bertram Walton*, whose name now first appears in the catalogue of English poets; and whose life I calmly resign to the researches of some more laborious and patient antiquary.

About the year 1480, or rather before, Benedict Burgh, a master of arts of Oxford, among other promotions in the church, archdeacon of Colchester, prebendary of Saint Paul's, and canon of saint Stephen's chapel at Westminster^b, translated Cato's MORALS into the royal stanza, for the use of his pupil lord Bouchier son of the earl of Essex^c. En-

* Disadvantageous suspicions against the chastity of the female religious were pretended in earlier times. About the year 1250, a bishop of Lincoln visited the nunneries of his diocese; on which occasion, says the continuator of Matthew Paris, "ad domos religiosarum veniens, fecit EXPRIMI MAMILLAS earundem. ut sic physice, si esset inter eas corruptela, experiretur." Matt. Paris. Hist. p. 789. Henricus iii. edit. Tig. 1589. fol. An anecdote, which the historian relates with indignation; not on account of the nuns, but of the bishop. [Bishop Grosthead, a worthy and exalted character, is the person here meant.—ASHBY.]

* [Warton has here been led into error by Tanner and Smith (who is copied also by Planta), in confounding the fragments of two poems together, which have no connexion with each other, and are written in different hands. The first contains the invective against nunneries, and comprises ff. 179—184^b, 202 of MS. Cott. Vesp. D. ix. At the end of the second poem, which treats of the indulgences granted in the monasteries at Rome, is written, "*Amen, quod Bertran Waton.*" In all probability this is only the transcriber, who, to judge by the writing, lived in the reign of Henry the Seventh. Ritson has also negligently repeated the error, but changes the name of Walton into Waton. A similar mistake occurs in Tanner, Ritson, and Planta's catalogue, relative to Thomas Asheburne, the supposed author of a poem *De Contemptu Mundi*, in MS. Cott. App. vii., which is, in reality, only a copy of Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience*.—M.]

^b See Newcourt, Repertor. i. 90. ii. 517. The university sealed his letters testimonial, Jul. 3. A. D. 1433. Registr. Univ. Oxon. supr. citat. T. f. 27 b. He died A. D. 1483.

[In the British Museum there is a poem entitled, "A CRISTEMASSE GAME made by maister BENET howe God Almyghty seyde to his apostelys and echeon of them

were baptiste and none knew of othir."

The piece consists of twelve stanzas, an apostle being assigned to each stanza. Probably *maister Benet* is Benedict Burgh. MSS. Harl. 7333. This is saint Paul's stanza:

Doctour of gentiles, a perfite Paule,
By grace convertid from thy grete erreure,
And cruelte, changed to Paule from Saule,
Offayth and trouth most perfyte prechoure,
Slayne at Rome undir thilke emperoure
Cursyd Nero, Paule syt down in thy place
To the ordayned by purveance of grace.

ADDITIONS.]

[The Harl. MS. 1706. contains "Aristotles, A, B, C, made by [this] mayster Benet."—RITSON.]

^c Gascoigne says that "rithme royal is a verse of ten syllables, and ten such verses make a staffe," &c. *Instructions for verse*, &c. Sign. D. i. ad calc. Workes, 1587. [See supr. p. 221. Note ^b.] Burgh's stanza is here called *balade royall*; by which, I believe, is commonly signified the *octave stanza*. All those pieces in Chaucer, called *Certaine Ballads*, are in this measure. In Chaucer's *LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN*, written in long verse, a song of three octave stanzas is introduced; beginning, *Hyde Absolon thy gilte tressis clere*. v. 249. p. 340. Urr. Afterwards, Cupid says, v. 537. p. 342.

— a ful grete negligence
Was it to thee, that ilk time thou made,
Hyde Absolon thy tressis, IN BALADE.

In the British Museum there is *Kalandre in Englysshe, made in BALADE by Damm John Lydgate monke of Bury*. That is, in this stanza. MSS. Harl. 1706. 2. fol. 10 b. The reader will observe, that whether there are eight or seven lines, I have called it the *octave stanza*. Lydgate has, most commonly, only seven lines. As in his poem on Guy earl of Warwick, MSS. Laud. D 31. fol. 64. *Here ginneth the*

couraged by the example and authority of so venerable an ecclesiastic, and tempted probably by the convenient opportunity of pilfering phraseology from a predecessor in the same arduous task, Caxton translated the same Latin work; but from the French version of a Latin paraphrase, and into English prose, which he printed in the year 1483. He calls, in his preface, the measure, used by Burgh, the *BALAD ROYAL*. Caxton's translation, which superseded Burgh's work, and with which it is confounded, is divided into four books, which comprehend seventy-two heads.

I do not mean to affront my readers, when I inform them, without any apology, that the Latin original of this piece was not written by Cato the censor, nor by Cato Uticensis^d; although it is perfectly in the character of the former, and Aulus Gellius has quoted Cato's poem *DE MORIBUS*^e. Nor have I the gravity of the learned Boxhornius, who in a prolix and elaborate dissertation has endeavoured to demonstrate, that these distichs are undoubtedly supposititious, and that they could not possibly be written by the very venerable Roman whose name they bear. The title is *DISTICHA DE MORIBUS AD FILIUM*, which are distributed into four books, under the name of Dionysius Cato. But he is frequently called *MAGNUS CATO*.

This work has been absurdly attributed by some critics to Seneca, and by others to Ausonius^f. It is, however, more ancient than the time of the emperor Valentinian the Third, who died in 455^g. On the other hand, it was written after the appearance of Lucan's *PHARSALIA*, as the author, at the beginning of the second book, commends Virgil, Macer^h, Ovid, and Lucan. The name of Cato probably became prefixed to these distichs, in a lower age, by the officious ignorance of transcribers, and from the acquiescence of readers equally ignorant, as Marcus Cato had written a set of moral distichs. Whoever was the author, this metrical system of ethics had attained the highest degree of estimation in the barbarous ages. Among Langbaine's manuscripts bequeathed to the university of Oxford by Antony Wood, it is accompanied with a Saxon paraphraseⁱ. John of Salisbury, in his *POLYCR-*

lyff of Guy of Warwyk. [Pr. From Criste's birth compleat nine 100 yere.] He is speaking of Guy's combat with the Danish giant Colbrand, at Winchester.

Without the gate remembered as I rede,
The place calyd of antiquyte
In Inglysh tonge named *hyde mede*,
Or ellis *denmarch* nat far from the cyte:
Meeting to gedre, there men myght see
Terryble strokys, lyk the dent of thonder;
Sparklys owt of thar harnyss, &c.

^d See Vignol. Marville. Miscell. tom. i. p. 56.

^e Noct. Att. xi. 2.

^f It was printed under the name of Ausonius, Rostoch. 1572. 8vo.

^g Ex Epistol. Vindiciani Medici, ad Valent. They are mentioned by Notkerus, who flourished in the tenth century, among the *Metrorum, Hymnorum, Epigrammatumque conditores*. Cap. vi. *De Illustrib. Vir, &c.*, printed by Fabric. M. Lat. v. p. 904.

^h The poem *De Virtutibus Herbarum*, under the name of Macer, now extant, was written by Odo, or Odobonus, a physician of the dark ages. It was translated into English prose, by John Lelarmoure, master of Hereford school, in the year 1373. MSS. Sloane, 5 fol. 3. *Princ.* "Ache is hote and drye." This seems to have been printed; see Ames, p. 158.

ⁱ Cod. 12. [8615.]

TICON, mentions it as the favourite and established manual in the education of boys¹. To enumerate no others, it is much applauded by Isi-

¹ Polycrat. vii. 9. p. 373. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1595. It is cited, *ibid.* p. 116. 321. 512. In the Art of Versification, a Latin poem, written by Eberhardus Bethuniensis, about the year 1212, there is a curious passage, in which all the classics of that age are recited; or the best authors, then in vogue, and whom he recommends to be taught to youth. [Leyser. Poet. Med. æv. p. 825.] They are, Cato the moralist. Theodulus, the author of a leonine Eclogue, a dialogue between Truth and Falseness, written in the tenth century, printed among the Octo Morales, and by Goldastus, Man. Bibl. 1620. 8vo. MSS. Harl. 3093. 4. Wynkyn de Worde printed this piece under the title of *Theodoli liber, cum commento satis prolixo auctoris cujusdam Anglici qui multa Anglicana ubique miscuit*. 1515. 4to. It was from one of Theodulus's Eclogues, beginning *Æthiopum terras*, that Field, master of Fotheringay college about the year 1480, *sette the versis of the book cauldil* *Æthiopum terras, in the glasse windowe, with figures very neatly*. Leland. Itin. i. fol. 5. [p. 7. edit. 1745.] This seems to have been in a window of the new and beautiful cloister, built about that time. Flavius Avianus, a writer of Latin fables, or apologues, Lugd. Bat. 1731. 8vo. Æsop, or the Latin fabulist, printed among the Octo Morales, Lugd. Bat. 1505. 4to. Maximianus, whose six elegies, written about the seventh century, pass under the name of Gallus. Chaucer cites this writer; and in a manner, which shows his elegies had not then acquired the name of Gallus. Court of L. v. 798. "Maximinian truly thus doeth he write." Pamphilus Maurilianus, author of the hexametrical poem *De Vetula*, and the elegies *De Arte Amandi*, entitled Pamphilus, published by Goldastus, Catalect. Ovid. Francof. 1610. 8vo. [See supra, p. 332.] Geta, or Hosidius Geta, who has left a tragedy on Medea, printed in part by Pet. Scriverius, Fragm. Vett. Tragic. Lat. p. 187. [But see supra, p. 16.] Dares Phrygius, on the destruction of Troy. Macer. [See preceding page.] Marbodeus, a Latin poet on *Gems*. [See supra, p. 157, note °.] Petrus de Riga, canon of Rheims, whose *Aurora*, or the *History of the Bible allegorised*, in Latin verses, some of which are in rhyme, was never printed entire. He has left also *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, with other pieces, in Latin poetry. He flourished about the year 1170. Sedulius. Prosper. Arator. Prudentius. Boethius. Alanus, author of the *Anticlaudian*, a poem in nine books, occasioned by the scepticism of Claudian.

[See supra, p. 166.] Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal, and Persius. John Hanville, an Englishman, who wrote the *Architrenius*, in the twelfth century, a Latin hexameter poem in nine books. Philip Gualtier, of Chatillon, who wrote, about the same period, the *Alexandreid*, an heroic poem on Alexander the Great. Solymarius, or Gunther, a German Latin poet, author of the *Solymarium*, or *Crusade*. Galfridus, our countryman, whose *Nova Poetria* was in higher celebrity than Horace's *Art of Poetry*. [See vol. i. Dissertat. ii.] Matthæus, of Vendosme, who in the year 1170 paraphrased the *Book of Tobit* into Latin elegiacs, from the Latin Bible of saint Jerom, under the title of the *Tobiad*, sometimes called the *Thebaid*, and first printed among the Octo Morales. Alexander de Villa Dei, whose *Doctrinale*, or Grammar in Leonine verse, superseded Priscian about the year 1200. It was first printed at Venice, fol. 1473. And by Wynkyn de Worde, 1503. [It was first printed at Trevizo, 1472, fol. Panzer, *Ann. Typ.* iii. 32. See Dibdin's Ames, ii. 116, who calls in question the accuracy of the date 1503 of the English edition.—M.] He was a French frier minor, and also wrote the *Arguments of the chapters of all the books of either Testament*, in two hundred and twelve hexameters; with some other forgotten pieces. Marcius Capella, whose poem on the *Marriage of Mercury with Philology* rivalled Boethius. [See supra, p. 287.] Joannes de Garlandia, an Englishman, a poet and grammarian, who studied at Paris about the year 1200. The most eminent of his numerous Latin poems, which crowd our libraries, seem to be his *Epithalamium on the Virgin Mary* in ten books of elegiacs. MSS. Cotton. Claud. A. x.; and *De Triumphis Ecclesiæ*, in eight books, which contains much English history. MS. *ibid.* Some of his pieces, both in prose and verse, have been printed. Bernardus Carnotensis, or *Sylvestre*, much applauded by John of Salisbury, who styles him the most perfect Platonic of that age. Metallog. iv. c. 35. His *Megacosm* and *Microcosm*, a work consisting both of verse and prose, is frequently cited by the barbarous writers. He is imitated by Chaucer, *Man of L. Tale*, v. 4617, "In sterres many a winter," &c. Physiologus, or Theobaldus Episcopus, who wrote in Latin verse *De Naturis* xii. *animalium*, MSS. Harl. 3093. 5. He is there called *Italicus*. There is also a *Magister Florinus*, styled also Physiologus, on the same subject. Chaucer quotes Physiologus, whom I by mistake

dore the old etymologist^m, Alcuineⁿ, and Abelard^o; and we must acknowledge, that the writer, exclusive of the utility of his precepts, possesses the merit of a nervous and elegant brevity. It is perpetually quoted by Chaucer. In the MILLER'S TALE, he reproaches the simple carpenter for having never read in Cato that a man should marry his own likeness^p: and in the MARCHAUNT'S TALE, having quoted Seneca to prove that no blessing is equal to a humble wife, he adds Cato's precept of prudently bearing a scolding wife with patience^q. It was translated into Greek at Constantinople by Maximus Planudes, who has the merit of having familiarised to his countrymen many Latin classics of the lower empire, by metaphrastic versions^r: and at the restoration of learning in Europe, illustrated with a commentary by Erasmus, which is much extolled by Luther^s. There are two or three French translations^t. That of Mathurine Corderoy is dedicated to Robert Stephens. In the British Museum, there is a French translation by Helis de Guinchestre, or Winchester, made, perhaps, at the time when our countrymen affected to write more in French than English^u. Chaucer constantly calls this writer CATON or CATHON, which shows that he was more familiar in French than in Latin. Caxton in the preface to his

have supposed to be Pliny, "For Physiologus says sikerly." Nonnes Pr. Tale, v. 15277. [See *supr.* p. 188.] Sidonius, who wrote a metrical dialogue between a Jew and a Christian on both the Testaments; and a Sidonius, perhaps the same, *regis qui fingit prelia*. To these our author adds his own *Grecismus*, or a poem in hexameters on rhetoric and grammar; which, as Du Cange [*Præf. Lat. Gloss.* §. xlv.] observes, was anciently a common manual in the seminaries of France, and, I suppose, of England.

^m Etymol. V. OFFICIPERDA.

ⁿ Contra Elipand. lib. ii. p. 949.

^o Lib. i. Theol. Christ. p. 1183.

^p V. 3227.

^q V. 9261.

^r It occurs often among the Barocian manuscripts, Bibl. Bodl. viz. 64. 71. bis. 95. 111. 194. The first edition of Cato, soon followed by many others, I believe, is August. A.D. 1485. The most complete edition is that of Christ. Daumius, Cygn. 1672. 8vo., containing the Greek metaphrases of Maximus Planudes, Joseph Scaliger, Matthew Zuber, and John Mylius, a German version by Martinus Apicius, with annotations and other accessions. It was before translated into German rhymes by Abraham Morterius, of Weissenburgh. Francof. 1590. 8vo.

^s Colloqu. Mensal. c. 37.

^t One by Peter Grosnet, *Les mots dorees du sage Caton*. Paris. 1543.

^u MSS. Harl. 4388. This manuscript is older than 1400. [It is of the twelfth century.—M.] Du Cange quotes a Cato in French rhymes. Gl. Lat. V. LECATOR. See MSS. Ashmol. 789. 2. [6995.]

[In Bennet college library, there is a copy of the French Cato by Helis of Winchester, MSS. ccccv. 24. fol. 317. It is entitled and begins thus: *Les Distiches Morales de CATON mises en vers par Helis de Guyncestre*.

Ki vout savor la faitement
Ki Catun a sun fiz aprent,
Si en Latin nel set entendre,
Ici le pot en rumainz¹ aprendre,
Cum Helis de Guyncestre
Ki Deu met a se destre
L'a translâté si faitement.

Cod. membran. 4to. The transcript is of the fourteenth century. Compare Verdier, Bibl. Franc. tom. iii. p. 288. edit. 1772. In the Latin Chronicle of Anonymus Salernitanus, written about the year 900, the writer mentions a description in Latin verse of the palace of the city of Salerno, but laments that it was rendered illegible through length of time: "Nam si unam paginam fuisset nacti, comparare illos [versus] profecto potuisset Maroni in *voluminibus*, CATONIQUE, sive profecto aliis *Sophistis*." cap. xviii. col. 195 B. tom. ii. P. ii. Scriptor. Rer. Ital. Mediolan. 1726. —ADDITIONS.]

¹ In romance; in French.

aforesaid translation affirms, that Poggius Florentinus, whose library was furnished with the most valuable authors, esteemed CATHON GLOSED, that is, Cato with notes, to be the best book in his collection^v. The glossarist I take to be Philip de Pergamo, a prior at Padua; who wrote a most elaborate MORALISATION on Cato, under the title of SPECULUM REGIMINIS, so early as the year 1380^x. In the same preface, Caxton observes, that it is *the beste boke for to be taught to younge children in scole*. But he supposes the author to be Marcus Cato, whom he duly celebrates with the two Scipios and other *noble Romaynes*. A kind of supplement to this work, and often its companion, under the title of CATO PARVUS, or *Facetus*, or *Urbanus*, was written by Daniel Church, or Ecclesiensis, a domestic in the court of Henry the Second, a learned prince and a patron of scholars, about the year 1180^y. This was also translated by Burghe; and in the British Museum, both the CATOS of his version occur, as forming one and the same work, viz. *Liber MINORIS Catonis, et MAJORIS, translatus a Latino in Anglicum per Mag. Benet Borugh*^z. Burghe's performance is too jejune for transcription; and, I suspect, would not have afforded a single splendid extract, had even the Latin possessed any sparks of poetry. It is indeed true, that the only critical excellence of the original, which consists of a terse conciseness of sentences, although not always expressed in the purest latinity, will not easily bear to be transfused. Burghe, but without sufficient foundation, is said to have finished Lydgate's GOVERNANCE OF PRINCIS^a.

^v Many of the *glossed* manuscripts, so common in the libraries, were the copies with which pupils in the university attended their readers or lecturers; from whose mouths paraphrastic notes were *interlined* or written in the margin, by the more diligent hearers. In a Latin translation of some of Aristotle's philosophical works, once belonging to Rochester priory, and transcribed about the year 1350, one Henry de Rewham is said to be the writer; and to have *glossed* the book, during the time he heard it explained by a public reader in the schools of Oxford. "*Et audit in scholis Oxonie, et emendavit et GLOSAVIT audiendo.*" MSS. Reg. 12 G. ii. 4to. In the mean time, I am of opinion, that the word *reader* originally took its rise from a paucity of books; when there was only ONE book to be had, which a professor or lecturer recited to a large audience.

^x Printed, August, 1475. In Exeter college library, there is *Cato Moralisatus*, MSS. 37. [837.] And again at All Soules, MSS. 9. [1410.] Compare MSS. More, 35. [9221.] And Bibl. Coll. Trin. Dublin. 651. 14. And MSS. Harl. 6294.

^y MSS. Coll. Trin. Dublin. 275. And Bibl. Eccles. Wigorn. sub tit. URBANUS, MSS. 147. One Tedbaldus, of the same

age, is called the author, from a manuscript cited, Giornal. Lett. d'Ital. iv. p. 181. In Lewis's Caxton, in a collection of Chaucer's and Lydgate's poems by Caxton, without date, are recited 3. Parvus Catho. 4. Magnus Cato. p. 104. What these translations are I know not. Beside Caxton's Cato, mentioned above, there is a separate work by Caxton, "*Hic incipit Parvus Cato,*" in English and Latin. No date. Containing thirty-seven leaves in quarto. I find Parvus Cato in English rhyme, MSS. Vernon. Bibl. Bodl. fol. cccx. The Latin of the Lesser Cato is printed among Auctores Octo Morales, Lugd. 1538. Compare MSS. Harl. 2251, iii. fol. 174. 112. fol. 175. A translation into English verses of both Catos, perhaps by Lydgate. See also MSS. Coll. Trin. Dublin. V. 651. The *Proverbia Catonis* are a different work from either of these, written in hexameters by Marbodeus, Opp. Hildebert. p. 1634. Paris 1708. fol. [Of the Cato Parvus, says Mr. Dibdin, there was but one edition printed in the fifteenth century. Lydgate was the translator both of Cato Magnus and Parvus. Typ. Antiq. vol. i. p. 201.—PARK.]

^z MSS. Harl. 116. 2. See also, 271. 2.

^a See *supr.* Lydgate. There is a transla-

About the year 1481, Julian Barnes, more properly Berners, sister of Richard lord Berners, and prioress of the nunnery of Sopewell, wrote three English tracts on *Hawking, Hunting, and Armory, or Heraldry*, which were soon afterwards printed in the neighbouring monastery^b of saint Albans^c. From an abbess disposed to turn author, we might more reasonably have expected a manual of meditations for the closet, or select rules for making salves, or distilling strong waters. But the diversions of the field were not thought inconsistent with the character of a religious lady of this eminent rank, who resembled an abbot in respect of exercising an extensive manorial jurisdiction; and who hawked and hunted in common with other ladies of distinction^d. This work, however, is here mentioned, because the second of these treatises is written in rhyme. It is spoken in her own person; in which, being otherwise

tion of the *Wyz Cato*, and *Æsop's Fables*, into English doggerel, by one William Bulloker, for Edm. Bollifant, 1585. This W. Bulloker wrote a *Pamphlet for grammar*, for the same, 1586. 12mo. [The sentences of the *Wyz Cato* may be in doggerel, but *Æsop's Fables* are in prose; both, however, of affected orthography. Ritson MS. note.—PARK.]

^b There was a strong connexion between the two monasteries. In that of saint Alban's a monk was annually appointed, with the title of *Custos monialium de Sopewelle*. Registr. Abbat. Wallingford, [sub an. 1480.] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Tanner.

^c In the year 1486. fol. Again, at Westminster, by W. de Worde. 1496. 4to. The barbarism of the times strongly appears in the indelicate expressions which she often uses; and which are equally incompatible with her sex and profession. The poem begins thus. [I transcribe from a good manuscript, MSS. Rawlins. Bibl. Bodl. papyr. fol.]

Mi dere sones, where ye fare, by frith,
or by fell¹,
Take good hede in his tyme how Tristrem² wol tell;
How many maner bestes of venery there were,
Listenes now to our Dame, and ye shullen here.
Fowre maner bestes of venery there are,
The first of hem is a hart, the second is an hare;
The boor is one of tho,
The wolff, and no mo.
And wherso ye comen in play³ or in place,
Now shal I tel you which ben bestes of chace:

One of the a buck, another a doo,
The fox, and the marteryn, and the wilde roo:

And ye shall, my dere sones, other bestes all,

Where so ye hem finde, rascall hem call,
In frith or in fell,
Or in forrest, y yow tell.

And to speke of the hert, if ye wil hit lere,
Ye shall call him a calfe at the first yere;
The second yere a broket, so shall he be,
The third yere a spayard, lerneth this at me;

The iiiii yere calles hem a stagge, be any way

The first yere a grete stagge, my dame bade you say.

Among Crynes's books [911. 4to. Bibl. Bodl.] there is a bl. lett. copy of this piece, "Imprynted at London in Paul's church-yarde by me Hary Tab." Again by William Copland without date, "The boke of hawkyng, hunting, and fishing, with all the properties and medecynes that are necessary to be kept." With wooden cuts. Here the tract on *armory* is omitted, which seems to have been first inserted that the work might contain a complete course of education for a gentleman. The same title is in W. Powel's edit. 1550. The last edition is "The GENTLEMAN'S ACADEMY, or the book of saint Albans, concerning hawking, hunting, and armory." Lond. 1595. 4to.

^d At the magnificent marriage of the princess Margaret with James the Fourth, king of Scotland, in 1503, his majesty sends the new queen, "a grett tame hart, for to have a corse." Leland. Coll. Append. iii. 280. edit. 1770.

¹ wood or field.

² Sir Tristram. See Observat. Spens. i. p. 21.

³ plain.

a woman of authority, she assumes the title of dame. I suspect the whole to be a translation from the French and Latin*.

To this period I refer William of Nassyngton, a proctor or advocate in the ecclesiastical court at York. He translated into English rhymes, as I conjecture about the year 1480, a theological tract, entitled *A treatise on the Trinity and Unity, with a declaration of God's Works and of the Passion of Jesus Christ*, written by John of Waldeby, an Augustine frier of Yorkshire, a student in the Augustine convent at Oxford, the provincial of his order in England, and a strenuous champion against the doctrines of Wiccliffe^f. I once saw a manuscript of Nassyngton's translation in the library of Lincoln cathedral^g; and was tempted to

* [I can, however, hardly understand how she could get the technical English terms; as I can hardly believe one in her situation followed the chase, and conversed with huntsmen enough for the purpose. I think that these Religious translated the French or Latin books on hunting, war, &c. to please their friends, who were professed sportsmen and warriors, and that they furnished the terms of art.—ASHBY.]

^e This is the latter part of the colophon at the end of the saint Albans edition: "And here now endith the boke of blasynge of armys, translatyt and compylt togedyr at saynt Albons the yere from thyncarnacyon of oure lorde Jhesu Crist MCCCCLXXXVI." [This very scarce book, printed in various inks, was in the late Mr. West's library.] [From Wynkyn de Worde's curious edition of 1496, a *fac simile* has recently been printed, which displays an admirable specimen of modern art in rivalling ancient typography; while under the editorial superintendence of Mr. Haslewood, it is illustrated and embellished with biographical notices, &c. that could scarcely perhaps have been supplied by any of his contemporaries. 150 copies only were taken off.—PARK.] [The above note savours pretty much of the Roxburgh quackery, upon which the posthumous writings of Mr. Haslewood have recently thrown much light.—M.] This part is translated or abstracted from Upton's book *De re militari, et factis illustribus*, written about the year 1441. See the fourth book *De insignibus Anglorum nobilium*. Edit. Biss. Lond. 1654. 4to. It begins with the following curious piece of sacred heraldry: "Of the offspring of the gentleman Jafeth, come Habraham, Moyses, Aron and the profetys, and also the kyng of the right lyne of Mary, of whom that gentleman Jhesus was borne, very god and man: after his manhode kyng of the land of Jude and of Jues, gentleman by is moder Mary, prynce of Cote armure," &c. Nicholas Upton, above

mentioned, was a fellow of New college Oxford, about the year 1430. He had many dignities in the church. He was patronised by Humphrey duke of Gloucester, to whom he dedicates his book. This I ought to have remarked before.

^f Wood, Ant. Univ. Oxon. i. 117.

^g See also MSS. Reg. 17 C. viii. p. 2.

[But the same lines occur in the Prologue to Hampole's *Speculum Vitæ*, or *MIRROUR OF LIFE*, as it has been called, written about the year 1350. [See MSS. Bodl. 48. p. 47 a. Bibl. Bodl. And ibid. MSS. Langb. 5. p. 64.] From which, that those who have leisure and opportunity may make a further comparison of the two Prologues, I will transcribe a few more dull lines.

Latyn als, I trowe, canne nane
Bot thase that it of scole haue tane,
Some canne *frankes* and *latyn*
That haues vsed covrte and dwelled
theryn,

And som canne o *latyn* a party
That canne *frankes* bot febely,
And som vnderstandes in *inglys*
That canne nother *latyn* ne *frankys*,
Bot lered and lewed alde and younge
All vnderstandes *inglysche* tounge:
Thare fore I halde it maste syker thon
To schew that langage that ilk a man
konne,

And for all lewed men namely
Thet can no maner of clergy,
To kenne thanne what ware maste nede,
For clerkes canne bathe se and rede, &c.

This poem, consisting of many thousand verses, begins with the spiritual advantages of the Lord's Prayer, of its seven petitions, their effects, &c. &c. and epds with the seven Beatitudes, and their rewards. [See *supr.* p. 42, note ².] These are the two concluding lines.

To whylk blyss he vs bryng
That on the crosse for vs all wolde hyng.
This is supposed to be a translation from

transcribe the few following lines from the prologue, as they convey an idea of our poet's character, record the titles of some old popular romances, and discover antient modes of public amusement.

I warne you firste at the begynnynge,
That I will make no vayne carpynge,
Of dedes of armes, ne of amours,
As does MYNSTELLIS and GESTOURS,
That maketh carpynge in many a place
Of OCTOVIANE and ISENBRACE*,
And of many other GESTES,
And namely when they come to festes;
Ne of the lyf of BEVYS OF HAMPTOUNE,
That was a knyght of grete renoune:
Ne of syr GYE OF WARWYKE, &c.

Our translator in these verses formally declares his intention of giving his reader no entertainment; and disavows all concern with secular vanities, especially those unedifying tales of love and arms, which were the customary themes of other poets, and the delight of an idle age. The romances of OCTAVIAN, sir BEVIS, and sir GUY, have already been discussed at large. That of sir ISEMBRAS was familiar in the time of Chaucer, and occurs in the RIME OF SIR THOPAS^b. In Mr. Garrick's curious library of chivalry, which his friends share in common with himself, there is an edition by Copland, extremely different from the manuscript copies preserved at Cambridge^c, and in the Cotton collection^d. I believe it to be originally a French romance, yet not of very high antiquity. It is written in the stanza of Chaucer's sir THOPAS^e. The in-

a Latin tract, afterwards printed at Cologne, 1536. fol. But it may be doubted, whether Hampole was the translator. It is, however, most probably of the fourteenth century.—ADDITIONS.]

[The "Myrrour of Life," ascribed to Hampole, and the poem quoted above in the text, are one and the same. The true author is ascertained by the following lines at the end, taken from MS. Reg. 17. c. viii.

"Now wille I na mare say;
3e that have herde, I you pray
That 3e wald pray specially
For Freere Johan saule of Waldby,
That fast studyd day and nyght,
And made this tale in Latyne right, &c.
Prayes also w^t deucion
For William saule of Nassyngtone,
That gaf hym als fulle besyly
Night and day to grete study
And made this tale in Inglys tonge,
Prayes for hyme old and jonge."

Warton, however, has here committed two

gross errors; first, in assigning Nassyngton to so late a period as 1480, when he certainly flourished in the 14th century, (for the transcript of his work in the Royal MS. is dated 1418.) and secondly, in stating that the lines quoted by him in his text are taken from Nassyngton's poem in the Lincoln MS., when they are from the "Myrrour of Life." The poem in the Lincoln MS., A. i. 17., is quite a different work, and only consists of about 440 short lines. It commences:

"O! Lord God of myghtes moste,
Fadere and Sone and Holy Goste."—M.]

* [Isembrase. King's MS.]

^b V. 6. See supr. vol. i. p. 127. Note ^t. [This romance has been reprinted in Utterson's "Select Pieces of early Popular Poetry."—PRICE.]

^c MSS. Caius Coll. Class. A. 9. (2.) [No. 175.]

^d Calig. A. 12. f. 128.

^e See Percy's Ball. i. 306.

cidents are for the most part those trite expedients, which almost constantly form the plan of these metrical narratives.

I take this opportunity of remarking, that the MINSTRELS, who in this prologue of Nassyngton are named separately from the GESTOURS, or tale-tellers, were sometimes distinguished from the harpers. In the year 1374, six Minstrels, accompanied with four Harpers, on the Anniversary of Alwyne the bishop, *performed* their *minstrelsies*, at dinner, in the hall of the convent of saint Swithin at Winchester; and during supper, sung the same GEST, or tale, in the great *arched* chamber of the prior: on which solemn occasion, the said chamber was hung with the arras, or tapestry, of THE THREE KINGS OF COLOGNE^m. These minstrels and harpers belonged, partly to the royal household in Winchester castle, and partly to the bishop of Winchester. There was an annual mass at the shrine or tomb of bishop Alwyne in the church, which was regularly followed by a feast in the convent. It is probable, that the GEST here specified was some poetical legend of the prelate, to whose memory this yearly festival was instituted, and who was a Saxon bishop of Winchester about the year 1040ⁿ; although songs of chivalry were equally common, and I believe more welcome to the monks, at these solemnities. In an accompt-roll of the priory of Bicester, in Oxfordshire^o, I find a parallel instance, under the year 1432. It is in this entry. "*Dat. sex Ministrallis de Bokyngham cantantibus in refectorio MARTYRIUM SEPTEM DORMIENTIUM in festo epiphanie, ivs.*" That is, the treasurer of the monastery gave four shillings to six minstrels from Buckingham, for singing in the refectory a legend called

^m Registr. Priorat. S. Swithini Winton. [ut supr. vol. i. p. 81.] "In festo Alwyni episcopi Et durante pietancia in aula conventus, sex MINISTRALLI, cum quatuor CITHARISATORIBUS, faciebant ministralcias suas. Et post cenam, in magna camerâ arcuatâ domini Prioris, *cantabant* idem GESTUM, in quâ camerâ suspendebatur, ut moris est, magnum dorsale Prioris, habens picturas trium regum Colein. Veniebant autem dicti joculatores a castello domini regis, et ex familiâ episcopi. . . ." The rest is much obliterated, and the date is hardly discernible. Among the Harleian manuscripts, there is an ancient song on the three kings of Cologne, in which the whole story of that favorite romance is resolved into alchemy. MSS. 2407. 13. fol. Wynkyn de Worde printed this romance in quarto, 1526. It is in MSS. Harl. 1704. 11. fol. 49 b.; Imperf. Coll. Trin. Dublin. V. 651. 14. [C. 16.]; MSS. More, 37; and frequently in other places. Barclay, in his Egloges, mentions this subject, a part of the nativity, painted on the walls of a *churche cathedrall*. Egl. v. Signat. D. ii. ad calc. Ship of Fooles, edit. 1570.

And the *thre kinges*, with all their company,
Their crownes glistening bright and oriently,

With their presentes and giftes mysticall,
All this behelde I in picture on the wall.

In an Inventory of ornaments belonging to the church of Holbech in Lincolnshire, and sold in the year 1548, we find this article: "*Item, for the COATS of the iii. kyngs of Coloyne, v. s. iiii d.*" I suppose these coats were for dressing persons who represented the three kings in some procession on the NATIVITY. Or perhaps for a MYSTERY on the subject, plaid by the parish. But in the same Inventory we have, *Item, for the apostylls* [the apostles] *coats, and for HAROD's* [Herod's] *coate, &c.* Stukeley's Itin. Curios. pag. 19. In old accompts of church-wardens for saint Helen's at Abingdon, Berks, for the year 1566, there is an entry *For setting up ROBIN HOODES BOWER*. I suppose for a parish interlude. Archæol. vol. i. p. 16.

ⁿ He is buried in the north wall of the presbytery, with an inscription.

^o In Thesaurario Coll. Trin. Oxon. [See supr. vol. i. p. 82.]

the MARTYRDOM OF THE SEVEN SLEEPERS^p, on the feast of the Epiphany. In the Cotton library, there is a Norman poem in Saxon characters* on this subject^q; which was probably translated afterwards into English rhyme. The original is a Greek legend^r, never printed; but which, in the dark ages, went about in a barbarous Latin translation, by one Syrus^s, or in a narrative framed from thence by Gregory of Tours^t.

^p In the fourth century, being inclosed in a cave at Ephesus by the emperor Decius 372 years, they were afterwards found sleeping, and alive.

* [The poem is written in the common French hand of the 13th century; and the English poem mentioned in the note below, as being "partly in Saxon characters," is written in the reign of Henry the Seventh. Very little dependence can be placed on Warton's knowledge of the age of MSS.—M.]

^q MSS. Cott. Calig. A. ix. iii. fol. 213 b. [See supr. vol. i. p. 18.] "*Ici commence la vie de Set dormant.*"

La vertu deu ke tut jurz dure
E tvt jurz est certeine e pure.

[This poem was written in the 13th century, by an Anglo-Norman named Char-dry. See De la Rue's *Essais sur les Trouvères*, &c., tom. iii. p. 130.—M.]

^r MSS. Lambec. viii. p. 375. Photius, without naming the author, gives the substance of this Greek legend, Bibl. Cod. ccliii. pag. 1399. edit. 1591. fol. This story was common among the Arabians. The mussulmans borrowed many wonderful narratives from the christians, which they embellished with new fictions. They pretend that a dog, which was accidentally shut up in the cavern with the *seven sleepers*, became rational. See Herbelot, Dict. Orient. p. 139 a. V. Ashab. p. 17. In the British Museum there is a poem, partly in Saxon characters, *De pueritia domini nostri Jhesu Cristi*; or, *the childhood of Christ*. MSS. Harl. 2399. 10. fol. 47. It begins thus,

Alle myȝhty god yn Trynnye,
That bowth [bought] man on rode dere;
He gefe ows welle to the
A lytyl wyle that ye wyllle me hyre.

Who would suspect that this absurd legend had also a Greek original? It was taken, I do not suppose immediately, from an apocryphal narrative ascribed to saint Thomas the apostle, but really compiled by Thomas Israelites, and entitled, *Λογος εις τα παιδικα και μεγαλεια του Κυριου και Σωτηρος ημων Ιησου Χριστου*, *Liber de pueritia et miraculis Domini*, &c. It is

printed in part by Cotelierus, Not. ad Patr. Apostol. p. 274, who there mentions a book of saint Matthew the Evangelist, *De Infantia Salvatoris*, in which our Lord is introduced learning to read, &c. See Iren. lib. i. c. xvii. p. 104. Among other figments of this kind, in the Pseudo-Gelasian Decree are recited, *The history and nativity of our Saviour, and of Mary and the midwife, and The history of the infancy of our Saviour*. Jur. Can. Distinct. can. 3. The latter piece is mentioned by Anastasius, where he censures, as supposititious, the *puerile miracles of Christ*. Oðny. c. xiii. p. 26.

On the same subject there is an Arabic book, probably compiled soon after the rise of Mahometanism, translated into Latin by Sikius, called *EVANGELIUM INFANTIE*, Arab. et Latin. Traject. ad Rhen. 1697. 8vo. In this piece, Christ is examined by the Jewish doctors, in astronomy, medicine, physics, and metaphysics. Sikius says, that the *PUERILE MIRACLES* of Christ were common among the Persians. Ibid. in Not. p. 55. Fabricius cites a German poem, more than four hundred years old, founded on these legends. Cod. Apocryph. Nov. Test. tom. i. pag. 212. Hamburg. 1703.

At the end of the English poem on this subject above cited, is the following rubric. "Qod dns Johannes Architenens canonicus Bodminie et natus in illa." Whether this canon of Bodmin in Cornwall, whose name was perhaps Archer, or Bowyer, is the poet, or only the transcriber, I cannot say. See fol. 48. In the same manuscript volume [8.], there is an old English poem to our Saviour, with this note: "Explicit *Contemplationem bonam*. Quod dns Johannes Arcuarius Canonicus Bodmine." See what is said, below, of the *PSEUDO-EVANGELIUM* attributed to Nicodemus.

^s Apud Surium, ad 27 Jul.

^t *Historia septem Dormientium*. Paris. 1511. 4to. Ibid. 1640. And apud Ruinart. p. 1270. See Præf. Ruinart. § 79. And Gregory himself *De gloria martyrum*, cap. 95. pag. 826. This piece is noticed and much commended by the old chronicler Albericus, ad ann. 319.

Henry Bradshaw has rather larger pretensions to poetical fame than William of Nassington, although scarcely deserving the name of an original writer in any respect. He was a native of Chester, educated at Gloucester college in Oxford, and at length a Benedictine monk of saint Werburgh's abbey in his native place^u. Before the year 1500, he wrote the *LIFE OF SAINT WERBURGH*, a daughter of a king of the Mercians, in English verse^w. This poem, beside the devout deeds and passion of the poet's patroness saint, comprehends a variety of other subjects; as a description of the kingdom of the Mercians^x, the lives of saint Etheldred and saint Sexburgh^y, the foundation of the city of Chester^z, and a chronicle of our kings^a. It is collected from Bede,

^u Athen. Oxon. i. p. 9. Pits. 690.

^w He declares, that he does not mean to rival Chaucer, Lydgate *sententious*, *pregnaunt* Barklay, and *inventive* Skelton. The two last were his cotemporaries. L. ii. c. 24.

[Bradshaw seems rather to say, that as his book was compiled for unlearned readers, it ought to submit itself with deference to the judgement of learned poets. But as the passage is interesting, I will present it, with the context. It occurs in a brief conclusion to the work by the translator.

Go forth, litell boke, Jesu be thy spede,
And save the away from mysreportyng,
Whiche art compiled for no clerke indede,

But for marchaunt men havyng litell lernyng,

And that rude people therby may have knowyng,
Of this holy virgin and redolent rose,
Which hath ben kept full longe tyme in close.

To all aunccient poetes, litell boke, submytte thee,
Whilom flouryng in eloquence facundious,

And to all other whiche present now be,
Fyrst to Maister Chaucer and Ludgate sentencious,

Also to preignaunt Barkley nowe beyng religious,

To inventive Skelton and poet laureate,
Pray them all of pardon both erly and late.—PARK.]

^x Lib. i. cap. ii.

^y Lib. i. cap. xviii. xix.

^z Lib. i. cap. iii.

^a Lib. ii. cap. xv. The fashion of writing metrical *Chronicles of the kings of England* grew very fashionable in this century. See *supr.* vol. i. p. 84. Many of these are evidently composed for the harp; but they are mostly mere genealogical deductions. Hearne has printed,

from the Heralds' Office, a PETEGREE of our kings, from William the conqueror to Henry the Sixth, written in 1448. [APPENDIX to Rob. Gloucestr. vol. ii. p. 585. see p. 588.] This is a specimen.

Then regnyd Harry nought full wyse,
The son of Mold [Maud] the emperyse.
In hys tyme then seynt Thomas
At Caunterbury marteryd was.
He held Rosomund the sheen,
Gret sorwe hit was for the queen:
At Wodestoke for hure he made a toure,
That is called ROSEMOUNDES BOURE.—
And sithen regnyd his sone Richerd,
A man that was never aferd:
He werred ofte tyme and wyse
Worthily upon goddis enemyse.
And sithen he was shoten, alas!
Atte castle Gailard there he was.
Atte Fonte Everarde he lithe there:
He regnyd almost ten yere.—
In Johne is tyme, as y understonde,
Was entredyted alle Engelande:
He was fulle wrothe and grym,
For prestus would nought synge before
hym, &c.

Lydgate has left the best chronicle of the kind, and most approaching to poetry. *The regnyng of kyngys after the conquest by the monk of Bury.* MSS. Fairf. Bibl. Bodl. 16. [And MSS. Ashmol. 59. ii. MSS. Harl. 2251. 3. And a beautiful copy, with pictures of the kings, MSS. Cotton. Julius, E. 5.] [Printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1530. 4to. "This myghty Wylliam duke of Normandy." This is one of the stanzas. [See MSS. Bodl. B. 3. 1999. 6.]

RICARDUS PRIMUS.

Rychard the next by successyon,
First of that name, strong, hardy, and notable,

Was crowned kyng, called Cur de lyon,
With Saryzonys hedys served atte table:
Sleyn at Galard by death full lamentable:
The space regned fully ix yere;
His hert buried in Roon, atte high autere.

Alfred of Beverley, Malmesbury, Girardus Cambrensis, Higden's Polychronicon, and the passionaries of the female saints, Werburgh, Etheldred, and Sexburgh, which were kept for public edification in the choir of the church of our poet's monastery^b. Bradshaw is not so fond of relating visions and miracles as his argument seems to promise. Although concerned with three saints, he deals more in plain facts than in the fictions of religious romance; and, on the whole, his performance is rather historical than legendary. This is remarkable, in an age, when it was the fashion to turn history into legend^c. His fabulous origin of

Compare MSS. Harl. 372. 5. There was partly a political view in these deductions: to ascertain the right of our kings to the crowns of France, Castile, Leon, and the duchy of Normandy. See MSS. Harl. 326. 2.—116. 11. fol. 142. I know not whether it be worth observing, that about this time a practice prevailed of constructing long parchment-rolls in Latin, of the pedigree of our kings. Of this kind is the *Pedigree of British kings from Adam to Henry the Sixth*, written about the year 1450, by Roger Alban, a Carmelite friar of London. It begins, "Considerans chronicorum prolixitatem." The original copy, presented to Henry the Sixth by the compiler, is now in Queen's college library at Oxford. MSS. [22.] B. 5. 3. There are two copies in Winchester college library, and another in the Bodleian. Among bishop More's manuscripts, there is a parchment-roll of the Pedigree of our kings from Ethelred to Henry the Fourth, in French, with pictures of the several monarchs. MSS. 495. and in the same collection, a Pedigree from Harold to Henry the Fourth, with elegant illuminations. MSS. 479. In the same rage of genealogising, Alban above mentioned framed the Descent of Jesus Christ, from Adam, through the Levitical and regal tribes, the Jewish patriarchs, judges, kings, prophets, and priests. The original roll, as it seems, on vellum, beautifully illuminated, is in MSS. More, ut supr. 495. But this was partly copied from Peter of Poitou, a disciple of Lombard about the year 1170, who, for the benefit of the poorer clergy, was the first that found out the method of forming, and reducing into parchment-rolls, HISTORICAL TABLES of the Old Testament. Alberic. in Chron. p. 441. See MSS. Denb. 1627. 1. Rot. membr.

As to Bradshaw's history of the foundation of Chester, it may be classed with the FOUNDATION OF THE ABBEY OF GLOUCESTER, a poem of twenty-two stanzas, written in the year 1534, by the last abbot William Malverne, printed by Hearne, ubi supr. p. 378. This piece is

mentioned by Harpsfield, Hist. Eccles. Angl. p. 264. Princip. "In sundrie fayer volumes of antiquitie." MSS. Harl. 539. 14. fol. 111.

^b For as declareth the true PASSIONARY,

A boke where her holie lyfe wrytten is,
Which boke remaineth in Chester monastery.

Lib. i. c. vii. Signat. C. ii. And again, ib.
I folow the legend and true hystory
After an humble stile and from it lytell vary.

And in the Prologue, lib. i. Signat. A. iiii.
Untoo this rude worke myne auctors these,
Fyrst the true Legends, and the venerable Bede,
Mayster Alfrydus, and Wylliam Malmesbury,
Gyrard, Polychronicon, and other mo indeed.

^c Even scripture-history was turned into romance. The story of Esther and Ahasuerus, or of AMON or *Hamon*, and MARDOCHEUS or *Mordecai*, was formed into a fabulous poem. MS. Vernon, ut supr. fol. 213.

OF AMON and MARDOCHEUS.

Many wynter witerly
Or Crist weore boren of vre ladi,
A rich kynge, hizte AHASWERE,
That stif was on stede and stere;
Mighti kynge he was, i-wis,
He livede muchel in weolye ant blis,
His bliasse may i nat telle jou,
How lange hit weore to schewe hit nou;
But thing that tovceth to vre matere
I wol jou telle, gif ze wol here.
The kyng lovede a knight so wele,
That he commaunded men should knele
Bifore him, in vche streete,
Over all ther men mite him meete;
AMON was the knihtes nome,
On him fell muchel worldis schome,
For in this ilke kynges lande
Was moche folke of Jewes wonande,
Of heore kynd the kyng hym tok
A qwene to wyve, as telleth the bok, &c.

Chester is not so much to be imputed to his own want of veracity, as to the authority of his voucher Ranulph Higden, a celebrated chronicler, his countryman, and a monk of his own abbey^d. He supposes that

In the British Museum there is a long commentitious narrative of the *Creation of Adam and Eve, their Sufferings and Repentance, Death and Burial*. MSS. Harl. 1704. 5. fol. 18. This is from a Latin piece on the same subject, *ibid.* 495. 12. fol. 43. imperf. In the English, Peter Comestor, the *maister of stories*, author of the *Historia Scholastica*, who flourished about the year 1170, is quoted. fol. 26. But he is not mentioned in the Latin, at fol. 49.

In Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*, we have this passage, v. 3538.

Haast thou not herd, quod Nicholas also,
The sorwe of Noe with his felawship,
Or that he might get his wif to ship?

I know not whether this anecdote about Noah is in any similar supposititious book of Genesis. It occurs, however, in the *Chester Whitsun Playes*, where the authors, according to the established indulgence allowed to dramatic poets, perhaps thought themselves at liberty to enlarge on the sacred story. MSS. Harl. 2013. This altercation between Noah and his wife takes up almost the whole third *pageant* of these interludes. Noah, having reproached his wife for her usual frowardness of temper, at last conjures her to come on board the ark, for fear of drowning. His wife insists on his sailing without her; and swears by *Christ* and *saint John*, that she will not embark till some of her old female companions are ready to go with her. She adds, that if he is in such a hurry, he may sail alone, and fetch himself a new wife. At length, Shem, with the help of his brothers, forces her into the vessel; and while Noah very cordially welcomes her on board, she gives him a box on the ear.

[This salutation is still carefully preserved in the puppet-show, where Punch says, "Hazy weather, master Noah," &c. —ASHBY.]

There is an apocryphal book, of the expulsion of Adam from Paradise, and of Seth's pilgrimage to Paradise, &c. &c. MSS. Eccles. Cathedr. Winton. 4.

^d There is the greatest probability, that Ralph Higden, hitherto known as a grave historian and theologian, was the compiler of the *Chester-plays*, mentioned above, pp. 24, 25. In one of the Harleian copies [2013. 1.] under the *Proclamation* for performing these plays in the year 1522, this note occurs, in the hand of the third Randal Holme, one of the

Chester antiquaries:—"Sir John Arnway was mayor, A.D. 1327 and 1328, at which tyme these playes were written by RANDALL HIGGENET, a monke, of Chester abbey," &c. In a prologue to these plays, when they were presented in the year 1600, are these lines, *ibid.* 2.

That some tymes ther was mayor of this
citie

Sir John Arnway knight: who most
worthilie

Contented hymselfe to sett out in *playe*,
The *Devise of one Done RONDALL*, Mooneke
of Chester abbaye.

Done Rondall is *Dan* [dominus] *Randal*. In another of the Harleian copies of these plays, written in the year 1607, this note appears, seemingly written in the year 1628. [MSS. Harl. 2124.] "The Whitsun playes first made by one *Don Rondle Heggnet*, a monke of Chester abbey, who was thrise at Rome before he could obtaine leave of the pope to have them in the English tongue." Our chronicler's name in the text, sometimes written *Hikeden*, and *Higgeden*, was easily corrupted into *Higgenet*, or *Heggenet*; and *Randal* is Ranulph or Randolph, *Ralph*. He died, having been a monk of Chester abbey sixty-four years, in the year 1363. In *PIERS FLOWMAN*, a frier says, that he is well acquainted with the "*rimes of RANDALL OF CHESTER*," fol. 26. edit. 1550. I take this passage to allude to this very person, and to his compositions of this kind, for which he was probably soon famous. [The MSS. read *Randall erle* of Chester, which, independently of other reasons equally conclusive, renders this conjecture perfectly nugatory.—PRICE.] In an anonymous *CHRONICON*, he is styled *Ranulphus Cestrensis*, which is nothing more than RANDALL OF CHESTER. MS. Ric. James xi. 8. Bibl. Bodl. And again we have, *RANULPHI CESTRENSIS "ars componendi sermones."* MSS. Bodl. sup. N. 2. Art. 10. And in many other places.

By the way, if it be true that these MYSTERIES were composed in the year 1328, and there was so much difficulty in obtaining the pope's permission that they might be presented in English, a presumptive proof arises, that all our MYSTERIES before that period were in Latin. These plays will therefore have the merit of being the first English interludes.

[Mr. Malone has added the following information: "Polydore Virgil mentions

Chester, called by the ancient Britons CAIR LLEON, or *the city of Legions*, was founded by Leon Gaur, a giant, corrupted from LEON VAUR, or the *great legion*.

The founder of this citie, as sayth Polychronicon,
Was Leon Gaur, a myghte stronge gyaunt,
Which buildid caves and dongeons manie a one,
No goodlie buildyng, ne proper, ne pleasant.

He adds, with an equal attention to etymology:

But kinge Leir a Britan fine and valiaunt,
Was founder of Chester by pleasaunt buildyng,
And was named Guar Leir by the kyng.*

But a greater degree of credulity would perhaps have afforded him a better claim to the character of a poet; and, at least, we should have conceived a more advantageous opinion of his imagination, had he been less frugal of those traditionary fables, in which ignorance and superstition had cloathed every part of his argument. This piece was first printed by Pinson in the year 1521. "Here begynneth the holy lyfe of SAYNT WERBURGE, very frutefull for all cristen people to rede." He traces the genealogy of saint Werburg with much historical accuracy².

in his book *De rerum inventoribus*, lib. v. c. ii. that the MYSTERIES were in his time in English. 'Solemus vel more prisorum spectacula edere populo, ut ludos, venationes,—recitare comœdias, item in templis vitas divorum ac martyria representare, in quibus, ut cunctis par sit voluptas, qui recitant veraculam linguam tantum usurpant.' The first three books of Polydore's work were published in 1499: in 1517, at which time he was in England, he added five more." Hist. Ant. of the Eng. Stage. Mr. Ashby (MS. note) doubted whether the Latin mysteries were to be presented in public, as they had been confined to churches, which makes a difference.—PARK.]

[These interesting remains of early English literature appear at length to have excited some share of attention. Mr. Sharp of Coventry is said to have printed some specimens of the Coventry Mysteries, and Mr. Hone's amusing volume is likely to be generally known. Specimens of the Chester Mysteries have also been printed for the use of the Roxburgh Club. It may not be strictly decorous, perhaps, to notice works of this private nature, and which are obviously intended to be kept from the public eye; but the extensive acquaintance with the

subject displayed in one of these pamphlets, demands a protest against reserving it for the exclusive information of a few black-letter dilettanti.—PRICE.]

* Lib. ii. c. iii.

† In octavo. With a wooden cut of the Saint. Princip. "When Phebus had ronned his cours in Sagittari." At the beginning is an English copy of verses, by J. T. and at the end two others.

‡ *A descrypcyon of the genealogy of SAYNT WERBURGE, &c.*

This noble prynces, the doughter of Syon,
The floure of vertu, and vyrgyn glorious,
Blessed saynt Werburge, full of devocyon,
Descended by auncetry, and tytle famous,
Of foure myghty kynges, noble and vyc-
torious,

Reynynge in his lande, by true succes-
syon,

As her lyfe historyall¹ maketh declara-
cyon.

The year of our lorde, from the natyuyte

Fyue hundreth xliiii. and liiii. score,

Whan Austyn was sende, from saynt Gre-
gorye,

To conuert this regyon, unto our sa-
uyoure

The noble kyng Cryda than reigned with
honoure

¹ That is, her Legend.

The most splendid passage of this poem is the following description of the feast made by king Ulpher in the hall of the abbey of Ely, when his daughter Werburgh was admitted to the veil in that monastery. Among other curious anecdotes of ancient manners, the subjects of the tapestry, with which the hall was hung, and of the songs sung by the minstrels, on this solemn occasion, are given at large^b.

Kynge Wulfer her father at this ghostly spousage
Prepared great tryumphes, and solempnyte;
Made a royall feest, as custome is of maryage,
Sende for his frendes, after good humanyte
Kepte a noble housholde, shewed great lyberalyte
Both to ryche and poore, that to this feest wolde come,
No man was denyed, every man was wellcome.

Her uncles and aunes were present there all,
Ethelred and Merwalde, and Mercelly also
Thre blessed kynges, whome sayntes we do call
Saint Keneswyd, saint Keneburg, their sisters both two
And of her noble lynage, many other mo
Were redy that season, with reverence and honour
At this noble tryumphe, to do all theyr devour.

Tho kynges mette them, with their company,
Egbryct kynge of Kent, brother to the quene;
The second was Aldulphe kynge of the east party,
Brother to saynt Audry, wyfe and mayde serene;
With divers of theyr progeny, and nobles as I wene,
Dukes, erles, barons, and lordes ferre and nere,
In theyr best array, were present all in fere¹.

It were full tedyous to make descrypcyon
Of the great tryumphes, and solempne royalte,
Belongynge to the feest, the honour and provysyon,
By playne declaracyon, upon every partye;
But the sothe to say, withouten ambyguyte,
All herbes and flowres, fragraunt, fayre and swete,
Were strawed in halles, and layd under theyr fete.

Upon the Mercyens, whiche kynge was
father

Unto kynge Wybba, and Quadriburge his
syster.

This Wybba gate Penda, kynge of
Mercyens,

Which Penda subdued, fyue kynges of
this regyon

Reygnyng thyrty yere, in worshyp and
reuerens

Was grauntfether to Werburge, by lynyall
successyon

By his quene Kyneswith, had a noble
generacyon

Fyue valeant prynces, Penda and kynge
Wulfer,

Kynge Ethelred, saynt Marceyl, saynt
Marwalde in fere.¹

^a "Of the great solempnyte kynge
Wulfer made at the ghostly maryage of
Saynt Werburge his daughter, to all his
lovers, cosvns, and frendes." Ca. xvi.
L. i. ¹ together.

Clothes of golde and arras were hanged in the hall
 Depaynted with pyctures, and hystories manyfolde,
 Well wroughte and craftely, with precious stones all
 Glyteryng as Phebus, and the beten golde,
 Lyke an erthly paradyse, pleasaunt to beholde:
 As for the sayd moynes^k, was not them amonge,
 But prayenge in her cell, as done all novice yonge.

The story of Adam there was goodly wrought,
 And of his wyfe Eve, bytwene them the serpent,
 How they were deceyved, and to theyr peynes brought;
 There was Cayn and Abell, offerynge theyr present,
 The sacryfyce of Abell, accepte full evydent:
 Tuball and Tubalcain were purtrayed in that place
 The inventours of musyke, and crafte by great grace.

Noe and his shyppe was made there curiously,
 Sendyng forthe a raven, whiche never came again;
 And how the dove returned, with a braunche hastely,
 A token of comforte and peace, to man certayne:
 Abraham there was, standing upon the mount playne
 To offer in sacrifice, Isaac his dere sone,
 And how the shepe for hym was offered in oblacyon.

The twelve sones of Jacob there were in purtrayture,
 And how into Egypt yonge Joseph was solde,
 There was imprisoned, by a false conjectour,
 After in all Egypte, was ruler (as is tolde).
 There was in pycture, Moyses wyse and bolde,
 Our Lorde apperynge, in bushe flammyng as fyre
 And nothing thereof brent, lefe, tree, nor spyre^l.

The ten plages of Egypt were well embost;
 The chyldren of Israel, passyng the reed see,
 Kyng Pharoo drowned, with all his proude hoost,
 And how the two table, at the mounte Synaye
 Were gyven to Moyses, and how soon to idolatry
 The people were prone, and punyshed were therefore,
 How Datan and Abyron for pryde were full youre^m.

Duke Josue was joyned after them in pycture,
 Ledyng the Isrehelytes to the land of promysyon,
 And how the said land was divided by mesure
 To the people of God, by equall sundry porcyon:
 The judges and bysshops were there everychone,
 Their noble actes, and tryumphes marcyall,
 Fresshly were browdred in these clothes royall.

^k nun, i. e. the Lady Werburg.^l twig, branch.^m burnt.

Nexte to the greate lorde, appered fayre and bryght
 Kyng Saul and David, and prudent Solomon,
 Roboas succedyng, whiche soone lost his myght,
 The good kyng Ezechyas, and his generacyon,
 And so to the Machabees, and dyvers other nacyon,
 All these sayd storyes, so rychely done and wrought,
 Belongyng to kyng Wulfer, agayn that tyme were brought^a.

But over the hye desse^o, in the pryncypall place,
 Where the sayd thre kynges sate crowned all,
 The best hallynge^p hanged, as reason was,
 Whereon were wrought the ix. orders angelicall
 Dyvyded in thre ierarchyses, not cessyng to call
Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, blessed be the Trynite,
Dominus Deus Sabaoth, thre persons in one deyte.

Next in order suyng^q, sette in goodly purtrayture,
 Was our blessed lady, flowre of femynyte,
 With the twelve Apostles, echeone in his figure,
 And the foure Evangelystes, wrought most curiously :
 Also the Dysciples of Christ in theyr degre
 Prechyng and techyng, unto every nacyon,
 The faythtes^r of holy chyrche, for their salvacyon.

Martyrs than folowed, right manifolde :
 The holy Innocentes, whom Herode had slayne,
 Blessed Saynt Stephen, the prothomartyr truly,
 Saynt Laurence, Saynt Vyncent, sufferyng great payne ;
 With many other mo, than here ben now certayne,
 Of which sayd martyrs exsample we may take,
 Pacyence to observe, in herte, for Chrystes sake.

Confessours approched, right convenient,
 Fressely embrodred in ryche tysshewe and fyne ;
 Saynt Nycholas, Saynt Benedycte, and his covent,
 Saynt Jerom, Basylyus, and Saynt Augustine,
 Gregory the great doctour, Ambrose and Saynt Martyne :
 All these were sette in goodly purtrayture,
 Them to beholde was a heavenly pleasure.

Vyrgyns them folowed, crowned with the lyly,
 Among whome our lady chefe president was ;
 Some crowned with rooses for their great vycory :
 Saynt Katheryne, Saynt Margerette, Saynt Agathas,
 Saynt Cycyly, Saynt Agnes, and Saynt Charytas,

^a All this tapestry, belonging to king Wulfer, was brought to Ely monastery on this occasion.

^o seat. [Vid. supr.]

^p tapestry.

^r feats ; facts.

^q following.

Saynt Lucy, Saynt Wenefryde, and Saynt Apolyn;
All these were brothered^a, the clothes of golde within.

Upon the other syde of the hall sette were
Noble auncent storyes, and how the stronge Sampson
Subdued his enemyes by his myghty power;
Of Hector of Troye, slayne by fals treason;
Of noble Arthur, kyng of this regyon:
With many other mo, which it is to longe
Playnly to expresse this tyme you amonge.

The tables were covered with clothes of dyaper,
Rychely enlarged with silver and with golde,
The cupborde with plate shynyng fayre and clere,
Marshalles theyr offyces fulfilled manyfolde:
Of myghty wyne plenty, both newe and olde,
All maner kynde of meetes delycate
(Whan grace was sayd) to them was preparate.

To this noble feest there was suche ordinaunce,
That nothyng wanted that gotten myght be
On see and on lande, but there was habundance
Of all maner pleasures to be had for monye;
The bordes all charged full of meet plente,
And dyvers subtyltes^t prepared sothly were,
With cordyall and spyces, theyr gwestes for to chere.

The joyfull wordes and sweet communycacyon
Spoken at the table, it were harde to tell;
Eche man at lyberte, without interrupcyon,
Bothe sadnes and myrthes, also pryve counsell,
Some adulatory, some the truth dyd tell,
But the great astates^u spake of theyr regyons,
Knyghtes of theyr chyvalry, of craftes the comons.

Certayne at eche cours of service in the hall,
Trumpettes blewe up, shalmes and claryons,
Shewynge theyr melody, with toynes^w musycall,
Dyvers other mynstrelles, in crafty proporecyons,
Mad swete concordaunce and lusty dyvysyons:
An hevenly pleasure, suche armony to here,
Rejoysynge the hertes of the audyence full clere.

A singuler mynstrell, all other ferre passynge,
Toyned^x his instrument in pleasaunte armony,

^a embroidered.

^t dishes of curious cookery, so called.

^u kings.

^x tuned.

^w tunes.

And sang moost swetely, the company gladlyng,
Of myghty conquerours, the famous vycory;
Wherwith was ravysshed theyr sprytes and memory:
Specyally he sange of the great Alexandere,
Of his tryumphes and honours enduryng xii yere.

Solemply he songe the scate of the Romans,
Ruled under kynges by policy and wysedome,
Of theyr hye justice and ryghtful ordinauns
Dayly encreasyng in worshyp and renowne,
Tyll Tarquyne the proude kyng, with that great confusion,
Oppressed dame Lucrece, the wyfe of Colatyne,
Kynges never reyned in Rome syth that tyme.

Also how the Romayns, under thre dyctatours,
Governed all regions of the worlde ryght wysely,
Tyll Julius Cesar, excellynge all conquerours,
Subdued Pompeius, and toke the hole monarchy
And the rule of Rome to hym selfe manfully;
But Cassius Brutus, the fals conspyratour,
Caused to be slayne the sayd noble emperour.

After the sayd Julius, succeded his syster sone,
Called Octavianus, in the imperyall see,
And by his precepte was made descrypcyon
To every regyon, lande, shyre^y, and cytee,
A tribute to pay unto his dignyte:
That tyme was universal peas and honour,
In whiche tyme was borne our blessed Savyoure.

All these hystories, noble and auneynt,
Rejoysyng the audyence, he sange with pleasuer;
And many other mo of the Newe Testament,
Pleasaunt and profytable for their soules cure,
Whiche be omytted, now not put in ure*:
The mynysters were ready theyr offyce to fullfyll,
To take up the tables at their lordes wyll.

Whan this noble feest and great solempnyte,
Dayly enduryng a longe tyme and space,
Was royally ended with honour and royalte,
Eche kyng at other lysence taken hace,
And so departed from thens to theyr place:
Kyng Wulfer retourned, with worshyp and renowne,
From the house^a of Ely to his owne mansyon.

^y This puts one in mind of the *Sheriffs*,
in our Translation of the Bible, among the
officers of the kingdom of Babylon, Dan.
iii. 2.

* Not mentioned here; [not now put
in use.—RITSON.]
^a monastery.

If there be any merit of imagination or invention, to which the poet has a claim in this description, it altogether consists in the application. The circumstances themselves are faithfully copied by Bradshaw, from what his own age actually presented. In this respect, I mean as a picture of ancient life, the passage is interesting; and for no other reason. The versification is infinitely inferior to Lydgate's worst manner.

Bradshaw was buried in the cathedral church, to which his convent was annexed, in the year 1513^b. Bale, a violent reformer, observes, that our poet was a person remarkably pious for the times in which he flourished^c. This is an indirect satire on the monks, and on the period which preceded the Reformation. I believe it will readily be granted, that our author had more piety than poetry. His Prologue contains the following humble professions of his inability to treat lofty subjects, and to please light readers.

To descrybe hyc hystories I dare not be so bolde,
Syth it is a matter for clerkes convenyent;
As of the seven ages, and of our parentes olde,
Or of the four empyres whilom most excellent;
Knowyng my lerning therto insuffycient:
As for baudy balades you shall have none of me,
To excyte lyght hertes to pleasure and vanity.^d

A great translator of the lives of the Saxon saints, from the Saxon, in which language only they were then extant, into Latin, was Goscelinus, a monk of Saint Austin's at Canterbury, who passed from France into England, with Herman, bishop of Salisbury, about the year 1058^e. As the Saxon language was at this time but little understood, these translations opened a new and ample treasure of religious history: nor were their acquisitions only to the religion, but to the literature, of that era. Among the rest, were the Lives of saint Werburgh^f, saint Etheldred^g, and saint Sexburgh^h, most probably the legends, which were Bradshaw's originals. Usher observes, that Goscelinus also translated into Latin the ancient Catalogue of the Saxon saints buried in Englandⁱ.

^b Ath. Oxon. i. 9.

[This is ascertained by one of the laudatory balades affixed, which speaks of Bradshaw

"— nowe departed from this temporall lyght

The present yere of this Translacion
M.D. XIII. of Christis incarnation."
Sig. S ii. b.—PARK.]

^c Cent. ix. Numb. 17.

^d Prol. lib. i. Signat. A. iii. [Ames or Herbert attribute to this author, "The Lyfe of Saynt Radegunde," printed by Pinson in 4to. without date, in stanzas of seven lines. He dyed, as it appears from the book, in 1513.—RITSON.]

^e W. Malmesbur. lib. iv. ubi infr.—

Goscelin. in Præfati. ad Vit. S. Augustini. See Mabillon, Act. Ben. Sæc. i. p. 499.

^f Printed, Act. Sanctor. Bolland. tom. i. Februar. p. 386. A part in Leland, Coll. ii. 154. Compare MSS. C. C. Cant. J. xiii.

^g In Registr. Eliens. ut infr.

^h See Leland, Coll. iii. p. 152. Compare the Lives of S. Etheldred, S. Werburgh, and S. Sexburgh, at the end of the *Historia Aurea* of John of Tinnmouth, MS. Lambeth. 12. I know not whether they make a part of his famous *SANCTILOGIUM*. He flourished about the year 1380.

ⁱ Antiquit. Brit. c. ii. p. 15. See Leland's Coll. iii. 86. seq. And Hickea. Thesaur. vol. ult. p. 86. 146. 208.

In the register of Ely it is recorded, that he was the most eloquent writer of his age; and that he circulated all over England, the lives, miracles, and GESTS of the saints of both sexes, which he reduced into prose-histories^k. The words of the Latin deserve our attention:—"In historiis in *prosa* dictando mutavit." Hence we may perhaps infer, that they were not before in prose, and that he took them from old metrical legends: this is a presumptive proof, that the lives of the saints were at first extant in verse*. In the same light we are to understand the words which immediately follow:—"Hic scripsit *prosam* sanctæ Etheldredæ^l:" where the *prose* of saint Etheldred is opposed to her *poetical* legend^m. By *mutavit dictando*, we are to understand,

^k Cap. x. Vit. Ethel.

* [The passion for versifying every thing was carried to such a height in the middle ages, that before the year 1300, Justinian's Institutes, and the code of French jurisprudence, were translated into French rhymes. There is a very ancient edition of this work, without date, place, or typographer, said to be corrected *par plusieurs docteurs et souverains legistes*, in which are these lines,

J'ay, par paresse, demouré
Trop longuement a commencer
Pour Institutes romancer.

See Menage, Obs. sur le Lang. Fr. P. prem. ch. 3. Verdier and La Croix, iii. 428. iv. 160. 554. 560. Bibl. Fr. edit. 1773.—ADDITIONS.]

^l Which is extant in this Ely register, and contains 54 heads.

^m And these improved prose-narratives were often turned back again into verse, even so late as in the age before us: to which, among others I could mention, we may refer the legend of Saint Eustathius, MSS. Cotton. Calig. A. 2.

Seynt *Eustace*, a nobull knyghte,

Of hethen law he was;

And ere than he crystened was

Mene callyd him *Placidus*.

He was with *Trajan* themperor, &c.

A Latin legend on this saint is in MSS. Harl. 2316. 42.

Concerning legend-makers, there is a curious story in MSS. James, xxxi. p. 6. [ad Iter Lancast. num. 39. vol. 40.] Bibl. Bodl. Gilbert de Stone, a learned ecclesiastic, who flourished about the year 1380, was solicited by the monks of Holywell in Flintshire, to write the life of their patron saint. Stone, applying to these monks for materials, was answered, that they had none in their monastery. Upon which, he declared, that he could execute the work just as easily without any materials at all and that he would

write them a most excellent legend, after the manner of the legend of Thomas a Becket. He has the character of an elegant Latin writer; and seems to have done the same piece of service, perhaps in the same way, to other religious houses. From his Epistles, it appears that he wrote the life of saint *Wolfsade*, patron of the priory of canons regular of his native town of Stone in Staffordshire, which he dedicated to the prior, William de Madely. Epist. iii. dat. 1399. [MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Sup. D. i. Art. 123.] He was Latin secretary to several bishops, and could possibly write a legend or a letter with equal facility. His epistles are 123 in number. The first of them, in which he is stiled *chancellor to the bishop of Winchester*, is to the archbishop of Canterbury. That is, *secretary*. [MSS. Cotton. Vitell. E. x. 17.] This bishop of Winchester must have been William of Wykeham.

The most extraordinary composition of this kind, if we consider, among other circumstances, that it was compiled at a time when knowledge and literature had made some progress, and when mankind were so much less disposed to believe or to invent miracles, more especially when the subject was quite recent, is the Legend of King Henry the Sixth. It is entitled, *De MIRACULIS beatissimi illius Militis Christi, Henrici sexti, etc.* That it might properly rank with other legends, it was translated from an English copy into Latin, by one Johannes, styled *Pauperulus*, a monk, about the year 1503, at the command of John Morgan, dean of Windsor, afterwards bishop of saint David's. It is divided into two books; to both of which prefaces are prefixed, containing proofs of the miracles wrought by this pious monarch. At the beginning, there is a hymn, with a prayer, addressed to the royal saint. fol. 72.

Salve, miles preciose,
Rex Henrice generose, &c.

that he *translated*, or *reformed*, or, in the most general sense, *wrote anew in Latin*, these antiquated lives. His principal objects were the more recent saints, especially those of this island. Malmesbury says, "Innumeras SANCTORUM VITAS RECENTIUM *stylo extulit*, veterum vel amissas, vel *informiter editas*, comptius *renovavit*." In this respect, the labours of Goscelin partly resembled those of Symeon Metaphrastes, a celebrated Constantinopolitan writer of the tenth century; who obtained the distinguished appellation of the METAPHRAST, because at the command, and under the auspices, of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, he modernised the more ancient narratives of the miracles and martyrdoms of the most eminent eastern and western saints, for the use of the Greek church; or rather digested, from detached, imperfect, or obsolete books on the subject, a new and more commodious body of the sacred biography.

Among the many striking contrasts between the manners and characters of ancient and modern life, which these annals present, we must not be surprised to find a mercer, a sheriff, and an alderman of London, descending from his important occupations, to write verses. This is Robert Fabyan, who yet is generally better known as an historian than as a poet. He was esteemed, not only the most facetious, but the most learned, of all the mercers, sheriffs, and aldermen, of his time; and no layman of that age is said to have been better skilled in the Latin language. He flourished about the year 1494. In his CHRONICLE, or *Concordance of histories*, from Brutus to the year 1485, it is his usual practice, at the division of the books, to insert metrical prologues, and other pieces in verse. The best of his metres is the COMPLAINT of king Edward the Second; who, like the personages in Boccaccio's FALL OF PRINCES, is very dramatically introduced, reciting his own misfortunes°. But this soliloquy is nothing more than a translation from a short and a very poor Latin poem attributed to that monarch, but probably written by William of Wyrcester, which is preserved among the manuscripts of the college of arms, and entitled, *Lamentatio gloriosi regis Edvardi de Karnarvon quam edidit tempore suæ incarcerationis**. Our author's

Henry could not have been a complete saint without his legend. MSS. Harl. 423. 7. and MSS. Reg. 13 C. 8. What shall we think of the judgement and abilities of the dignified ecclesiastic, who could seriously patronize so ridiculous a narrative?

° Hist. Angl. lib. iv. p. 130.

° Fol. 171. tom. ii. edit. 1533. See Hearne's Lib. Nig. Scacc. p. 425. and Præfat. p. xxxviii. Fabyan says, "they are reported to be his own makynge, in the tyme of his emprysonment." *ibid.* By the way, there is a passage in this chronicle which points out the true reading of a controverted passage in Shakspeare, "Also children were chris-

tened thorough all the land, and menne houseled and anealed, excepte suche," &c. tom. ii. p. 30. col. 2. [Another proof which ascertains this reading of the controverted passage in Hamlet, occurs in the romance of Morte Arthure. When sir Lancelot was dying, "when he was *houseled and eneled*, and had all that a crysten man ought to have, he praid the bishop, that his felowes might beare his bodie unto Joyous Garde," &c. B. xxi. cap. 12.—ADDITIONS.]

* [Lord Orford, in his Catalogue of Royal Authors, indulged his talent for sarcasm about King Edward's imputed poem, and said: "I should believe that this melody of a dying monarch is about

transitions from prose to verse, in the course of a prolix narrative, seem to be made with much ease; and, when he begins to versify, the historian disappears only by the addition of rhyme and stanza. In the first edition of his *CHRONICLE*, by way of epilogues to his seven books, he has given us *The seven joys of the Blessed Virgin in English Rime*: and, under the year 1325, there is a poem to the virgin; and another on one Badby, a Lollard, under the year 1409^p. These are suppressed in the later editions*. He has likewise left a panegyric on the city of London; but despairs of doing justice to so noble a subject for verse, even if he had the eloquence of Tully, the morality of Seneca, and the harmony of that *faire Lady Calliope*^q. The reader will thank me for citing only one stanza from king Edward's *COMPLAINT*.

When Saturne, with his cold and isye face,
The ground, with his frostes, turneth grene to white;
The time winter, which treës doth deface,
And causeth all verdure to avoyde quite:
Then fortune, which sharpe was, with stormes not lite
Hath me assaulted with her froward wyll,
And me beclipped with daungers ryght yll^r.

as authentic as that of the old poetic warbler, the swan, and no better founded than the title of *Gloriosi*." Now the title, as Mr. Gough observed, may probably have been added by the transcriber of the MS., and the production itself is sufficiently ascertained to have had the belief of being written by Edward the Second, in the "tyme of hys emprysonment," being cited as such by Fabian. See his *Chron.* edit. 1559. vol. ii. p. 185.—PARK.]

^p Edit. Lond. 1516. fol.

* [Mr. Dibdin states that this remark is not quite correct; these verses having been in part omitted and in part altered in Reynier's and Kingston's editions, but inserted entire in Rastall's. See specimen of an English De Bure, p. 28.—PARK.]

^q Fol. 2. tom. ii. ut supr.

^r In the British Museum there is a poem on this subject, and in the same stanza. MSS. Harl. 2393. 4to. 1. The ghost of Edward the Second, as here, is introduced speaking. It is addressed to queen Elizabeth, as appears, among other passages, from st. 92. 242. 243. 305. It begins thus:

Whie should a wasted spirit spent in woe
Disclose the wounds receyved within his
brest?

It is imperfect, having only 352 stanzas. Then follows the same poem; with many alterations, additions, and omissions. This is addressed to James the First, as appears from st. 6. 259. 260. 326, &c. It contains 581 stanzas. There is another copy in the

same library, Num. 558. At the end the poet calls himself Infortunio. This is an appellation, which, I think, Spenser sometimes assumed. But Spenser was dead before the reign of James; nor has this piece any of Spenser's characteristic merit. It begins thus:

I sing thy sad disaster, fatal king,
Carnarvon Edward, second of that name.

[This poem was written by Sir Francis Hubert, knight, and the MS. Harl. 2. 393, is in the author's autograph. It was surreptitiously published in 1628. (see Bibl. Angl. Poet., where the author is erroneously called *Richard*), and again by the author himself in 1629, who dedicates the work to his brother Richard Hubert. Reprinted in 1721. From the circumstance of MS. Harl. 558. being in the hand-writing of Ralph Starkey, Ritson has incorrectly attributed the poem to him; an error repeated by Ormerod and other Cheshire writers. See *Restituta*, vol. i. pp. 93—97, and *Gent. Mag.* vol. xciv. pt. 2. pp. 19. 22.—M.]

The poem on this subject in the addition to the *Mirroir of Magistrates*, by William Niccols, is a different composition. A *Winter Night's Vision*. Lond. 1610. p. 702. These two manuscript poems deserve no further mention; nor would they have been mentioned at all, but from their reference to the text, and on account of their subject. Compare MSS. Harl. 2251. 119. fol. 254. An unfinished poem on Edward the Second, perhaps by Lydgate.

As an historian, our author is the dullest of compilers. He is equally attentive to the succession of the mayors of London, and of the monarchs of England; and seems to have thought the dinners at Guild-hall, and the pageantries of the city-companies, more interesting transactions, than our victories in France, and our struggles for public liberty at home. One of Fabyan's historical anecdotes, under the important reign of Henry the Fifth, is, that a new weathercock was placed on the cross of Saint Paul's steeple. It is said that cardinal Wolsey commanded many copies of this chronicle to be committed to the flames, because it made too ample a discovery of the excessive revenues of the clergy. The earlier chapters of these childish annals faithfully record all those fabulous traditions, which generally supply the place of historic monuments in describing the origin of a great nation.

Another poet of this period is John Watson, a priest. He wrote a Latin theological tract entitled *SPECULUM CHRISTIANI*, which is a sort of paraphrase on the decalogue and the creed^r. But it is interspersed with a great number of wretched English rhymes; among which, is the following hymn to the virgin Mary^a.

Princ. "Beholde this greate prince Edward the Secunde."

^r MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 155. MSS. Laud. G. 12. MSS. Thoresb. 530. There is an abridgement of this work, [MSS. Harl. 2250. 20.] with the date 1477. This is rather beyond the period with which we are at present engaged.

^a Compare a hymn to the holy virgin, *supra*, p. 108. Matthew Paris relates, that Godrich, a hermit, about the year 1150, who lived in a solitary wild on the banks of the river Ware near Durham, had a vision, in his oratory, of the virgin Mary, who taught him this song.

Sainte Marie [clane] virgine,
Moder Jhesu Cristes Nazarene,
Onfo, schilde, help thin Godric
Onfang, bring hegilich with the in godes
riche.

Sainte Marie, Christes bur,
Maidens clenhad, moderes flur,
Dillie min sinne, rix in min mod,
Bring me to winne with the selfd god.

Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. [Hen. II.] p. 115. edit. Tig. 1589. [The present text has been taken from Mr. Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica*.—PRICE.]

In one of the Harleian manuscripts, many very ancient hymns to the holy virgin occur. [of the reign of Edw. I. or Edw. II.—M.] MS. 2253. These are specimens. 66. fol. 80. b.

Blessed be pou levedy, [ful of hevene
blisse,
Swete flur of parays, moder of mildenesse,

Preye Jhesu þy sone þat he me rede and
wysse
So my wey forte gon, þat he me never
mysse.

Ibid. 67. fol. 81 b.

As y me rod þis ender day,
By grene wode to seche play,
Mid herte y þohte al on a May [Maid],
Sweetest of alle þinge!
Lye, and ich ou telle may al of þat suete
þinge.

Ibid. 69. fol. 83. In French and English.

Mayden moder milde, oiez cel oreysoun,
From shome þou me shilde, e dily mal
feloun,
For love of thine childe, me menez de tre-
soun,
Ich wes wod and wilde, ore su en prisoun.

See also *ibid.* 49. fol. 75.—57. fol. 78; and 372. 7. fol. 55.

In the library of Mr. Farmer, of Tusmore in Oxfordshire, are, or were lately, a collection of hymns and antiphones, paraphrased into English by William Herbert, a Franciscan frier, and a famous preacher, about the year 1330. These, with some other of his pieces contained in the same library, are, unmentioned by Bale, v. 31. and Pitts, p. 428. [*Autogr. in pergamen.*] Pierre de Corbian, a troubadour, has left a hymn, or prayer, to the holy virgin; which, he says, he chose to compose in the romance-language, because he could write it more intelligibly

Mary Moder, wel thu be ;
 Mary Moder thenk on me :
 Mayden and moder was never non
 Togedir, lady, save thou allon^t.
 Swete lady, mayden elene,
 Schilde me fro ille, schame, and tene,
 And out of dette, for charitee, &c.^u

Caxton, the celebrated printer, was likewise a poet ; and beside the rhyming introductions and epilogues with which he frequently decorates his books, has left a poem of considerable length, entitled the *WORKE OF SAPIENCE*^v. It comprehends not only an allegorical fiction concerning the two courts of the castle of Sapience, in which there is no imagination, but a system of natural philosophy, grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, astronomy, theology, and other topics of the fashionable literature. Caxton appears to be the author, by the prologue : yet it is not improbable, that he might on this occasion employ some professed versifier, at least as an assistant, to prepare a new book of original poetry for his press. The writer's design is to describe the effects of wisdom from the beginning of the world ; and the work is a history of knowledge or learning. In a vision, he meets the goddess *SAPIENCE* in a delightful meadow ; who conducts him to her castle, or mansion, and there displays all her miraculous operations. Caxton, in the poem, invokes the *gyllted goddess* and *moost fecundyous lady* Clio, apologises to those *makers* who delight in *termes gay*, for the inelegancies of language which as a foreigner* he could not avoid, and modestly declares that he neither means to rival or envy Gower and Chaucer.

Among the anonymous pieces of poetry belonging to this period, which are very numerous, the most conspicuous is the *KALENDAR OF SHEPHERDS*. It seems to have been translated into English about the year 1480, from a French book entitled *KALENDRIER DES BERGERS*^x. It was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in the year 1497^y. This piece

than Latin. Another troubadour, a mendicant friar of the thirteenth century, had worked himself up into such a pitch of enthusiasm concerning the holy virgin, that he became deeply *in love* with her. It is partly owing, as I have already hinted, to the gallantry of the dark ages, in which the female sex was treated with so romantic a respect, that the virgin Mary received such exaggerated honours, and was so distinguished an object of adoration in the devotion of those times.

^t These four lines are in the exordium of a prayer to the virgin, MSS. Harl. 2382. (4to.) 3 fol. 86 b. [See *supra*, p. 276, note ^f.]

^u Printed by William Maclyn or Machlinia. Without date.

^v Printed by him without date, fol. 10
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thirty-seven leaves. [But more justly attributed to Lydgate.—RITSON.]

* [Caxton could only be deemed a *foreigner*, from having passed some time in foreign countries ; since he was born a Man of Kent. See Dibdin's *Amea*.—PARK.]

^x I have seen an edition of the French, of 1500.

^y I have an edition printed by John Wally, at London, without date, 4to. In the prologue it is said, " This book was first corruptly printed in France, and after that at the cost and charges of Richard Pinson newly translated and reprinted, although not so faithfully as the original copy required," &c. It was certainly first printed by de Worde, 1497. Again, ch. ii. " From the year this kalender was made m.cccc.xcviij. unto the yeare m.cccccc.xvi." From

was calculated for the purposes of a perpetual almanac; and seems to have been the universal magazine of every article of salutary and useful knowledge. It is a medley of verse and prose; and contains, among many other curious particulars, the saints of the whole year, the moveable feasts, the signs of the zodiac, the properties of the twelve months, rules for blood-letting, a collection of proverbs, a system of ethics, politics, divinity, physiognomy, medicine, astrology, and geography^a. Among other authors, *Cathon the great clarke*^a, *Solomon*, *Ptolomeus the prince of astronomy*, and Aristotle's Epistle to Alexander, are quoted^b. Every month is introduced respectively speaking, in a stanza of *balad royal*, its own panegyric. This is the speech of May^c.

Of all monthes in the yeare I am kinge,
 Flourishing in beauty excellently;
 For, in my time, in vertue is all thinge,
 Fieldes and medes sprede most beautifully,
 And birdes singe with sweete harmony;
 Rejoycing lovers with hot love endewed,
 With fragrant flowers all about renewed.

In the theological part, the terrors and certainty of death are described, by the introduction of Death, seated on the pale horse of the Apocalypse, and speaking thus^d.

Upon this horse, blacke and hideous
 DEATH I am, that fiercely doth sitte*:
 There is no fairenesse, but sight tedious,
 All gay colours I do hitte.
 My horse runneth by dales and hilles,
 And many he smiteth dead and killes.

whence I conclude, that Worde's edition was in 1497, Wally's in 1516. Again, "This yeare of the present kalender whiche began to have course the first daye of January M.CCCC.XCVII."

^a Pieces of this sort were not uncommon. In the British Museum there is an ASTROLOGICAL poem, teaching when to buy and sell, to let blood, to build, to go to sea, the fortune of children, the interpretation of dreams, with other like important particulars, from the day of the moon's age. MSS. Harl. 2320. 3. fol. 31. In the principal letter the author is represented in a studious posture. The manuscript, having many Saxon letters intermixed, begins thus.

He that wol herkyn of wit
 That ys wolnest in holy wryt,
 Lystenyth to me a stonde,
 Of a story y schal þow telle,
 What tyme ys good to byen and to sylle,
 In bok as hyt ys y fownde.

The reader who is curious to know the state of quackery, astrology, fortune-telling, midwifery, and other occult sciences, about the year 1420, may consult the works of one John Crophill, who practised in Suffolk. MSS. Harl. 1735. 4to. 3 seq. [See fol. 29. 36.] This *cunning-man* was likewise a poet; and has left, in the same manuscript, some poetry spoken at an entertainment of *Frere Thomas*, and five ladies of quality, whose names are mentioned; at which, two great bowls, or goblets, called MERCY and CHARITY, were briskly circulated. fol. 48.

^a Epilogue.

^b Cap. 42.

^c Cap. 2.

^d Cap. 19.

* [Mr. Ashby asks, how can a black and a pale horse be one and the same? Groseley and Comines both make the same mistake, owing to the likeness of *blanc* and *black*. MS. note.—PARK.]

In my trap I take some by every way,
 By towns [and] castles I take my rent.
 I will not respite one an houre of a daye,
 Before me they must needes be present.
 I slea all with my mortall knife,
 And of duety I take the life.
 HELL knoweth well my killing,
 I sleepe never, but wake and warke;
 It^d followeth me ever running,
 With my darte I slea weake and starke:
 A great number it hath of me,
 Paradyse hath not the fourth parte, &c.

In the eighth chapter of our KALENDAR are described the seven visions, or the punishments in hell of the seven deadly sins, which Lazarus saw between his death and resurrection. These punishments are imagined with great strength of fancy, and accompanied with wooden cuts boldly touched, and which the printer Wynkyn de Worde probably procured from some German engraver at the infancy of the art^e. The PROUD are bound by hooks of iron to vast wheels, like mills, placed between craggy precipices, which are incessantly whirling with the most violent impetuosity, and sound like thunder. The ENVIOUS are plunged in a lake half frozen, from which as they attempt to emerge for ease, their naked limbs are instantly smote with a blast of such intolerable keenness, that they are compelled to dive again into the lake. To the WRATHFUL is assigned a gloomy cavern, in which their bodies are butchered, and their limbs mangled by demons with various weapons. The SLOTHFUL are tormented in a *horrible hall dark and tenebrous*, swarming with innumerable flying serpents of various shapes and sizes, which sting to the heart. This, I think, is the Hell of the Gothic EDDA. The COVETOUS are dipped in cauldrons filled with boiling metals. The GLUTTONOUS are placed in a vale near a loathsome pool, abounding with venomous creatures, on whose banks tables are spread, from which they are perpetually crammed with toads by devils. CONCUPISCENCE is punished in a field full of immense pits or wells, overflowing with fire and sulphur. This visionary scene of the infernal punishments seems to be borrowed from a legend related by Matthew Paris, under the reign of king John; in which the soul of one Turkill, a native of Tidstude in Essex, is conveyed by saint Julian from his body, when laid asleep, into hell and heaven. In hell he has a sight of the torments of the damned, which are presented under the form and name of the INFERNAL PAGEANTS, and greatly resemble the fictions I

^d That is, HELL.

^e [Herbert remarks here, that W. de Worde's edition being but a small quarto, could not admit of the more elegant draw-

ings to the folio edition in 1503, and which were exactly copied in 1656. MS. note. —PARK.] Compare the torments of Dante's hell, Inf. cant. v. vi. seq.

have just described. Among the tormented, is a knight, who had passed his life in shedding much innocent blood at tilts and tournaments. He is introduced, completely armed, on horseback; and couches his lance against the demon, who is commissioned to seize and to drag him to his eternal destiny. There is likewise a priest who never said mass, and a baron of the exchequer who took bribes. Turkhill is then conducted into the mansions of the blessed, which are painted with strong oriental colouring: and in Paradise, a garden replenished with the most delicious fruits, and the most exquisite variety of trees, plants, and flowers, he sees Adam, a personage of gigantic proportion, but the most beautiful symmetry, reclined on the side of a fountain which sent forth four streams of different water and colour, and under the shade of a tree of immense size and height, laden with fruits of every kind, and breathing the richest odours. Afterwards saint Julian conveys the soul of Turkhill back to his body; and when awakened, he relates this vision to his parish-priest^f. There is a story of a similar cast in Bede^g, which I have mentioned before^h.

^f Matt. Paris. Hist. pag. 206 seq. edit. Tig. Much the same sort of fable is related, *ibid.* p. 178 seq. There is an old poem on this subject, called OWAYNE MILES, MSS. Cott. Calig. A. 12. f. 90.

^g See Dissertation ii. The DEAD MAN'S SONG there mentioned, seems to be more immediately taken from this fiction as it stands in our SHEPHERD'S KALENDAR. It is entitled, The DEAD MAN'S SONG, whose Dwelling was near Basinghall in London. Wood's Ballads, Mus. Ashmol. Oxon. It is worthy of Dr. Percy's excellent collection, and begins thus:

Sore sicke, dear frienns, long tyme I was,
And weakly laid in bed, &c.

See also the legend of saint Patrick's cave, Matt. Paris, p. 84; and MSS. Harl. 2385. 82. *De quodam ducto videre penas Inferni.* fol. 56 b. [These highly painted infernal punishments, and joys of Paradise, are not the invention of the author of the KALENDRIER. They are taken, both from M. Paris, and from Henry of Saltry's Description of saint Patrick's PURGATORY, written in 1140, and printed by Messingham in his FLORILEGIUM INSULÆ SANCTORUM, &c. Paris, 1624. fol. cap. vi. &c. p. 101. [See Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. 550. [See Lyndesay's Dreame, Sect. xxxii.] Messingham has connected the two accounts of M. Paris and H. de Saltry, with some interpolations of his own. This adventure appears in various manuscripts. No subject could have better suited the devotion and the credulity of the dark ages.—ADDITIONS.]

^h I choose to throw together in the Notes many other anonymous pieces belonging to this period, most of which are too minute to be formally considered in the series of our poetry. The CASTELL OF HONOUR, printed in quarto by Wynkyn de Worde, 1506. The PARLYAMENT OF DEVYLLES. Princip. "As Mary was great with Gabriel," &c. For the same, in quarto, 1509. The HISTORIE OF JACOB AND HIS TWELVE SONS. In stanzas. For the same, without date. I believe about 1500. Princ. "Al yonge and old that lyst to here." A LYTEL TREATYSE called the Dysputacyon or Complaynt of the Heart thorughe perced with the lokinge of the eye. For the same, in quarto, perhaps before 1500. The first stanza is elegant, and deserves to be transcribed.

In the fyrst weke of the season of Maye,
Whan that the wodes be covered in grene,
In which the nyghtyngale lyst for to playe
To shewe his voys among the thornes kene,
Them to rejoyce which lovès servaunts bene,
Which fro all comforte thynke them fast behynd;
My pleasyr was as it was after sene
For my dysport to chase the harte and hynde.

The LYFE OF SAINT JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA. For Pinson, in quarto, 1520. The LYFE OF PETRONYLLA. In stanzas, for the same, without date, in quarto. THE CASTLE OF LABOURE. In stanzas, for the same, in quarto, without date, with

As the ideas of magnificence and elegance were enlarged, the public pageants of this period were much improved; and beginning now to be celebrated with new splendour, received, among other advantages,

neat wooden cuts. [Vid. *infra*, Sect. xxix. second note 4.] THE LYFE OF SAINT RADEGUNDA. In quarto, for the same. [Vid. *supra*, p. 380. note 4.] THE A.B.C.E. OF ARISTOTILLE, MSS. Harl. 1304. 4. Proverbial verses in the alliterative manner, *vis.*

Woso wil be wise and worship desireth,
Lett him lerne one letter, and loke on
another, &c.

Again, *ibid.* 541. 19. fol. 213. [Compare, *ibid.* 913. 10. fol. 15 b. 11. fol. 15 b.] See also some satirical Ballads written by *Frere Michael Kildare*, chiefly on the *Religious orders, Saints, the White Friars of Drogheda, the vanity of riches, &c. &c., A divine poem on death, &c.* MSS. Harl. 913. 3. fol. 7. 4. fol. 9. 5. fol. 10. 13. fol. 16. [He has left a Latin poem in rhyme on the abbot and prior of Gloucester, *ibid.* 5. fol. 10. and burlesque pieces on some of the divine offices, *ibid.* 6. fol. 12. 7. fol. 13 b.] [None of the poems in this MS. Harl. 913. can be later than the reign of Edward the Second, and some of them of the 13th century.—M.] Hither we may also refer a few pieces written by one Whyting, not mentioned in Tanner, MSS. Harl. 541. 14. fol. 207. seq. Undoubtedly many other poems of this period, both printed and manuscript, have escaped my inquiries, but which, if discovered, would not have repaid the research.

Among Rawlinson's manuscripts there is a poem, of considerable length, on the antiquity of the Stanley family, beginning thus:—

I entende with true reporte to praise
The valiaunte actes of the stoute Stan-
delaies,
From whence they came, &c.

It comes down no lower than Thomas earl of Derby, who was executed in the reign of Henry the Seventh. This induced me to think at first, that the piece was written about that time. But the writer mentions king Henry the Eighth, and the suppression of Monasteries. I will only add part of a Will in verse, dated 1477. MSS. Langb. Bibl. Bodl. vi. fol. 176. [M. 13. Th.]

Fleshy lustes and festes,
And furres of divers bestes,
(A fend was hem fonde;)
Hole clothe cast on shredys,
And wymen with thare hyc hedys,
Have almost lost thys lond!

[To the reign of king Henry the Sixth we may also refer a poem written by one Richard Sellyng, whose name is not in any of our biographers. MSS. Harl. f. 38 a. It is entitled and begins thus, *Evidens to be ware and gode counsaile made now late by that honourable squier Richard Sellyng.*

Loo this is but a symple tragedie,
Ne thing lyche un to hem of Lumbardye,
Which that Storax wrote unto Pompeie,
Sellyng maketh this in his manere,
And to John Shirley now sent it is
For to amende where it is amisse.

He calls himself an old man. Of this *honourable squier* I can give no further account. John Shirley, here mentioned, lived about the year 1440. He was a gentleman of good family, and a great traveller. He collected, and transcribed in several volumes, which John Stowe had seen, many pieces of Chaucer, Lydgate, and other English poets. In the Ashmolean Museum, there is, *A boke cleped the Abstracte Brevyare compyled of divers balades, roundels, virilays, tragedies, envoys, complaints, moralities, storyes, practysed and eke devysed and ymagined, as it sheweth here followyng, collected by John Shirley.* MSS. 89. ii. In Thoresby's library was a manuscript, once belonging to the college of Selby, *A most pyteous cronycle of thorribil dethe of James Stewarde, late kyng of Scolys, nought long agone prisoner yn Englande yn the tymes of the kynges Henry the Fyfte and Henry the Sixte, translated out of Latine into oure mothers Englishe tong bi your simple subject John Shirley.* Also, *The boke clepyd Les bones meures translated out of French by your humble serviture John Shirley of London, MCCCCXL, comprised in v partes. The firste partie spekith of remedie that is agaynst the sevyn deadly sins. 2. The estate of holy church. 3. Of prynces and lordes temporall. 4. Of comone people. 5. Of deth and universal dome.* Also, his Translation of the Sanctum Sanctorum, &c. Ducat. Leod. p. 530. [The above MS. is now in the British Museum, marked MS. Add. 5467.—M.] A preserver of Chaucer's and Lydgate's works deserved these notices. [Shirley died in 1456, aged 90.—RITSON.] The late Mr. Ames, the industrious author of the History of Printing, had in his possession a folio volume of English Ballads in manuscript, composed or collected by one John Lucas about the year 1450.—ADDITIONS.]

the addition of SPEAKING PERSONAGES. These spectacles, thus furnished with speakers, characteristically habited, and accompanied with proper scenery, cooperated with the MYSTERIES, of whose nature they partook at first, in introducing the drama. It was customary to prepare these shows at the reception of a prince, or any other solemnity of a similar kind; and they were presented on moveable theatres, or occasional stages, erected in the streets. The speeches were in verse; and as the procession moved forward, the speakers, who constantly bore some allusion to the ceremony, either conversed together in the form of a dialogue, or addressed the noble person whose presence occasioned the celebrity. Speakers seem to have been admitted into our pageants about the reign of Henry the Sixth.

In the year 1432, when Henry the Sixth, after his coronation at Paris, made a triumphal entry into London, many stanzas, very probably written by Lydgate, were addressed to his majesty, amidst a series of the most splendid allegorical spectacles, by a giant representing religious fortitude, Enoch and Eli, the holy Trinity, two *Judges* and eight *Serjeants of the coife, dame Clennesse*, Mercy, Truth, and other personages of a like nature¹.

In the year 1456, when Margaret, wife of Henry the Sixth, with her little son Edward, came to Coventry, on the feast of the exaltation of the holy cross, she was received with the presentation of pageants, in one of which king Edward the confessor, saint John the Evangelist, and saint Margaret, each speak to the queen and the prince in verse². In the next reign, in the year 1474, another prince Edward, son of Edward the Fourth, visited Coventry, and was honoured with the same species of show: he was first welcomed, in an octave stanza, by Edward the confessor; and afterwards addressed by saint George, completely armed: a king's daughter holding a lamb, and supplicating his assistance to protect her from a terrible dragon, the lady's father and mother standing in a tower above, the conduit on which the champion was placed "renning wine in four places, and minstralcye of organ playing³." Undoubtedly the Franciscan friars of Coventry, whose sacred interludes, presented on Corpus Christi day, in that city, and at other places, make so conspicuous a figure in the history of the English drama^m, were employed in the management of these devises: and that

¹ Fabyan, ubi sup. fol. 382. seq.

² LEET-BOOK of the city of Coventry, MS. fol. 168. Stowe says, that at the reception of this queen in London, in the year 1445, several pageants were exhibited at *Paul's-gate*, with verses written by Lydgate, on the following lemmata. *Ingreddimini et replete terram. Non amplius irascar super terram. Madam Grace chancellor de dieu. Five wise and five foolish virgins. Of saint Margaret, &c.* Hist. Engl. pag. 385. edit. Howes. I know not whether these poems were

spoken, or only affixed to the pageants. Fabyan says, that in those pageants there was *resemblance of dyverse olde histories*. I suppose tapestry. Cron. tom. ii. fol. 398. edit. 1533. See the ceremonies at the coronation of Henry the Sixth, in 1430. Fab. ibid. fol. 378.

³ Ibid. fol. 221.

^m See supra, p. 91. note *. The friars themselves were the actors. But this practice being productive of some enormities, and the laity growing as wise as the clergy, at least as well qualified to act

the Coventry men were famous for the arts of exhibition, appears from the share they took in the gallant entertainment of queen Elizabeth at Kenelworth-castle, before whom they played their *old storial show*".

At length, personages of another cast were added; and this species of spectacle, about the period with which we are concerned, was enlivened by the admission of new characters, drawn either from profane history, or from profane allegory^o, in the application of which some degree of learning and invention appeared.

I have observed in a former work, and it is a topic which will again be considered in its proper place, that the frequent and familiar use of allegoric personifications in the public pageants, I mean the general use of them, greatly contributed to form the school of Spenser^p. But moreover, from what is here said, it seems probable, that the PAGEANTS, which being shown on civil occasions, derived great part of their decorations and actors from historical fact, and consequently made profane characters the subject of public exhibition, dictated ideas of a regular drama much sooner than the MYSTERIES; which being confined to Scripture stories, or rather the legendary miracles of sainted martyrs, and the no less ideal personifications of the Christian virtues, were not calculated to make so quick and easy a transition to the representations of real life and rational action.

In the year 1501, when the princess Catharine of Spain came to London, to be married to prince Arthur, her procession through the city was very magnificent. The pageants were numerous, and superbly furnished; in which the principal actors, or speakers, were not only God the father, saint Catharine, and saint Ursula, but king Alphonsus the astronomer and an ancestor of the princess, a Senator, an Angel, Job, Boethius, Nobility, and Virtue. These personages sustained a sort of action, at least of dialogue. The lady was compared to Hesperus, and the prince to Arcturus; and Alphonsus, from his skill in the stars, was introduced to be the fortune-teller of the match^q. These machineries were contrived and directed by an ecclesiastic of great eminence, bishop Fox; who, says Bacon, "was not only a grave counsellor for war or peace, but also a good surveyor of works, and a good master of ceremonies, and any thing else that was fit for the

plays; there was an injunction in the Mexican Council, ratified at Rome in the year 1589, to prohibit all clerks from playing in the Mysteries, even on Corpus Christi-Day. "Neque in Comœdiis personam agat, etiam in FESTO CORPORIS CHRISTI." Sacrosanct. Concil. fol. per Labb. tom. xv. p. 1268. edit. Paris. 1672.

^a See supra, vol. i. p. 83. note ^w.

^o Profane allegory, however, had been applied in pageants somewhat earlier. In the pageants, above mentioned, presented to Henry the Sixth, the seven liberal sci-

ences personified are introduced, in a *tabernacle of curious worke*, from which their queen *dame Sapience* speaks verses. At entering the city he is met, and saluted in metre by three ladies, *richly cladde in golde and silkes* with coronets, who suddenly issue from a stately tower hung with the most splendid arras. These are the Dames, NATURE, GRACE, and FORTUNE. Fabyan, ut supr. fol. 382. seq. But this is a rare instance so early.

^p See Obs. Fairy Queen, ii. 90.

^q Chron. MS.

active part, belonging to the service of court, or state of a great king." It is probable, that this prelate's dexterity and address in the conduct of a court raree-show procured him more interest than the gravity of his counsels, and the depth of his political knowledge: at least, his employment in this business presents a striking picture of the importance of those popular talents, which even in an age of blind devotion, and in the reign of a superstitious monarch, were instrumental in paving the way to the most opulent dignities of the church. "Whosoever," adds the same penetrating historian, "had these toys in compiling, they were not altogether PEDANTICAL^r." About the year 1487, Henry the Seventh went a progress into the north; and at every place of distinction was received with a pageant; in which he was saluted, in a poetical oration, not always religious, as, at York by Ebrauck, a British king and the founder of the city, as well as by the holy virgin, and king David; at Worcester by Henry the Sixth his uncle; at Hereford by saint George, and king Ethelbert, at entering the cathedral there; at Bristol, by king Bremmius, Prudence, and Justice. . The two latter characters were personated by young girls^s.

In the mean time it is to be granted, that profane characters were personated in our pageants, before the close of the fourteenth century. Stowe relates, that in the year 1377, for the entertainment of the young prince Richard, son of Edward the black prince, one hundred and thirty citizens rode disguised from Newgate to Kennington, where the court resided, attended with an innumerable multitude of waxen torches, and various instruments of music, in the evening of the Sunday preceding Candlemas-day. In the first rank were forty-eight, habited like esquires, with visors; and in the second the same number, in the character of knights. "Then followed one richly arrayed like an EMPEROR, and after him, at some distance, one stately-tyred like a POPE, whom followed twenty-four CARDINALLS, and after them eyght or tenne with blacke visors not amiable, as if they had been LEGATES from some forrain princes." But this parade was nothing more than a DUMB SHEW, unaccompanied with any kind of interlocution. This appears from what follows. For our chronicler adds, that when they entered the hall of the palace, they were met by the prince, the queen, and the lords; "whom the said mummers did salute, *shewing by a pair of dice their desire to play with the prince*," which they managed with so much complaisance and skill, that the prince won of them a bowl, a cup, and a ring of gold, and the queen and lords, each, a ring of gold. Afterwards, having been feasted with a sumptuous banquet, they had the honour of dancing with the young prince and the nobility, and so the ceremony was concluded^t. Matthew Paris informs us, that at the magnificent

^r Bacon's Henry the Seventh. Compl. Hist. Engl. vol. i. p. 628.

^s From a manuscript in the Cotton library, printed in Leland. Collectan. ad calc. vol. iii. p. 185.

^t Stowe's Surv. Lond. pag. 71. edit. 1599. 4to. It will perhaps be said, that this show was not properly a Pageant but a Mummery. But these are frivolous distinctions; and, taken in a general view,

marriage of Henry the Third with Eleanor of Provence, in the year 1236, certain strange pageants, and wonderful devises, were displayed in the city of London; and that the number of HISTRIONES on this occasion was infinite". But the word HISTRIO, in the Latin writers of the barbarous ages", generally comprehends the numerous tribe of

this account preserves a curious specimen of early Personation, and proves at least that the practice was not then in its infancy. [The most splendid spectacle of this sort which occurs in history, at least so early as the fourteenth century, is described by Froissart, who was one of the spectators. It was one of the shows at the magnificent entrance of queen Isabell into Paris, in the year 1389. The story is from the crusade against Saladin. I will give the passage from lord Berners's Translation, printed by Pinson in 1523. "Than after, under the mynster of the Trinite, in the strete, there was a stage, and ther-upon a castell. And along on the stage there was ordeyned the Passe of Kyng Salhady", and all their dedes in Personages; the Cristen men on the one parte, and the Sarazins on the other parte. And there was, in Personages, all the lordes of name that of olde tyme hadde ben armed, and had done any feates of armes at the Passe of Salhadyne, and were armed with suche armure as they than used. And thanne, a lyttel above them, there was in Personages the Frenche kyng and the twelve Peeres of Fraunce armed, with the blason of their armes. And whan the Frenche quenes lytter was come before this stage, she rested there a season. Thenne the Personages on the stage of kyng Rychard departed fro his company, and wente to the Frenche kyng, and demanded lycence to go and assaile the Sarazins; and the kyng gave hym [them] leave. Thanne kyng Rychard retourned to his twelve companions. Thanne they all sette them in order, and incontynente wente and assailed Salhadyne and the Sarazins. Then in sporte there seemed a great bataile, and it endured a good space. This pageant was well regarded." Cron. tom. ii. c. 56. fol. clxxii. col. 1. By the two kings, he means Philip of France, and our king Richard the First, who were jointly engaged in this expedition. It is observable, that the superiority is here given to the king of France.—ADDITIONS.]

"I will cite the passage more at large, and in the words of the original: "Convenerunt autem vocata ad convivium nuptiale tanta nobilium multitudo utriusque sexus, tanta religiosorum numerositas, tanta plebium populositas, tanta HISTRIONUM Varietas, quod vix eos civitas Londoniarum sinu suo capaci comprehenderet. Ornatum est igitur civitas tota olosericis, et vex-

illis, coronis, et palliis, cereis et lampadibus, et quibusdam prodigiis ingenis et portentis," &c. Hist. p. 406. edit. Tig. 1589. sub Henrico III. Here, by the way, the expression '*Varietas histrionum*' plainly implies the comprehensive and general meaning of the word HISTRIO; and the multifarious performances of that order of men. Yet in the Injunctions given by the Barons to the religious houses, in the year 1258, there is an article which seems to show, that the '*Histriones*' were sometimes a particular species of public entertainers. "HISTRIONUM LUDI non videntur vel audiantur, vel permittantur fieri, coram abbate vel monasticia." Annal. Burton. p. 437. Oxon. 1684. Whereas minstrels, harpers, and jugglers, were notoriously permitted in the monasteries. We cannot ascertain whether LUDI here means plays, then only religious: LUDI *theatrales* in churches and church-yards, on vigils and festivals, are forbidden in the Synod of Exeter, dat. 1287. cap. xiii. Concil. Magn. Brit. per Wilkins. tom. ii. p. 140. col. 2. edit. 1737. fol.

I cannot omit the opportunity of adding a striking instance of the extraordinary freedom of speech, permitted to these people at the most solemn celebrities. About the year 1250, king Henry the Third, passing some time in France, held a most magnificent feast in the great hall of the knights-templars at Paris; at which, beside his own suite, were present the kings of France and Navarre, and all the nobility of France. The walls of the hall were hung all over with shields, among which was that of our king Richard the First. Just before the feast began, a JOCULATOR, or minstrel, accosted king Henry thus: "My lord, why did you invite so many Frenchmen to feast with you in this hall? Behold, there is the shield of Richard, the magnanimous king of England! All the Frenchmen present will eat their dinner in fear and trembling!" Matt. Paris. p. 871. sub Henr. III. edit. Tigr. 1589. fol. Whether this was a preconcerted compliment, previously suggested by the king of France, or not, it is equally a proof of the familiarity with which the minstrels were allowed to address the most eminent personages.

"There is a passage in John of Salisbury much to our purpose, which I am obliged to give in Latin: "At eam [desidiam] nostris prorogant HISTRIONES.

mimics, jugglers, dancers, tumblers, musicians, minstrels, and the like public practitioners of the recreative arts, with which those ages abounded; nor do I recollect a single instance in which it precisely bears the restrained modern interpretation.

As our thoughts are here incidentally turned to the rudiments of the English stage², I must not omit an anecdote, entirely new, with regard to the mode of playing the MYSTERIES at this period, which yet is perhaps of much higher antiquity. In the year 1487, while Henry the Seventh kept his residence at the castle at Winchester, on occasion of the birth of prince Arthure, on a Sunday, during the time of dinner, he was entertained with a religious drama called CHRISTI DESCENSUS AD INFEROS, or *Christ's descent into hell*³. It was represented by the PUERI ELEEMOSYNARII, or choir-boys, of Hyde abbey, and saint Swithin's priory, two large monasteries at Winchester. This is the only proof I have ever seen of choir-boys acting in the old MYSTERIES: nor do I recollect any other instance of a royal dinner, even on a festival, accom-

Admissa sunt ergo SPECTACULA, et infinita lenocinia vanitatis.—Hinc mimi, salii vel saliares, balatrones, æmiliani, gladiatores, palæstritæ, gignadii, præstigiatores, malefici quoque multi, et tota JOCULATORUM SCENA procedit. Quorum adeo error invaluit, ut a præclaris domibus non arceantur etiam illi, qui obscenis partibus corporis, oculis omnium eam ingerunt turpitudinem, quam erubescet videre vel cynicus. Quodque magis mirere, nec tunc ejiciuntur, quando TUMULTUANTES INFERIUS crebro sonitu ærem fœdant, et turpiter inclusum turpius produunt. Veruntamen quid in singulis possit aut deceat, animus sapientis advertit, nec APOLOGOS refugit, aut NARRATIONES, aut quæcunque SPECTACULA, dum virtutis," &c. Polycrat. lib. i. cap. viii. p. 28. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1595. Here, GIGNADII, a word unexplained by Du Cange, signifies wrestlers, or the performers of athletic exercises: for *gignasium* was used for *gymnasium* in the barbarous Latinity. By *apologos*, we are perhaps to understand an allegorical story or fable, such as were common in the Provencal [Norman-French?] poetry; and by *narrationes*, tales of chivalry; both which were recited at festivals by these HISTRIONES. *Spectacula* I need not explain: but here seems to be pointed out the whole system of ancient exhibition or entertainment. I must add another pertinent passage from this writer, whom the reader will recollect to have flourished about the year 1140. "Non facile tamen crediderim ad hoc quemquam impelli posse litteratorem, ut HISTRIONEM profiteatur.—Gestus siquidem EXPRIMUNT, rerum utilitate deducta." Ibid. lib. viii. cap. xii. p. 514. [Compare Blount's Ant. Tenures, p. 11. Hemmington.] [See some notices

in the preliminary matter to a collection of poems by Mr. S. Whyte, printed in 1752, and many more in the Collectanea of my studious friend Mr. Douce.—PARK.]

With regard to APOLOGI, mentioned above, I have further to observe, that the Latin metrical apologues of the dark ages are probably translations from the Provencal [Norman-French?] poetry. Of this kind is Wircker's *Speculum Stultorum*, or Burnell's Ass. See *supr.* p. 187. and the *Asinus Pœnitentiarius*, in which an ass, wolf, and fox are introduced, confessing their sins, &c. See Matt. Flacius, Catal. Test. Verit. p. 903. edit. 1556. In the British Museum there is an ancient thin folio volume on vellum, containing upwards of two hundred short moral tales in Latin prose, which I also class under the APOLOGI here mentioned by John of Salisbury. Some are legendary, others romantic, and others allegorical. Many of them I believe to be translations from the Provencal [Norman-French?] poetry. Several of the Esopian fables are intermixed. In this collection is Parnell's Hermit, *De Angelo et Heremita Peregrinum occisum sepelientibus*, Rubr. 32. fol. 7. and a tale, I think in Fontaine, *of the king's son who never saw a woman*. Rubr. 8. fol. 2. [See *infra*, Sect. xxxiii. ad init.] The stories seem to have been collected by an Englishman, at least in England: for there is the tale of one *Godfrey, a priest of Sussex*. Rubr. 40. fol. 8. MSS. Harl. 463. [This MS. is of the time of Edw. II.—M.] The story of Parnell's Hermit is in *Gesta Romanorum*, MSS. Harl. 2270. ch. lxxxx.

² See *supr.* p. 20. et seq.

³ Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. MS. ut *supr.*

panied with this species of diversion^a. The story of this interlude, in which the chief characters were Christ, Adam, Eve, Abraham, and John the Baptist, was not uncommon in the ancient religious drama, and I believe made a part of what is called the *LUDUS PASCHALIS*, or *Easter Play*^a. It occurs in the Coventry plays acted on Corpus Christi day^b; and in the Whitsun-plays at Chester, where it is called the *HARROWING OF HELL*^c. The representation is Christ entering hell triumphantly, delivering our first parents, and the most sacred characters of the Old and New Testaments, from the dominion of Satan, and conveying them into Paradise. There is an ancient poem, perhaps an interlude, on the same subject, among the Harleian manuscripts; containing our Saviour's dialogues in hell with Sathanas, the Janitor, or porter of hell, Adam, Eve, Habraham, David, Johan *Baptist*, and Moyses. It begins,

Alle herknepe to me nou :
A strif wolle y tellen ou
Of Jhesu ant of Sathan
Do Jhesu wes to helle y-gan^d.

The composers of the MYSTERIES did not think the plain and probable events of the New Testament sufficiently marvellous for an audience who wanted only to be surprised. They frequently selected their materials from books which had more of the air of romance. The subject of the MYSTERIES just mentioned was borrowed from the *PSEUDO-EVANGELIUM*, or the *FABULOUS GOSPEL*, ascribed to Nicodemus^e; a book, which, together with the numerous apocryphal narratives, con-

^a Except, that on the first Sunday of the magnificent marriage of king James of Scotland with the princess Margaret of England, daughter of Henry the Seventh, celebrated at Edinburgh with high splendour, "after dynnar a MORALITE was played by the said master Inglyshe and hys companyons in the presence of the kyng and qwene." On one of the preceding days, "After soupper the kynge and qwene beyng togader in hyr grett chamber, John Inglysh and his companyons *plaid*." This was in the year 1503. Apud Leland. col. iii. p. 299. 300. Append. edit. 1770.

^b The Italians pretend that they have a *Ludus Paschalis* as old as the twelfth century. *Teatro Italiano*, tom. i. See *Un Istoria de Teatro*, &c. prefixed, p. ii. Veron. 1723. 12mo.

^c [See *supr.* vol. i. p. 83.] "Nunc dormiunt milites, et venit anima Christi de inferno cum Adam et Eva, Abraham, Joh. Baptiste, et aliis."

^d MSS. Harl. 2013. Pageant xvii. fol. 138.

^e MSS. Harl. 2253. 21. fol. 55 b. [See Mr. Strutt's *Manners and Customs of the People of England*, vol. ii.—PRICE.]

There is a poem on this subject, MS. Bodl. 1687.

How Jesu Crist harowed helle
Of hardi gastes ich wille telle.

[See *supr.* vol. i. p. 19. note ^a.]

^a In Latin. A Saxon translation, from a manuscript at Cambridge, coeval with the Conquest, was printed at Oxford, by Thwaites, 1699. In an English translation by Wynkyn de Worde, the prologue says, "Nichodemus, which was a worthy prynce, dydde wryte thys blessyd storre in Hebrewe; and Theodosius, the emperour, dyde it translate out of Hebrewe into Latin, and bysshoppe Turpyn dyde translate it out of Latyn into Frenschc." With wooden cuts, 1511. 4to. There was another edition by Wynkyn de Worde, 1518. 4to. and 1532. See a very old French version, MSS. Harl. 2253. 3 fol. 33 b. There is a translation into English verse, about the fourteenth century. MSS. Harl. 4196. 1 fol. 206. See also, 149. 5 fol. 254 b. And MSS. Coll. Sion. 17. The title of the original is, *NICODEMI DISCIPULI de Jesu Christi passione et resurrectione. EVANGELIUM*. Sometimes it is entitled, *GESTA SALVATORIS nostri Jesu Christi*.

taining infinite innovations of the evangelical history, and forged at Constantinople by the early writers of the Greek church, gave birth to an endless variety of legends concerning the life of Christ and his apostles^f; and which, in the barbarous ages, was better esteemed than the genuine Gospel, on account of its improbabilities and absurdities.

But whatever was the source of these exhibitions, they were thought to contribute so much to the information and instruction of the people on the most important subjects of religion, that one of the popes granted a pardon of one thousand days to every person who resorted peaceably to the plays performed in the Whitsun week at Chester, beginning with the creation, and ending with the general judgment; and this indulgence was seconded by the bishop of the diocese, who granted forty days of pardon; the pope at the same time denouncing the sentence of damnation on all those incorrigible sinners who presumed to disturb or interrupt the due celebration of these pious sports^g. It is certain that they had their use, not only in teaching the great truths of Scripture to men who could not read the Bible, but in abolishing the barbarous attachment to military games, and the bloody contentions of the tournament, which had so long prevailed as the sole species of popular amusement. Rude and even ridiculous as they were, they softened the man-

Our Lord's *Descent into hell* is by far the best invented part of the work. Edit. apud Orthodox. Patr. Jac. Greyn. [Basil. 1569. 4to.] pag. 653. seq. The old Latin title to the pageant of this story in the *Chester plays* is, "DE DESCENSU AD INFERNA, et de his quæ ibidem fiebant secundum EVANGELIUM NICODEMI," fol. 138. ut supr. Hence the first line in the old interlude, called HICKS-CORNER, is illustrated.

Now Jesu the gentyll that brought Adam from hell.

There is a Greek homily on *Saint John's Descent into hell*, by Eusebius Alexandrinus. They had a notion that Saint John was our Saviour's precursor, not only in this world, but in hades. See Allat. de Libr. Eccles. Græcor. p. 303. seq. Compare the *Legend of Nicodemus, Christ's descent into hell, Pilate's exile, &c.* MSS. Bodl. B. 5. 2021. 4. seq.

^f In the manuscript register of saint Swithin's priory at Winchester, it is recorded, that Leofric, bishop of Exeter, about the year 1150, gave to the convent a book called *GERTA Beatissimi Apostoli Petri cum Glosa*. This is probably one of these commentitious histories. By the way, the same Leofric was a great benefactor in books to his church at Exeter. Among others, he gave *Boetii Liber ANGLICUS*, and, *Magnus liber ANGLICUS omnino METRICE descriptus*. What was this translation of Boethius, I know not, un-

less it is Alfred's. It is still more difficult to determine, what was the other piece, the *GREAT BOOK OF ENGLISH VERSE*, at so early a period. The grant is in Saxon, and, if not genuine, must be of high antiquity. Dugdal. Monast. tom. i. p. 222. I have given Dugdale's Latin translation. The Saxon words are, "Boetiey boc on englyc.—And l. mycel englyc boc be gehpildum þingum on leob þyran Ʒeponht." [The Saxon text speaks neither of *prose* or *verse*. Dugdale has confounded leob *populus* with leob *carmen*. The book in question might be supposed a copy of the Saxon chronicle.—PRICE.]

[The genuineness of Leofric's donation is unquestionable, as it occurs in a contemporary hand prefixed to several MSS. given by him to Exeter cathedral, and now in the Bodleian library. It is difficult to account for the erroneous way in which Price has spoken of the "mickle English book, composed *poetry-wise*," as it unquestionably indicates the valuable volume of Saxon poems still preserved in Exeter cathedral, of which a fac-simile transcript may be seen in MS. Add. 9067. Brit. Mus. Extracts from it were printed by the Rev. J. Conybeare in the *Archæologia*, vol. xvii., and in his "*Illustrations of Saxon Poetry*," 8vo. 1826. The whole is now preparing for the press by Benj. Thorpe, F.S.A., under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries.—M.]

^g MSS. Harl. 2124. 2013.

ners of the people, by diverting the public attention to spectacles in which the mind was concerned, and by creating a regard for other arts than those of bodily strength and savage valour.

SECTION XXVIII.

Reign of Henry the Seventh. Hawes. His poems. Painting on the walls of chambers. Visions. Hawes's Pastyle of Pleasure. The fable analysed. Waller. Medwall. Wade.

THE only writer deserving the name of a poet in the reign of Henry the Seventh, is Stephen Hawes. He was patronised by that monarch, who possessed some tincture of literature, and is said by Bacon to have confuted a Lollard in a public disputation at Canterbury^a.

Hawes flourished about the close of the fifteenth century; and was a native of Suffolk^b. After an academical education at Oxford, he travelled much in France; and became a complete master of the French and Italian poetry. His polite accomplishments quickly procured him an establishment in the household of the king; who struck with the liveliness of his conversation, and because he could repeat by memory most of the old English poets, especially Lydgate, made him groom of the privy chamber^c. His facility in the French tongue was a qualification which might strongly recommend him to the favour of Henry the Seventh, who was fond of studying the best French books then in vogue^d.

Hawes has left many poems, which are now but imperfectly known, and scarcely remembered. These are, the TEMPLE OF GLASSE. THE CONVERSION OF SWERERS^e, in octave stanzas, with Latin lemmata, printed by de Worde in 1509^f. A JOYFULL MEDITATION OF ALL ENGLOND, OR THE CORONACYON TO OUR MOST NATURAL SOVEREIGN LORD KING HENRY THE EIGHTH IN VERSE. By the same, and without date; but probably it was printed soon after the ceremony which it celebrates. These coronation carols were customary. There is one by

^a Life of Henry VII. p. 628. edit. ut supr. One Hodgkins, a fellow of King's college in Cambridge, and vicar of Ringwood in Hants, was eminently skilled in the mathematics; and on that account, Henry the Seventh frequently condescended to visit him at his house at Ringwood. Hatcher, MS. *Catal. Præpos. et Soc. Coll. Regal. Cant.*

^b Wood, Ath. Oxon. i. 5.

^c Bale says, that he was called by the king "ab interiori camera ad privatum cubiculum." Cent. viii.

^d Bacon, ut supr. p. 637.

^e "The Conversyon of Swerers, made and compyled by Stephen Hawes, groome of the chamber of our sovereign lord kynge Henry VII."

^f It contains only one sheet in quarto.

Lydgate^s. THE CONSOLATION OF LOVERS. THE EXEMPLAR OF VIRTUE. THE DELIGHT OF THE SOUL. OF THE PRINCE'S MARRIAGE. THE ALPHABET OF BIRDS. Some of the five latter pieces, none of which I have seen, and which perhaps were never printed, are said by Wood to be written in Latin, and seem to be in prose.

The best of Hawes's poems, hitherto enumerated, is the TEMPLE OF GLASS^h. On a comparison, it will be found to be a copy of the HOUSE

^s A BALLAD presented to Henry the Sixth the day of his coronation. Princ. "Most noble prince of crysten princes all." MSS. Ashmol. 59. ii.

^h By mistake, as it seems, I have hitherto quoted Hawes's Temple of Glass, under the name of Lydgate. See *supr.* p. 183. note ^e et 185. It was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1500. "*Here bygenneth the Temple of Glass. By Stephen Hawes, grome of the chamber to king Henry vii.*" [Ames, Hist. Print. pag. 86.] 8vo. in twenty-seven leaves. Afterwards by Berthelette, without date, or name of the author, with this colophon: "Thus endeth the temple of glasse. Emprinted at London, in Flete-strete, in the house of Thomas Berthelette, near to the eundite, at the sygne of the Lucrece. Cum privilegio." I will give the beginning, with the title.

This boke called the Temple of glasse, is in many places amended, and late diligently imprinted.

Through constreynt and greuous heuy-
ness,
For great thought and for highe pen-
suenesse,
To bedde I went nowe this other night,
Whan that Lucina with her pale lyght,
Was ioyned last with Phebus in Aquary,
Amydde Decembre, whan of January
Ther be kalendes of the newe yere;
And derke Dyana, horned and nothyng
clere,
Hydde her beames under a mysty cloude,
Within my bedde for colde gan me
shroude;
All desolate for constraynt of my wo,
The long night walowyng to and fro,
Tyll at last, or I gan take kepe, &c.

This edition, unmentioned by Ames, is in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. C. 39. art. Seld. 4to. In the same library are two manuscript copies of this poem. MSS. Fairfax, xvi. membran. without a name. And MSS. Bodl. 638. In the first leaf of the Fairfax manuscript is this entry:—"I bought this at Gloucester, 8 Sept. 1650, intending to exchange it for a better boke. Fairfax." And at the end, in the same hand:—"Here lacketh seven leaves that are in Joseph Holland's boke." This

manuscript, however, contains as much as Berthelette's edition. Lewis mentions the *Temple of Glass* by John Lydgate in Caxton's second edition of Chaucer. [Or rather, says Herbert, as in the collection of poems by Chaucer and Lydgate in the public library, Cambridge.] [Life Ch. p. 104. See also Middleton's Dissert. p. 263.] But no such poem appears in that edition in saint John's college library at Oxford.

[In the Bodleian manuscript. (Bodl. 638.) this poem, with manifest impropriety, is entitled the TEMPLE OF BRAS. It there appears in the midst of many of Chaucer's poems. But at the end are two poems by Lydgate, The Chaunse of the Dyse, and Ragmany's Roll. And, I believe, one or two more of Lydgate's poems are intermixed. It is a miscellany of old English poetry, chiefly by Chaucer; but none of the pieces are respectively distinguished with the author's name. This manuscript is partly on paper and partly on vellum, and seems to have been written not long after the year 1500.—ADDITIONS.]

The strongest argument which induces me to give this poem to Hawes, and not to Lydgate, is, that it was printed in Hawes's lifetime, with his name, by Wynkyn de Worde. Bale also mentions, among Hawes's poems, *Templum Crystallinum* in one book. There is, however, a no less strong argument for giving it to Lydgate, and that is from Hawes himself; who, reciting Lydgate's Works, in the Pastime of Pleasure, says thus, [ch. xiv. edit. 1555. Signat. G. iiiii. ut *infr.*]

— And the tyme to passe
Of love he made the bryght temple of
glasse.

And I must add, that this piece is expressly recited in the large catalogue of Lydgate's works, belonging to W. Thinne, in Speght's edition of Chaucer, printed 1602. fol. 376. Yet on the whole, I think this point still doubtful; and I leave it to be determined by the reader, before whom the evidence on both sides is laid at large. [The testimony of Hawes is sufficient to establish Lydgate's right to the Temple }✓

OF FAME of Chaucer, in which that poet sees in a vision a temple of glass, on the walls of which were engraved stories from Virgil's *Eneid* and Ovid's *Epistles*. It also strongly resembles that part of Chaucer's *ASSEMBLY OF FOULES*, in which there is the fiction of a temple of brass, built on pillars of jasper, whose walls are painted with the stories of unfortunate lovers¹. And in his *ASSEMBLY OF LADIES*, in a chamber made of beryl and crystal, belonging to the sumptuous castle of *Pleasaunt Regard*, the walls are decorated with historical sculptures of the same kind². The situation of Hawes's *TEMPLE* on a craggy rock of ice, is evidently taken from that of Chaucer's *HOUSE OF FAME*. In Chaucer's *DREAME*, the poet is transported into an island, where *wall and yate was all of glasse*³. These structures of glass have their origin in the chemistry of the dark ages. This is Hawes's exordium.

Me dyd oppresse a sodayne, dedely slepe :
 Within the whichè, methought that I was
 Ravyshe in spyrite into a TEMPLE OF GLAS,
 I ne wyst howe ful ferre in wyldernesse,
 That founded was, all by lyckelynesse,
 Nat upon stele, but on a craggy roche
 Lyke yse yfroze: and as I dyd approche,
 Againe the sonne that shone, methought, so clere
 As any crystall; and ever, nere and nere,
 As I gan nyghe this grisely dredefull place,
 I wext astonyed, the lyght so in my face
 Began to smyte, so persyng ever in one,
 On every partè where that I dyde gon,
 That I ne mightè nothing as I wolde
 Aboutè me consydre, and beholde,
 The wondre esters^m, for brightnesse of the sonne :
 Tyll at the lastè, certayne skyes donneⁿ
 With wynde ychased^o, han their course ywent,
 Before the streames of Titan and iblent^p,
 So that I myght within and without,
 Where so I wolde, behelden me about,

of Glass. The edition by de Worde, with Hawes's name, rests solely upon the authority of Ames, who appears to have spoken by conjecture. The corrections, noticed in the early part of this note, have consequently not been made.—PRICE.]

[The following argument, says Mr. George Mason, since occurring, may strengthen the strong claim of Lydgate to be regarded as the author. In one of the Paston letters, published by Sir John Fenn, vol. 2. p. 90. and dated 1471, the *Temple of Glass* is mentioned as if it had then been written some years. This circumstance must ill accord with its being

attributed to Hawes; beside that the language is older in many particulars than that which Hawes used. MS. note in W. de Worde's edit. of the book which does not give the poem to Hawes; as Mr. Warton had been led to believe, from the misrepresentation of Ames.—PARK.]

¹ v. 290.

² v. 451.

³ v. 72.

^m The wonderful chambers of this temple.

ⁿ *dun*, dark.

^o i. e. collected.

^p *blinded*, darkened the sun.

For to report the facyon and manere
 Of all this placè, that was circuler,
 I cumpace-wyse rounde by yntale ywrought:
 And whan I had longe goòn, and well sought,
 I founde a wicket, and entred yn as faste
 Into the temple, and myne eyen caste
 On every side, &c.¹

The walls of this wonderful temple were richly pictured with the following historical portraitures, from Virgil, Ovid, king Arthur's romance, and Chaucer.

I sawe depeynted upon a wall,
 From est to west ful many a fayre ymage,
 Of sondry lovers, lyke as they were of age
 I set in ordre after they were true;
 With lyfely colours, wonders fresshe of hewe,
 And as methought I saw som syt and som stande,
 And some knelyng, with bylles² in theyr hande,
 And some with complaynt woful and pitious,
 With dolefull chere, to put to Venus,
 So as she sate fletynge in the see,
 Upon theyr wo for to have pite.

And fyrst of all I sawe there of Cartage
 Dido the quene, so goodly of visage,
 That gan complayne her auenture and caas,
 Howe she disceyued was of Aeneas,
 For all his hestes and his othes sworne,
 And sayd helas that she was borne,
 Whan she sawe that dede she must be.

And next her I sawe the complaynt of Medee,
 Howe that she was falsed of Jason.
 And nygh by Venus sawe I syt Addon,
 And all the maner howe the bore hym sloughe,
 For whom she wepte and had pite inoughe.

There sawe I also howe Penelope,
 For she so long ne myght her lorde se,
 Was of colour both pale and grene.

And alder next was the fresshe quene;
 I mean Alceste, the noble true wife,
 And for Admete howe she lost her lyfe;
 And for her trouthe, if I shall nat lye,
 Howe she was turned into a daysye.

There was also Grisildis innocence,
 And all hir mekenesse and hir pacience.

¹ This text is given from Berthelett's edition, collated with MSS. Fairfax, xvi.

² From Pr. Cop. and MSS. Fairfax. xvi. as before. ³ bills of complaint.

There was eke Ysaude, and many other mo,
 And all the tourment and all the cruell wo
 That she had for Tristram all her lyue ;
 And howe that Tysbe her hert dyd ryue
 With thylke swerde of syr Pyramus.

And all maner, howe that Theseus
 The minotaure slewe, amyd the hous
 That was forwrynked by craft of Dedalus,
 Whan that he was in prison shynt in Crete, &c.

And uppermore men depeinten might see,
 Howe with her ring goodlie Canace
 Of every foule the leden^a and the song
 Could understand, as she hem walkt among :
 And how her brother so often holpen was
 In his mischefe by the stede of brass.^t

We must acknowledge, that all the picturesque invention which appears in this composition, entirely belongs to Chaucer. Yet there was some merit in daring to depart from the dull taste of the times, and in choosing Chaucer for a model, after his sublime fancies had been so long forgotten, and had given place for almost a century, to legends, homilies, and chronicles in verse. In the mean time, there is reason, to believe, that Chaucer himself copied these imageries from the romance of GUIGEMAR, one of the metrical TALES, or LAIS, of Bretagne^u, translated from the Armorican original into French, by Marie, a French poetess, about the thirteenth century ; in which the walls of a chamber are painted with Venus, and the *Art of Love* from Ovid^v : although, perhaps, Chaucer might not look further than the temples in Boccaccio's THESEID for these ornaments. At the same time it is to be remembered, that the imagination of these old poets must have been assisted in this respect, from the mode which anciently prevailed, of entirely covering the walls of the more magnificent apartments, in castles and palaces, with stories from scripture, history, the classics, and romance. I have already given instances of this practice, and I will here add more^w. In the year 1277, Otho, duke of Milan, having restored the peace of

^a language.

^t See Chaucer's Squier's Tale.

^u Fol 141. MSS. Harl. 978. See *supr.* Dissertat. i. [It is evident (says Mr. Waldron) from the conclusion of the passage above cited, that more of the Squier's Tale had been written than has been preserved. MS. note.—PARK.]

^v A passage in Ovid's *Remedium Amoris* concerning Achilles's spear, is supposed to be alluded to by a troubadour, Bernard Ventadour, who lived about the year 1150. Hist. Troubad. p. 27. This Mons. Millot calls, "Un trait d'érudition singulier dans un troubadour." It is not,

however, impossible, that he might get this fiction from some of the early romances about Troy.

^w See *supr.* p. 99. note *. To the passages adduced from Chaucer these may be added, Chaucer's *Dreme*, v. 1320.

— In a chamber *paint*
 Full of *stories old and divers*.

Again, *ibid.* v. 2167.

For there n'as no lady ne creture,
 Save on the wals *old portraiture*
 Of horsemen, hawkis, and houndes, &c.
 Compare Dante's *Purgatorio*, c. x. pag. 105. seq. edit. Ald.

that city by a signal victory, built a noble castle, in which he ordered every particular circumstance of that victory to be painted. Paulus Jovius relates, that these paintings remained, in the great vaulted chamber of the castle, fresh and unimpaired, so late as the year 1547. "Extantque adhuc in *maximo testudinatoque conclavi*, incorruptæ præliorum cum *veris ducum vultibus* imagines, *Latinis elegis* singula rerum elogia indicantibus²." That the castles and palaces of England were thus ornamented at a very early period, and in the most splendid style, appears from the following notices. Langton, bishop of Litchfield, commanded the coronation, marriages, wars, and funeral, of his patron king Edward the First, to be painted in the great hall of his episcopal palace, which he had newly built³. This must have been about the year 1312. The following anecdote relating to the old royal palace at Westminster, never yet was published. In the year 1322, one Symeon, a friar minor, and a doctor in theology, wrote an *ITINERARY*, in which is this curious passage. He is speaking of Westminster Abbey. "Eidem monasterio quasi immediate conjungitur illud famosissimum palatium regium Anglorum, in quo illa *VULGATA CAMERA*, in cujus *parietibus* sunt omnes *HISTORIÆ BELLIÆ TOTIUS BIBLIÆ* ineffabiliter *depictæ*, atque in Gallico completissime et perfectissime constanter conscriptæ, in non modica intuituum admiratione, et maxima regali magnificentia⁴."—"Near this monastery stands the most famous royal palace of England; in which is that celebrated chamber, on whose walls all the warlike histories of the whole Bible are painted with inexpressible skill, and explained by a regular and complete series of texts, beautifully written in French over each battle, to the no small admiration of the beholder, and the increase of royal magnificence⁵." This ornament

² Vit. Vicecomit. Mediolan. Otho, p. 56. edit. Paris. 1549. 4to.

³ Erdswicke's Staffordshire, p. 101.

⁴ "Itinerarium Symeonis et fratris Hugonis Illuminatoris ex Hibernia in terram sanctam, A. D. mcccxxii." MSS. C. C. C. Cantabr. G. 6. Princip. "Culmine honoris spreto." It comprehends a journey through England, and describes many curiosities now lost. See *supr.* vol. i. p. 119. note ¹.

⁵ This palace was consumed by fire in 1299, but immediately rebuilt, I suppose, by Edward the First. Stowe's London, pp. 379. 387. edit. 1599. So that these paintings must have been done between the years 1299 and 1322. It was again destroyed by fire in 1512, and never afterwards re-edified. Stowe, *ibid.* p. 389. About the year 1500, the walls of the Virgin Mary's chapel, built by prior Silkeste, in the cathedral of Winchester, were elegantly painted with the miracles, and other stories, of the New Testament, in small figures; many delicate traces of which now remain.

Fa'candus, the old historian of Sicily, who wrote about the year 1200, says, that the chapel in the royal palace at Palermo, had its walls decorated "de lapillis quadris, partim aureis, partim diversicoloribus veteris ac novi Testamenti depictam historiam continentibus." Sicil. Histor. p. 10. edit. Paris. 1550. 4to. But this was mosaic work, which, chiefly by means of the Crusades, was communicated to all parts of Europe from the Byzantine Greeks; and with which all the churches, and other public edifices at Constantinople, were adorned. Epist. de Comparat. Vet. et Nov. Romæ, p. 122. Man. Chrysolor. See *supr.* p. 137. note ⁴. Leo Ostiensis says, that one of the abbots of Cassino in Italy, in the eleventh century, sent messengers to Constantinople, to bring over artificers in MOSAIC, to ornament the church of the monastery, after Rome or Italy had lost that art for five hundred years. He calls Rome *magistra Latinitas*. Chron. Cassin. lib. iii. c. 27. Compare Muratori, Antich. Italian. Tom. i. Diss. xxiv. p. 279. Nap. 1752. 4to.

of a royal palace, while it conveys a curious history of the arts, admirably exemplifies the chivalry and the devotion of the times, united. That part of the Old Testament, indeed, which records the Jewish wars, was almost regarded as a book of chivalry: and their chief heroes, Joshua and David, the latter of whom killed a giant, are often recited among the champions of romance. In France, the battles of the kings of Israel with the Philistines and Assyrians, were wrought into a grand volume, under the title of "*Plusieurs Batailles des roys d'Israel en contre les Philistines et Assyriens*."^b

With regard to the form of Hawes's poem, I am of opinion, that VISIONS, which are so common in the poetry of the middle ages, partly took their rise from Tully's SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS. Had this composition descended to posterity among Tully's six books DE REPUBLICA, to the last of which it originally belonged, perhaps it would have been overlooked and neglected^c. But being preserved, and illustrated with a prolix commentary, by Macrobius, it quickly attracted the attention of readers, who were fond of the marvellous, and with whom Macrobius was a more admired classic than Tully. It was printed, subjoined to Tully's OFFICES, in the infancy of the typographic art^d. It was translated into Greek by Maximus Planudes^e; and is frequently quoted by Chaucer^f. Particularly in the ASSEMBLY OF FOULES, he supposes himself to fall asleep after reading the SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS, and that Scipio showed him the beautiful vision which is the subject of that poem^g. Nor is it improbable, that, not only the form, but the first idea of Dante's INFERNO, was suggested by this favourite apologue; which, in Chaucer's words, treats

^b MSS. Reg. [Brit. Mus.] 19 D. 7. fol. Among the Harleian manuscripts, there is an Arabic book, containing the Psalms of David, with an additional psalm, on the slaughter of the giant Goliath. MSS. Harl. 5476. See above.

^c But they were extant about the year 1000, for they are cited by Gerbert, Epist. 83. and by Peter of Poitou, who died in 1197. See Barth. Advers. xxxii. 5. 58. Leland says, that Tully de Republica was consumed by fire, among other books, in the library of William Selling, a learned abbot of saint Austin's at Canterbury, who died in 1494. Script. Cellingus.

^d Venet. 1472. fol. Apud Vindel. Spiram.

^e Lambecius mentions a Greek manuscript of Julian, a cardinal of St. Angelo, 'Ο ονειρος του Σκιπιδωνος, 5. p. 153. The Disputatio of Favonius Elogius, a Carthaginian rhetorician, and a disciple of saint Austin, on the SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS, was printed by G. Schottus, Antw. 1613. 4to.

^f Rom. Rose. lib. i. v. 7. [&c.]

An author that hight MACROBE,
That halte not diemis false ne lefe;
But undoth us the AVISION
That whilom met KING CIPION.

Nonnes Pr. Tale, v. 1238. Urr.

MACROBIUS that writith th' AVISION
In Affricke, of the worthy SCIPION.

Dreme Ch. v. 284. He mentions this as the most wonderful of dreams. House F. v. 407. lib. i. He describes a prospect more extensive and various than that which Scipio saw in his dream.

That sawe in dreme, at point devise,
Heven, and erth, hell, and paradise.

And in other places.

^g He makes Scipio say to him, v. 110.

—Thou hast the so wel borne
In looking of mine olde book al to torne,
Of which MACROBIE raught not a lite, &c.

————— Of heaven, and hell,
And yearth, and souls, that therein dwell^a.

Not to insist on Dante's subject, he uses the shade of Virgil for a mystagogue; as Tully supposes Scipio to have been shown the other world by his ancestor Africanus.

But Hawes's capital performance is a poem entitled "THE PASSETIME OF PLEASURE, or the HISTORIE OF GRAUNDE AMOURE and LA BEL PUCEL; contayning the knowledge of the seven sciences, and the course of man's lyfe in this worlde. Invented by Stephen Hawes, groomer of kyng Henry the Seventh hys chambre¹." It is dedicated to the king, and was finished at the beginning of the year 1506.

If the poems of Rowlie are not genuine, the PASTIME OF PLEASURE is almost the only effort of imagination and invention which had yet appeared in our poetry since Chaucer. This poem contains no common touches of romantic and allegoric fiction. The personifications are often happily sustained, and indicate the writer's familiarity with the Provencal school. The model of his versification and phraseology is that improved harmony of numbers, and facility of diction, with which his predecessor Lydgate adorned our octave stanza. But Hawes has added new graces to Lydgate's manner. Antony Wood, with the zeal of a true antiquary, laments, that "such is the fate of poetry, that this book, which in the time of Henry the Seventh and Eighth was taken into the hands of all ingenious men, is now thought but worthy of a ballad-monger's stall!" The truth is, such is the good fortune of poetry, and such the improvement of taste, that much better books are become fashionable. It must indeed be acknowledged, that this poem has been unjustly neglected; and on that account, an apology will be less necessary for giving the reader a circumstantial analysis of its substance and design.

GRAUNDE AMOURE, the hero of the poem, and who speaks in his own person^k, is represented walking in a delicious meadow. Here he dis-

^a Ibid. v. 32.

¹ By Wynkyn de Worde, in 1517. 4to. with wooden cuts. A second edition followed in 1554. by John Wayland, in 4to. A third, in 4to. by John Waley, in 1555. See a poem called a *Dialogue between a Lover and a Jay*, by one Thomas Feylde, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 4to. Princ. Prol. "Though laureate poetes in old antiquite." This obscure rhymist is here only mentioned, as he has an allusion to his cotemporary Hawes. [This curious allusion Mr. Heber has enabled me to produce from Feylde's scarce poem.

Yonge Steven Hawse, whose soule God pardon,
Treated of love so clerkely and well,

To rede his workes is myne affectyon
Which he compyled of *La bell Pucell*.—
PARK.]

^k There is something dramatic in this circumstance. Raimond Vidal de Bessaudin, a troubadour of Provence, who flourished about the year 1200, has given the following dramatic form to one of his *contes* or tales. One day, says the troubadour, Alphonsus, king of Castille, whose court was famous for good cheer, magnificence, loyalty, valour, the practice of arms and the management of horses, held a solemn assembly of minstrels and knights. When the hall was quite full, came his queen Eleanor, covered with a veil, and disguised in a close robe bordered with silver, adorned with the blason of

covers a path which conducts him to a glorious image, both whose hands are stretched out and pointing to two highways; one of which is the path of CONTEMPLATION, the other of ACTIVE LIFE, leading to the Tower of Beauty. He chooses the last-mentioned path, yet is often tempted to turn aside into a variety of bye-paths, which seemed more pleasant: but proceeding directly forward, he sees afar off another image, on whose breast is written, "This is the road to the Tower of DOCTRINE; he that would arrive there must avoid sloth," &c. The evening being far advanced, he sits down at the feet of the image, and falls into a profound sleep; when, towards the morning, he is suddenly awakened by the loud blast of a horn. He looks forward through a valley, and perceives a beautiful lady on a palfrey, swift as the wind, riding towards him, encircled with tongues of fire¹. Her name was FAME, and with her ran two milk-white greyhounds, on whose golden collars were inscribed in diamond letters *Grace* and *Governance*^m.

a golden lion; who making obeysance, seated herself at some distance from the king. At this instant, a minstrel advancing to the king addressed him thus:—"O king, emperour of valour, I come to supplicate you to give me audience." The king, under pain of disgrace, ordered that no person should interrupt the minstrel in what he should say. The minstrel had travelled from his own country to recite an adventure which had happened to a baron of Arragon, not unknown to king Alphonsus: and he now proceeds to tell no unaffecting story concerning a jealous husband. At the close, the minstrel humbly requests the king and queen to banish all jealous husbands from their dominions. The king replied, "Minstrel, your tale is pleasant and gentle, and you shall be rewarded: but to show you still further how much you have entertained me, I command that henceforth your tale shall be called *Le JALOUX CHATIE*." Our troubadour's tale is greatly enlivened by these accompaniments, and by being thrown into the mouth of a minstrel.

¹ In Shakspeare, Rumour is painted full of tongues. This was from the Pageants.

^m See *supr.* p. 145. note ^p. Greyhounds were anciently almost as great favourites as hawks. Our forefathers reduced hunting to a science; and have left large treatises on this species of diversion, which was so connected with their state of life and manners. The most curious one I know, is, or was lately, among the manuscripts of Mr. Farmor, of Tusmore in Oxfordshire. It is entitled, "*LE ART DE VENERIE, le quel maistre Guillaume Twici venour le roy d'Angleterre fist en*

son temps per aprendre autres." This master William Twici was grand huntsman to Edward the Second. In the Cotton library, this book occurs in English under the names of William Twety and John Giffard, most probably a translation from the French copy, with the title of a book of *Venerie dialogue wise*. Princ. "TWETY now will we begynnen." MSS. Cotton. Vespas. B. xii. The less ancient tract on this subject, called the *Maistre of the Game*, written for the instruction of prince Henry, afterwards Henry the Fifth, is much more common. MSS. Digb. 182. Bibl. Bodl. I believe the *maistre veneur* has been long abolished in England; but the royal falconer still remains. The latter was an officer of high dignity in the Grecian court of Constantinople, at an early period, under the style of *πρωτοεπακαπιος*. Pachym. lib. i. c. 8. x. 15. Codin. cap. ii. Phrenzes says, that the emperor Andronicus Palæologus the younger kept more than one thousand and four hundred hawks, with almost as many men to take care of them. lib. i. c. 10.

About the year 750, Winifrid, or Boniface, a native of England, and archbishop of Mons, acquaints Ethelbald, a king of Kent, that he has sent him one hawk, two falcons, and two shields; and Hedilbert, a king of the Mercians, requests the same archbishop Winifrid, to send him two falcons which have been trained to kill cranes. See Epistol. Winifrid. [Bonifac.] Mogunt. 1605. 1629. And in Bibl. Patr. tom. vi. and tom. xiii. p. 70. *Falconry*, or a right to sport with falcons, is mentioned so early as the year 986. Chart. Ottonis iii. Imperator. ann. 986. apud Ughell. de Episcop. Januens. A charter of Kenulf, king of the Mercians,

Her palfrey is Pegasus; and the burning tongues denote her office of consigning the names of illustrious personages to posterity; among which she mentions a lady of matchless accomplishments, named LA BELL PUCCELL, who lives within a tower seated in a delightful island; but which no person can enter, without surmounting many dangers. She then informs our hero, that before he engages in this enterprise, he must go to the Tower of DOCTRINE, in which he will see the Seven Sciences^a; and that there, in the turret, or chamber of Music, he will have the first sight of La Bell Pucell. FAME departs, but leaves with him her two greyhounds. Graunde Amoure now arrives at the Tower, or rather castle, of DOCTRINE, framed of fine copper, and situated on a

granted to the abbey of Abingdon, and dated 821, prohibits all persons carrying hawks or falcons, to trespass on the lands of the monks. Dugl. Monast. i. p. 100. Julius Firmicus, who wrote about the year 355, is the first Latin author who mentions hawking, or has even used the word FALCO. Mathes. lib. v. c. 7. vii. c. 4. Hawking is often mentioned in the capitularies of the eighth and ninth centuries. The *grand fauconnier* of France was an officer of great eminence. His salary was four thousand florins; he was attended by a retinue of fifty gentlemen and fifty assistant falconers, and allowed to keep three hundred hawks. He licensed every vender of falcons in France; and received a tribute for every bird that was sold in that kingdom, even within the verge of the court. The king of France never rode out, on any occasion, without this officer. [See *supr.* vol. i. p. 169.]

An ingenious French writer insinuates, that the passion for hunting, which at this day subsists as a favourite and fashionable species of diversion in the most civilised countries of Europe, is a strong indication of our gothic origin, and is one of the savage habits, yet unreformed, of our northern ancestors. Perhaps there is too much refinement in this remark. The pleasures of the chase seem to have been implanted by nature; and, under due regulation, if pursued as a matter of mere relaxation and not of employment, are by no means incompatible with the modes of polished life.

^a The author of the *Tresor*, a troubadour, gives the following account of his own system of erudition, which may not be inapplicable here. He means to show himself a profound and universal scholar; and professes to understand the seven liberal arts, grammar, the Latin language, logic, the Decretals of Gratian, music according to Boethius and Guy Aretin, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, the ecclesiastic computation, medicine, pharmacy, surgery, necromancy, geomancy,

magic, divination, and mythology, *better than Ovid and Thales le Menteur*: the histories of Thebes, Troy, Rome, Romulus, Cesar, Pompey, Augustus, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, who took Jerusalem, the *Twelve Cæsars down to Constantine*; the history of Greece, and that of Alexander, who dying distributed his acquisitions among his *twelve peers*; the history of France, containing the transactions of Clovis, converted by saint Remi; Charles Martel, who *established tenths*; king Pepin, Charlemagne and Roland, and the *good king Louis*. To these he adds, the History of England, which comprehends the arrival of Brutus in England, and his conquest of the giant Corineus, the prophecies of Merlin, the redoubted death of Arthur, the adventures of Gawain, and the amours of Tristram and Bel Isould. Amidst this profusion of fabulous history, which our author seems to think real, the history of the Bible is introduced; which he traces from the patriarchs down to the day of judgment. At the close of the whole, he gives us some more of his fashionable accomplishments; and says, that he is skilled in the plain chant, in singing to the lute, in making canzonets, pastorals, amorous and pleasant poesies, and in dancing; that he is beloved by ecclesiastics, knights, ladies, citizens, minstrels, squires, &c. The author of this *Treasure*, or cyclopede of science, mentioned above, is Pierre de Corbian, who lived about the year 1200. Crescimbeni says, that this *Tresor* furnished materials of a similar compilation in Italian verse to Bennet [Brunetti], Dante's master; and of another in French prose. But see *Jul. Niger, Script. Flor.* p. 112. [I know not whether this statement be correctly taken from Crescimbeni, but it has been previously shown (vol. i. p. 147.) that the *Tesoro* of Brunetti Latin was written in French prose. His *Tesoretto*, a book of rare occurrence even in Italy, was written in Italian verse. These works are frequently confounded.—PRICE.]

craggy rock: it shone so bright, that he could distinctly discern the form of the building; till at length, the sky being covered with clouds, he more visibly perceives its walls decorated with figures of beasts in gold, and its lofty turrets crowned with golden images^o. He is admitted by COUNTESS the portress, who leads him into a court, where he drinks water of a most transcendent fragrance, from a magnificent fountain, whence flow four rivers, clearer than Nilus, Ganges, Tigris, or Euphrates^p. He next enters the hall framed of jasper, its windows crystal, and its roof overspread with a golden vine, whose grapes are represented by rubies^q: the floor is paved with beryl, and the walls hung with rich tapestry, on which our hero's future expedition to the Tower of La Bell Pucell was gloriously wrought^r. The marshall of this castle is REASON, the sewer OBSERVANCE, the cook TEMPERANCE, the high-steward LIBERALITY, &c. He then explains to DOCTRINE his name and intended adventure; and she entertains him at a solemn feast. He visits her seven daughters, who reside in the castle. First he is conducted to GRAMMAR, who delivers a learned harangue on the utility of her science; next to LOGIC, who dismisses him with a grave exhortation; then to RHETORIC, who crowned with laurel, and seated in a stately chamber, strewed with flowers, and adorned with the clear mirrors of speculation, explains her five parts in a laboured oration.

^o He says, that the *little turrets* had, for weathercocks or fans, images of gold, which, moving with the wind, played a tune. So Chaucer, Ch. Dreame, v. 75.

For everie yate [tower] of fine gold
A thousand fans, aie turning,
Entuned had, and briddes singing
Divers, and on eche fane a paire,
With open mouth againe the aire:
And of a sute were all the toures:—
And many a *small turret* hie.

Again, in the Castle of Pleasaunt Regard, the fans on the high towers are mentioned as a circumstance of pleasure and beauty. Assembl. Lad. v. 160.

The towris hie full pleasant shall ye finde,
With *phanis freshe, turning with cverie*
winde.

And our author again, ch. xxxviii.

Aloft the towres the golden fanes goode
Dyde with the wynde nake full sweete
armony;

Them for to heare it was great melody.

Our author here paints from the life. An excessive agglomeration of turrets, with their fans, is one of the characteristic marks of the florid mode of architecture, which was now almost at its height. See views of the palaces of Nonesuch and Richmond.

^p The crusades made the eastern rivers

more famous among the Europeans than any of their own. Arnaud Daniel, a troubadour of the thirteenth century, declares, he had rather please his mistress than possess all the dominions which are washed by Hebrus, Meander, and Tigris. Hist. Troub. ii. p. 485. The compliment would have been equally exaggerated, if he had alluded to some of the rivers of his own country.

^q From Sir John Maundeville's Travels. "In the hall, is a vine made of gold, that goeth all aboute the hall: and it hath many bunches of grapes, some are white, &c. All the red are of rubies," &c. ch. lxvii. Paulus Silentarius, in his description of the church of St. Sophia at Constantinop'le, mentions such an ornament. ii. 235.

Κλημασι χρυσοκομοισι περιδρομος αμπελος ερπει, &c.

Pulmitibus auricomis circumcurrens vitis serpit.

^r In the eleventh book of Boccacio's Theseid, after Arcite is dead, Palamon builds a superb temple in honour of him, in which his whole history is painted. The description of this painting is a recapitulatory abridgement of the preceding part of the poem. Hawes's tapestry is less judiciously placed in the beginning of the piece, because it precludes expectation by forestalling all the future incidents.

Graunde Amoure resolves to pursue their lessons with vigour; and animates himself, in this difficult task, with the examples of Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate^a, who are panegyrised with great propriety. He is afterwards admitted to ARITHMETIC, who wears a GOLDEN *wede*^b; and, last of all, is led to the Tower of MUSIC^c, which was composed of crystal, in eager expectation of obtaining a view of La Bell Pucell, according to FAME's prediction. MUSIC was playing on an organ, before a solemn assembly; in the midst of which, at length he discovers La Bell Pucell, is instantly captivated with her beauty, and almost as soon tells her his name, and discloses his passion^d. She is more beautiful than Helen, Proserpine, Cressida, queen Hyppolita, Medea, Dido, Polyxena, Alcmena, Menalippa, or even *fair Rosamund*. The solemnity being finished, Music and La Bell Pucell go forth into a stately temple, whither they are followed by our hero. Here Music seats

^a He recites some of the pieces of the two latter. Chaucer, he says, wrote the Book of Fame on *hys own invencion*. The Tragedies of the xix ladies, *a translacyon*. The Canterbury Tales, upon *hys ymagynacyon*, some of which are *vertuous*, others *glad and merry*. The *pytous dolour* of Troylus and Cressida, and *many other bokes*.

Among Lydgate's works, he recites the Life of our Lady. Saint Edmund's Life. The Fall of Princes. The Three Reasons. The Chorle and the Bird. The Troy Book. Virtue and Vice, [MSS. Harl. 2251. 63. fol. 95.] The Temple of Glass. The Book of Gods and Goddesses. This last, I suppose, is The Banket of Gods and Goddesses.

The poem of the Chorle and the Bird our author calls a *pamflete*. Lydgate himself says, that he translated this tale from a *pamflete in Frensche*, st. 5. It was first printed by Caxton in his Chaucer; afterwards by Wynkyn de Worde, before 1500, in quarto; and, I think, by Copland. Ashmole has printed it under the title of Hermes's Bird, and supposes it to have been written originally by Raymund Lully; or at least made English by Cremer, abbot of Westminster, Lully's scholar. Theatr. Chem. p. 213. 467. 465. Lydgate, in the last stanza, again speaks of this piece as a "*translacyon owe of the Frenshe*." But the fable on which it is founded, is told by Petrus Alphonsus, a writer of the twelfth century, in his tract *de Clericali Disciplina*, never printed. See *supra*, p. 338.

Our author, in his recital of Chaucer's pieces, calls the *Legende of Good Women tragidydes*. Antiently a serious narrative in verse was called a *tragedy*. And it is observable, that he mentions *xix ladies* belonging to this legend. Only *nine ap-*

pear at present. *Nineteen* was the number intended, as we may collect from Lydgate's Fall Pr. Prol. and *ibid.* l. i. c. 6. Compare Man of L. T. Prol. v. 60. Urr. Where eight more ladies than are in the present *legende* are mentioned. This piece is called the *legendis of ix. good women*, MSS. Fairf. xvi. Chaucer himself says, "I sawe cominge of ladyes *Nineteen* in royll habit." v. 383. Urr. Compare Para. T. Urr. p. 214. col. 1. [An additional argument for believing, that the number intended was nineteen, may be drawn from the Court of Love, v. 108, where speaking of Alceste, Chaucer says,

To whom obeyed the ladies gode nineteen.
TYAWHITT.

See also the note on v. 4481 of the Canterbury Tales.—PRICE.]

^b The walls of her chamber are painted in gold with the three fundamental rules of arithmetic.

^c In the Tresor of Pierre de Corbisan, cited at large above, Music, according to Boethius and Guy Aretin, is one of the seven liberal sciences. At Oxford, the graduates in music, which still remains there as an academical science, are at this day required to show their proficiency in Boethius de Musica. In a pageant, at the coronation of king Edward the Sixth, MUSIC personified appears among the seven sciences. Leland. Coll. Append. iii. 317. edit. 1770.

^d In the description of her person, which is very elegant, and consists of three stanzas, there is this circumstance, "She gartered wel her hose." ch. xxx. Chaucer has this circumstance in describing the Wife of Bath, Prol. v. 458.

Hire hosen weren of fine scarlet rede
Ful straitte ytyced.——

herself amidst a concert of all kinds of instruments*. She explains the principles of harmony. A dance is played[†], and Graunde Amoure dances with La Bell Pucell. He retires, deeply in love. He is met by COUNSELL, who consoles and conducts him to his repose in a stately chamber of the castle. In the morning, COUNSELL and our hero both together visit La Bell Pucell. At the gate of the garden of the castle they are informed by the portress CURTESY, that the lady was sitting alone in an arbour, weaving a garland of various flowers. The garden is described as very delicious, and they find the lady in the arbour near a stately fountain, *among the floures of aromatyke fume*. After a long dialogue, in which for some time she seems to reject his suit, at last she resigns her heart; but withal acquaints her lover, that he has many monsters to encounter, and many dangers to conquer, before he can obtain her. He replies, that he is well acquainted with these difficulties; and declares, that, after having received instructions from ASTRONOMY, he will go to the Tower of CHIVALRY, in order to be more completely qualified to succeed in this hazardous enterprise. They take leave with tears; and the lady is received into a ship, which is to carry her into the island where her tower stood. COUNSELL consoles Amoure[‡], and leaves him to attend other desponding lovers. Our hero

* That is, tabours, trumpets, pipes, sackbuts, organs, recorders, harps, lutes, *crowds*, *tymphans*, [i. symphans] dulcimers, *claricimbales*, rebeckes, *clarychordes*. ch. xvi. At the marriage of James of Scotland with the princess Margaret, in the year 1503, "the king began before hyr to play of the *clarychordes* and after of the *lute*. And upon the said *clarychorde* sir Edward Stanley played a ballade and sange therewith." Again, the king and queen being together, "after she played upon the *clarychorde* and after of the *lute*, he beinge upon his knee all-waies bare-headed." Leland. Coll. Append. iii. p. 284. 285. edit. 1770. In Lydgate's poem, entitled Reason and Sensuality, *compyled by John Lydgate*, various instruments and sorts of music are recited. MSS. Fairfax, xvi. Bibl. Bodl. [Pr. "To all folkys virtuous."] "*Here rehearsyth the auctor the MYNSTRALCYTS that were in the gardyn.*"

Of al maner mynstralcy
That any man kan specyfye:
Ffor there were rotys of Almayne,
And eke of Arragon and Spayne:
Songes, stampes, and eke daunces,
Divers plente of pleasaunces;
And many unkouth notys newe
Of swiche folke as lovid trewe;
And instrumentys that dyd excelle,
Many moo than I kan telle:
Harpys, fythales, and eke rotys,
Well according with her notys,

Lutys, ribbles, and geternes,
More for estatys than tavernes;
Orguys, cytolis, monacordys.—
There were trumpes, and trumpettes,
Lowde shallys, and doucettes.

Here *geterne* is a *guitar*, which, with *cytolis*, has its origin in *cithara*. *Fythales* is *fiddles*. *Shallys*, I believe, should be *shalmies*, or *shawms*. *Orguys* is *organs*. See *supr.* p. 194. note *. By *estatys* he means *states*, or solemn assemblies.

[†] Music commands her *mynstrelles* to play the dance, which was called *Mamours the swete*. So at the royal marriage just mentioned, "The *mynstrelles* begonne to play a basse dance, &c. After this done, *they* plaid a rownde, the which was daunced by the lorde Grey ledyng the said queene.—After the dinner incontinently the *mynstrelles* of the *chammer* [chamber] began to play and then daunced the queene," &c. Leland. Append. ubi *supr.* p. 284. seq.

[‡] Counsell mentions the examples of Troilus and Cressida, and of Ponthus and Sidonia. Of the latter faithful pair, there is an old French romance, "*Le Roman du noble roy Pontus fils du roy de Gallice et de la belle Sidoine fille du roy de Bretagne.*" Without date, in bl. letter, 4to. It is in the royal library at Paris, MSS. fol. See *Lengl. Bibl. Rom.* ii. 250. And among the king's manuscripts in the British Museum there is, "*Le Livre du roy Ponthus.*" 15 E. vi. 6. I think there are

bids adieu in pathetic terms to the Tower of MUSIC, where he first saw Pucell. Next he proceeds to the Tower of GEOMETRY, which is wonderfully built and adorned. From thence he seeks ASTRONOMY, who resides in a gorgeous pavilion pitched in a fragrant and flowery meadow: she delivers a prolix lecture on the several operations of the mind, and parts of the body^a. He then, accompanied with his greyhounds, enters an extensive plain overspread with flowers; and looking forward, sees a flaming star over a tower. Going forward, he perceives that this tower stands on a rough precipice of steel, decorated with beasts of various figures. As he advances towards it, he comes to a mighty fortress, at the gate of which were hanging a shield and helmet, with a marvellous horn. He blows the horn with a blast that shook the tower, when a knight appears; who, asking his business, is answered, that his name is Graunde Amoure, and that he was just arrived from the tower of DOCTRINE. He is welcomed by the knight, and admitted. This is the castle of CHIVALRY. The next morning he is conducted by the porter STEDFASTNESS into the base court, where stood a tower of prodigious height, made of jasper: on its summit were four images of armed knights on horses of steel, which, on moving a secret spring, could represent a turney. Near this tower was an ancient temple of Mars: within it was his statue, or picture, of gold, with the figure of FORTUNE on her wheel; and the walls were painted with the siege of Troy^b. He supplicates Mars, that he may be enabled to subdue the monsters which obstruct his passage to the Tower of Pucell: Mars promises him assistance; but advises him first to invoke Venus in her temple. FORTUNE reproves Mars for presuming to promise assistance; and declares, that all human glory is in the power of herself alone. Amoure is then led^c by Minerva to king Melyzus^d, the inventor of tilts and tournaments, who dubs him a knight. He leaves

some elegant miniatures in this manuscript. Our author calls him "the famous knyght yclypped Ponthus, whych loved Sydonye." ch. xvi. King Ponthus is among the copies of James Roberts, a printer in the reign of queen Elizabeth. Ames, p. 342. I believe, it was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde, "The hystory of Ponthus and Galyce, and of lytel Brytayne." With wooden cuts. 1511. 4to. [See vol. i. p. 41. note ^a.]

^a In a wooden cut Ptolomy the astronomer is here introduced, with a quadrant; and Plato, the *conynge and famous clerke*, is cited.

^b This was a common subject of tapestry, as I have before observed; but as it was the most favourite martial subject of the dark ages, is here introduced with peculiar propriety. Chaucer, from the general popularity of the story, has made it a subject for painted glass. Drewe Chauc. v. 322. p. 406. Urr. col. 1.

— and with glas
Were al the windowes wel yglased
Ful clere, and nat an hole ycrased,
That to beholde it was grete joy;
For wholly all the *story of Troy*
Was in the *glaisinge* ywrought thus,
Of Hector, and king Priamus,
Achilles, &c.

In our author's description of the palace of Pucell "there was enameled with figures curious the *syege of Troy*." cap. xxxviii. Sign. A. iii. edit. 1555. The arras was the *syege of Thebes*. *ibid*. In the temple of Mars was also "the *sege of Thebes* depaynted fayre and clere" on the walls. cap. xxvii. Sign. Q. iii. [See *supr*. p. 402.]

^c Through the sumptuous hall of the castle, which is painted with the *Siege of Thebes*, and where many knights are playing at chess.

^d A fabulous king of Thrace, who, I think, is mentioned in Caxton's *Recuyal*

the castle of CHIVALRY, and on the road meets a person, habited like a Fool, named Godfrey Gobilive*, who enters into a long discourse on the falsehood of women†. They both go together into the temple of Venus, who was now holding a solemn assembly, or court, for the redress of lovers. Here he meets with SAPIENCE, who draws up a supplication for him, which he presents to Venus. Venus, after having exhorted him to be constant, writes a letter to Pucell, which she sends by Cupid. After offering a turtle, he departs with Godfrey Gobilive, who is overtaken by a lady on a palfrey, with a knotted whip in her hand, which she frequently exercises on Godfrey‡. Amoure asks her

of the Hystories of Troy, now just printed; that is, in the year 1471. Our author appeals to this romance, which he calls the *Recule of Troye*, as an authentic voucher for the truth of the labours of Hercules. ch. i. By the way, Boccacio's Genealogy of the Gods is quoted in this romance of Troy, B. ii. ch. xix.

* His father is *Davy Drunken nole*,
Who never dranke but in a *sayre*
blacke boule.

Here he seems to allude to Lydgate's poem, called *Of Jack Wat that could pull the lining out of a black boll*. MS. Ashmol. Oxon. 59. ii. MSS. Harl. 2251. 12. fol. 14. One *Jack Hare* is the same sort of ludicrous character, who is thus described in Lydgate's *Tale of froward Maymonde*. MSS. Laud. D. 31. Bibl. Bodl.

A froward knave pleynly to descryve,
And a sloggard shortely to declare,
A precious knave that castith hym never
to thryve.

His mouth weel weet, his slevis riht
thredbare;

A turnebroche [turn-spit], a boy for
hogge of ware,

With louring face noddying and slumbering,

Of new crystened, and called Jakke
Hare,

Whiche of a boll can *plukke out the lynng*.

These two pieces of Lydgate appear to be the same.

† He relates, how Aristotle, for all his clergy, was so infatuated with love, that he suffered the lady, who only laughed at his passion, to bridle and ride him about his chamber. This story is in Gower, Conf. Amant. lib. viii. fol. clxxxix. b. edit. ut supr. [See supr. p. 240.]

I saw there Aristote also
Whom that the quene of Grece also
Hath bridede, &c.

Then follows a long and ridiculous story about Virgil, not the poet, but a necro-

mancer framed in the dark ages, who is deceived by the tricks of a lady at the court of Rome; on whom, however, her paramour takes ample revenge by means of his skill in music. ch. xxix. I have mentioned this Virgil, supr. p. 177. See also p. 241. of this volume, where I have falsely supposed him to be the poet. [There can be little doubt but the poet of the Augustan age, and the necromancer of the dark ages, is one and the same person. Similar honours have been conferred upon Horace in the neighbourhood of Palestrina, where he is still revered by the people as a powerful and benevolent wizard.—PRICE.] This fiction is also alluded to by Gower, and added to that of Aristotle's, among his examples of the power of love over the wisest men. ubi supr.

And eke Virgile of acquaintance
I sigh [saw] where he the maiden praid
Which was the daughter, as men said,
Of themperour whilom of Rome.

There is an old book, printed in 1510, entitled, "VIRGILIUS. This boke treateth of the lyfe of Virgilius, and of his deth, and many marvayles, that he did in his lyfetyme by witchcraft and nigramansy, thorough the help of the devylls of hell." Coloph. "Thus endeth the lyfe of Virgilius with many dyvers consaytes that he dyd. Emprynted in the cytie of Andewarpe by me John Doesborche dwelling at the Camer Porte." With cuts, octavo. It was in Mr. West's library. *Virgil's Life* is mentioned by Laneham among other romantic pieces, *Killinw. Castle*. p. 34. edit. 1575. 12mo. This fictitious personage, however, seems to be formed on the genuine Virgil, because, from the subject of his eighth Eclogue, he was supposed to be an adept in the mysteries of magic and incantation.

‡ In another place he is called Folly, and said to ride on a mare. When chivalry was at its height in France, it was a disgrace to any person, not below the degree of a gentleman, to ride a mare.

name, which, she answers, is CORRECTION; that she lived in the Tower of CHASTITY, and that he who assumed the name of Godfrey Gobilive was FALSE REPORT, who had just escaped from her prison, and disguised himself in a fool's coat. She invites Amoure to her Tower, where they are admitted by Dame MEASURE; and led into a hall with a golden roof, in the midst of which was a carbuncle of a prodigious size, which illuminated the room^b. They are next introduced to a fair chamber; where they are welcomed by many famous women of antiquity, Helen, *quene* Proserpine, the *lady Meduse*, Penthesilea, &c. The next morning, CORRECTION shows our hero a marvellous dungeon, of which SHAMFASTNESSE is the keeper; and here FALSE REPORT is severely punished. He now continues his expedition, and near a fountain observes a shield and a horn hanging. On the shield was a lion rampant of gold in a silver field, with an inscription, importing, that this was the way to La Bell Pucell's habitation, and that whoever blows the horn will be assaulted by a most formidable giant. He sounds the horn: when instantly the giant appeared, twelve feet high, armed in brass, with three heads, on each of which was a streamer, with the inscriptions *Falsehood*, *Imagination*, *Perjury*. After an obstinate combat, he cuts off the giant's three heads with his sword *Clarasprudence*. He next meets three fair ladies, VANITY, GOOD-OPERATION, FIDELITY. They conduct him to their castle with music; where, being admitted by the portress OBSERVANCE, he is healed of his wounds by them. He proceeds and meets PERSEVERANCE, who acquaints him, that Pucell continued still to love: that, after she had read Venus's letter, STRANGENESS and DISDAIN came to her, to dissuade her from loving him; but that soon after, PEACE and MERCY¹ arrived, who soon undid all that DISDAIN and STRANGENESS had said, advising her to send PERSEVERANCE to him with a shield. This shield PERSEVERANCE now presents, and invites him to repose that night with her

^a From Chaucer, Rom. Rose, v. 1120. Urr. p. 223 a. Richesse is crowned with the costliest gems,

But all before full subtilty
A fine carboncle sel sawe I,
The stone so cleare was and bright,
That al so sone as it was night,
Men mightin sene to go for nede
A mile or two in length and brede.
Such light ysprange out of that stone.

But this is not uncommon in romance, and is an Arabian idea. See *supr.* p. 157. In the History of the Seven Champions, a book compiled in the reign of James the First by one Richard Johnson, and containing some of the most capital fictions of the old Arabian romance, in the adventure of the Enchanted Fountain, the knights entering a dark hall, "tooke off their gauntletts from their left hands

whereon they wore *marvellous great and fine diamonds*, that gave so much light, that they might *plainly see* all things that were in the hall, the which was very great and wide, and upon the walls were painted the figures of many furious fiends," &c. Sec. P. ch. ix. And in Maundeville's Travells, "The emperour hath in his chamber a pillar of gold, in which is a ruby and carbuncle a foot long, which lighteth all his chamber by night," &c. ch. lxxii. [The History of the Seven Champions was not "compiled in the reign of James the First," it being quoted as a popular book by Meres in his Wit's Treasury printed in 1598.—RITSON.]

¹ Mercy is no uncommon divinity in the love-system of the troubadours. See M. Millot's Hist. Litt. des Troubad. tom. i. p. 181. Par. 1774.

cousin COMFORT, who lived in a moated manor-place under the side of a neighbouring wood^k. Here he is ushered into a *chamber*

^k There is a description of a magnificent *manor-place*, curious for its antiquity, in an old poem, written before the year 1300, entitled a *Disputation bytwene a Crysten man and a Jewe*, perhaps translated from the French, MS. Vernon, fol. 301. ut supr. [See Carpentier's Suppl. Du Cange, Lat. Gloss. V. RADIMERE.]

Forth heo¹ wenten on the feld
To an hul² thei bi held,
The eorthe cleved³ as a scheld⁴,
On the grownde grene:

Some fonde thei on stih⁵,
Thei went thereon radly⁶;
The cristen mon hedde farly⁷
What hit mihte mene.

Aftir that stiȝ lay a strete,
Clere ipavet with gete⁸,
Thei fond a maner that was mete
With murthes ful schene;

Wel corven and wroht
With halles heȝe upon loft⁹,
To a place weore thei brouht
As paradys the clene¹⁰.

Ther was foulen¹¹ song,
Much murthes among,
Hose lenge wolde longe
Ful luitell hym thouht:

On vche a syde of the halle,
Pourpell, pelure, and palle¹²;
Wyndowes in the walle
Was wonderli iwrouht¹³:

There was doers¹⁴ on the dees¹⁵,
Hose the cheefe wolde ches¹⁶
That never richere was,
In no sale¹⁷ souht:

Both the mot and the mold
Schone al on red golde
The cristene mon hadde ferli of that
folde¹⁸,

That hider was brouȝt.

Ther was erbes¹⁹ growen grene,
Spices springyng bi twene.
Such hadde I not sene,
For sothe as I say:

The thrustell²⁰ songe full shrille,
He newed notes at his wille;
Faire fflowres to ffile,
Fine in that fay:

And all the rounde table good,
Hou Arthur in eorthe ȝod²¹,
Sum sate and sum stod,
O the grounde grey:

Hit was a wonder siht
As thei wer quik men²² diht
To seo hou they play²³.

Together with some of his expressions, I do not always understand this writer's context and transitions, which have great abruptness. In what he says of king Arthur, I suppose he means, that king Arthur's round table, and his knights turneyng, were painted on the walls of the hall. [Arthur and his knights appear rather to be the inhabitants of this marvellous spot. Some were engaged in sports, whilst others either "sat or stood upon the gray ground" observing them.—PRICE.]

¹ they. ² hill. ³ cleaved. ⁴ shield.
⁵ road, way, cavern, ascent. ⁶ readily, easily. ⁷ was very attentive;
heeded, [had wonder. RITSON.] ⁸ paved with *gritt*, i. e. sand, or gravel, [jet. RITSON.] ⁹ with halls built high. ¹⁰ bright, or pleasant, as Paradise. ¹¹ fowls, birds. ¹² The guests sate on each side of the hall, clothed in purple, furs, or ermine, and rich robes. [The text makes no mention of guests: the hall was hung with purple, &c.—PRICE.] ¹³ wonderfully wrought. ¹⁴ *dosser* is a basket carried on the back. Lat. *dorsarium*. Chaucer's H. F. iii. 850. "Or else hutchis or *dosser*." We must here understand provisions. ¹⁵ *dees* is here the *table*. ¹⁶ whoever would choose the best. ¹⁷ hall. Lat. *sala*. ¹⁸ house [ground]. ¹⁹ thrush. ²⁰ *ȝod*, went; walked on *earth*. ²¹ as if they were living men. ²² to see their sports, tournaments, &c.

* An Herbarie, for furnishing domestic medicines, always made a part of our ancient gardens. In Hawes's poem, now before us, in the delicious garden of the castle of Music, "Amiddes the garden there was an *herber fayre* and quadrante." ch. xviii. In the Glossary to Chaucer, *Erbers* is absurdly interpreted *Arbours*. Non. Pr. T. v. 1081. "Or *crve* ive growing in our *erberie*." [Mr. Tyrwhitt reads, Or *crve* ive growing in your yerd, that mery is.—PRICE.] Chaucer is here enumerating various medical herbs, usually planted in *erberie*, or herbaries.

precious, perfumed with the richest odours. Next morning, guided by PERSEVERANCE and COMFORT, he goes forward, and sees a castle, nobly fortified, and walled with jet. Before it was a giant with seven heads, and upon the trees about him were hanging many shields of knights, whom he had conquered. On his seven heads were seven helmets crowned with seven streamers, on which were inscribed *Disimulation, Delay, Discomfort, Variance, Envy, Detraction, Doubtfulness*. After a bloody battle, he kills the giant, and is saluted by the five ladies, STEDFASTNESS, AMOROUS PURVEYANCE, JOY AFTER SORROW, PLEASAUNCE, GOOD REPORT, AMITIE, CONTINUANCE, all riding from the castle on white palfries. These ladies inform Amoure, that they had been exiled from La Bell Pucell by DISDAINE, and besieged in this castle, for one whole year, by the giant whom he had just slain. They attend him on his journey, and travel through a dreary wilderness, full of wild beasts: at length they discern, at a vast distance, a glorious region, where stood a stately palace beyond a tempestuous ocean. "That (says PERSEVERANCE) is the palace of Pucelle." They then discover, in the island before them, a horrible fiend, roaring like-thunder, and breathing flame, which my author strongly paints,

The fyre was greet, it made the yland lyght.

PERSEVERANCE tells our hero, that this monster was framed by the two witches STRANGENESS and DISDAINE, to punish La Bell Pucell for having banished them from her presence. His body was composed of the seven metals, and within it a demon was inclosed. They now enter a neighbouring temple of Pallas, who shows Amoure, in a trance, the secret formation of this monster, and gives him a box of wonderful ointment. They walk on the sea-shore, and espy two ladies rowing towards them, who land, and having told Amoure that they are sent by PATIENCE to inquire his name, receive him and his company into the ship PERFECTNESS. They arrive in the island; and Amoure discovers the monster near a rock, whom he now examines more distinctly. The face of the monster resembled a virgin's, and was of gold; his neck of silver; his breast of steel; his fore-legs, armed with strong talons, of latén; his back of copper; his tail of lead, &c. Amoure, in imitation of Jason, anoints his sword and armour with the unguent of Pallas; which, at the first onset, preserves him from the voluminous torrent of fire and smoke issuing from the monster's mouth. At length he is killed; and from his body flew out a *scoule ethiope*, or black spirit, accompanied with such a smoke that all the island was darkened, and loud thunder-claps ensued. When this spirit was entirely vanished, the air grew serene; and our hero now plainly beheld the magnificent castle of La Pucell, walled with silver, and *many a story upon the wall enameled royally*¹. He rejoins his company; and entering the gate of the

¹ See *supra*, pp. 99. 402. I know not from what romantic history of the Cru-

sades Richard Johnson took the description of the stately house of the *courteous Jew* at

castle, is solemnly received by PEACE, MERCY, JUSTICE, REASON, GRACE, and MEMORY. He is then led by the portress COUNTE-NAUNCE into the base court; where, into a conduit of gold, dragons spouted water of the richest odour. The gravel of the court is like gold, and the hall and chambers are most superbly decorated. Amoure and La Pucell sit down and converse together. Venus intervenes, attended by Cupid clothed in a blue mantle embroidered with golden hearts pierced with arrows, which he throws about the lovers, declaring that they should soon be joined in marriage. A sudden transition is here made from the pagan to the christian theology. The next morning they are married, according to the catholic ritual, by LEX ECCLESIE; and in the wooden print prefixed to this chapter, the lovers are represented as joining hands at the western portal of a great church, a part of the ceremonial of ancient marriages^m. A solemn feast is then held in honour of the nuptialsⁿ.

Here the poem should have ended. But the poet has thought it necessary to extend his allegory to the death and burial of his hero. Graund Amoure having lived in consummate happiness with his amiable bride for many years, saw one morning an old man enter his chamber, carrying a staff, with which he strikes Amoure's breast, saying *Obey, &c.* His name is OLD AGE. Not long after came POLICY or Cunning, and AVARICE. Amoure now begins to abandon his triumphal shows and splendid carousals, and to be intent on amassing riches. At last arrived DEATH, who peremptorily denounces, that he must prepare to quit his wealth and the world. After this fatal admonition, came CONTRITION and CONSCIENCE, and he dies. His body is interred by MERCY and CHARITY; and while his epitaph is written by REMEMBRANCE, FAME appears; promising that she will enroll his name with those of

Damascus, built for entertaining christian pilgrims, in which "the walls were painted with as many stories as there were years since the creation of the world." Sec. P. ch. iv. The word *enameled*, in the text, is probably used in the same sense as in Stowe, Survey Lond. p. 359. edit. 1599. "The great bell-tower, [of the priory of St. John in Clerkenwell,] a most curious piece of workmanshipe, graven, guilt, and *inameled*, to the great beautifying of the citie, and passage all other that I have scene," &c. So again our author, Hawes, ch. ii.

— The toure doth stande
Made all of golde, *enameled* aboute
With noble storyes.—

^m For this custom, see *supra*, p. 201. and the romance of Appolyne, ch. xxxiii.

ⁿ Which is described thus, ch. xxix.

Why should I tary by long continuance
Of the feast, &c.

In the same manner Chaucer passes over

the particularities of Cambuscan's feast, Squ. T. v. 83. Urr. and of Theseus's feast, Kn. T. v. 2199. See also Man of L. T. v. 704. And Spenser's Fairy Qu. v. iii. 3. [See *supra*, p. 122.] And Matthew Paris, in describing the magnificent marriage and coronation of queen Eleanor in 1236, uses exactly the same formulary, and on a similar subject: "Quid in ecclesia seriem enarrem Deo, ut decuit, reverenter ministrantium? Quid in mensa dapium et diversorum libaninum describam fertilitatem redundantem? Venationis [venison] abundantiam? Piscium varietatem? Jocularum voluptatem? Ministrantium venustatem?" etc. Hist. Angl. sub Hen. III. p. 406. edit. Tig. ut *supra*. Compare another feast described in the same chronicle, much after the same manner; and which, the writer adds, was more splendid than any feast celebrated in the time of Ahasuerus, king Arthur, or Charlemagne. *ibid.* p. 871.

Hector, Joshua, Judas Maccabeus, king David^o, Alexander the Great, Julius Cesar, Arthur^p, Charlemagne^q, and Godfrey of Bulloign^r. After-

^o The chief reason for ranking king David among the knights of romance was, as I have already hinted, because he killed the giant Goliath: an achievement here mentioned by Hawes. See *supr.* pp. 185. note ^y. and 403.

^p Of Arthur and his knights he says, that their exploits are recorded "in royall bokes and jestes hystoryall." ch. xliii. Sir Thomas Maillorie had now just published his *Morte Arthur*, a narrative digested from various French romances on Arthur's story. Caxton's printed copy of this favourite volume must have been known to our poet Hawes, which appeared in 1485. fol. By the way, in panegyrising Chaucer, Hawes mentions it, as a circumstance of distinction, that his works were printed. ch. xliii.

—— Whose name
IN PRINTED bokes doth remayne in fame.

This was natural at the beginning of the typographic art. Many of Chaucer's poems were now recently printed by Caxton.

With regard to Maillorie's book, much, if not most of it, I believe, is taken from the great French romance of Lancelot, translated from Latin into French at the command of one of our Henrys, a metrical English version of which is now in Benet library at Cambridge. [See a specimen in Mr. Naasmith's curious catalogue, p. 54.] I have left it doubtful whether it was the third Henry who ordered this romance to be translated into Latin, vol. i. p. 119. But, beside the proofs there suggested in favour of that hypothesis, it appears, that Henry the Third paid great attention to these compositions, from the following curious anecdote just published, which throws new light on that monarch's character.

Arnaud Daniel, a troubadour, highly celebrated by Dante and Petrarch, about the year 1240 made a voyage into England, where, in the court of king Henry the Third, he met a minstrel, who challenged him at *difficult rhymes*. The challenge was accepted, a considerable wager was laid, and the rival bards were shut up in separate chambers of the palace. The king, who appears to have much interested himself in the dispute, allowed them ten days for *composing*, and five more for *learning to sing*, their respective pieces; after which, each was to exhibit his performance in the presence of his majesty. The third day, the English minstrel an-

nounced that he was ready. The troubadour declared he had not written a line; but that he had tried, and could not as yet put two words together. The following evening he overheard the minstrel practising his *chanson* to himself. The next day he had the good fortune to hear the same again, and learned the air and words. At the day appointed they both appeared before the king. Arnaud desired to sing first. The minstrel, in a fit of the greatest surprise and astonishment, suddenly cried out, *C'est ma chanson, This is MY SONG*. The king said it was impossible. The minstrel still insisted upon it; and Arnaud, being closely pressed, ingenuously told the whole affair. The king was much entertained with this adventure; and ordering the wager to be withdrawn, loaded them with rich presents. But he afterwards obliged Arnaud to give a *chanson* of his own composition. Millot, *ut supr.* tom. ii. p. 491.

In the mean time I would not be understood to deny that Henry the Second encouraged these pieces; for it partly appears that Gualter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford, translated, from Latin into French, the popular romance of Saint Graal, at the instance of Henry the Second, to whom he was chaplain, about the year 1190. See MSS. Reg. 20 D. iii. a manuscript perhaps coeval with the translator; and, if so, the original copy presented to the king. Maister Benoit, or Benedict, a rhymers in French, was also patronised by this monarch; at whose command he compiled a metrical Chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy, in which are cited Isidore Hispalensis, Pliny, and saint Austin. MSS. Harl. 1717. 1. on vellum. See fol. 85. 163. 192. 236. This old French poem is full of fabulous and romantic matter; and seems to be partly translated from a Latin Chronicle, *De Moribus et Actis primorum Normanniarum Ducum*, written about the year 1000, by Dudo, dean of St. Quentin's, and printed among Du Chesne's Scriptor. Norman. p. 49. edit. 1619. Maister Benoit ends with our Henry the First; Dudo with the year 996.

^q With his *douseperes*, or twelve peers, among which he mentions Rowland and Oliver.

^r These are the Nine Worthies, to whom Shakspeare alludes in *Love's Lab. Lost*: "Here is like to be a good presence of Worthies. He presents Hector of Troy; the swain, Pompey the Great; the pa-

wards TIME, and ETERNITIE clothed in a white vestment and crowned with a triple diadem of gold, enter the temple, and pronounce an exhortation. Last follows an epilogue, in which the poet apologises for his hardiness in attempting to *feign* and *devise* this fable.

The reader readily perceives, that this poetical apologue is intended to shadow the education of a complete gentleman; or rather, to point out those accomplishments which constitute the character of true gallantry, and most justly deserve the reward of beauty. It is not pretended, that the personifications display that force of colouring, and distinctness of delineation, which animate the ideal portraits of John of Meun. But we must acknowledge, that Hawes has shown no inconsiderable share of imagination, if not in inventing romantic action, at least in applying and enriching the general incidents of the Gothic fable. In the creation of allegoric imagery he has exceeded Lydgate. That he is greatly superior to many of his immediate predecessors and contemporaries, in harmonious versification and clear expression, will appear from the following stanza.

Besydes this gyaunt, upon every tree
I did see hanging many a goodly shielde
Of noble knyghtes, that were of hie degree,
Whiche he had slayne and mured in the fieldes:
From farre this gyaunt I ryght well behelde;
And towarde hym as I rode on my way,
On his first heade I sawe a banner gay.*

To this poem a dedication of eight octave stanzas is prefixed, addressed to king Henry the Seventh: in which our author professes to follow the manner of his *maister* Lydgate.

To folowe the trace and all the perfytness
Of my maister Lydgate, with due exercise,
Such fayned tales I do fynde^t and devyse:
For under coloure a truthe may aryse,
As was the guyse, in old antiquitie,
Of the poetes olde a tale to surmyse,
To cloake the truthe. — — —

rish-curate, Alexander; Armado's page, Hercules; the pedant, Judas Macchabeus," &c. act v. sc. 1. Elias Cairels, a troubadour of Perigord, about the year 1240, wishes for the wisdom of Solomon, the courtesy of Roland, the puissance of Alexander, the strength of Samson, the friendly attachment of sir Tristram, the *chevalerie* of sir Gawaine, and the learning of Merlin. Though not immediately connected with the present purpose, I cannot resist the temptation of transcribing the remainder of our troubadour's

idea of complete happiness in this world. His ambition can be gratified by nothing less than by possessing "Une si parfaite leyaute, que nul chevalier et nul jongleur n'aient rien à reprendre en lui; une maistresse jeune, jolie, et decente; mille cavaliers bien en ordre pour le suivre par tout," &c. Millot, *Hist. Litt. des Troubad.* tom. i. p. 388. [See *supr.* p. 185. note ^y.

* Ch. xxxv.

^t invent.

In the course of the poem he complains, that since Lydgate, *the most dulcet sprynge of famous rhetoryke*, that species of poetry which deals in fiction and allegoric fable, had been entirely lost and neglected. He allows, that some of Lydgate's successors had been skilful versifiers in the *balade royall* or octave stanza, which Lydgate carried to such perfection : but adds this remarkable restriction,

They *fayne* no *fables* pleasaunt and *covert* :—
Makyng balades of fervent amytie,
As *gestes* and *tryfles*.^u — — —

These lines, in a small compass, display the general state of poetry which now prevailed.

Coeval with Hawes was William Walter, a retainer to sir Henry Marney, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster ; an unknown and obscure writer whom I should not have named, but that he versified, in the octave stanza, Boccacio's story, so beautifully paraphrased by Dryden, of Sigismonda and Guiscard. This poem, I think, was printed by Wynkyn de Worde [1532], and afterwards reprinted in the year 1597, under the title of *THE STATELY TRAGEDY OF GUISCARD AND SIGISMOND*^{*}. It is in two books. He also wrote a dialogue in verse, called *the Spectacle of Lovers*^v, and the *History of Titus and Gesippus*, a translation from a Latin romance concerning the siege of Jerusalem^{*}.

About the year 1490, Henry Medwall, chaplain to Morton archbishop of Canterbury, composed an interlude, called *NATURE*, which was afterwards translated into Latin. It is not improbable, that it was played before the archbishop. It was the business of chaplains in great houses to compose interludes for the family. This piece was printed by Rastel, in 1538, and entitled, "*NATURE, a goodly interlude of nature, compyled by mayster Henry Medwall, chaplajn to the right reverent father in God, Johan Morton, sometyme cardynall, and archebyshop of Canterbury.*"

In the year 1497, Laurence Wade, a Benedictine monk of Canterbury^z, translated, into English rhymes, *THE LIFE OF THOMAS A*

^u Ch. xiv. So Barklay, in the *Ship of Fooles*, finished in 1508, fol. 18 a. edit. 1570. He is speaking of the profane and improper conversation of priests in the choir.

And all of fables and *jestes* of Robin Hood, Or other *tryfles*. — — —

^z Viz. "Certaine worthy manuscript poems of great antiquitie, reserved long in the studie of a Northfolke gentleman, now first published by J. S. Lond. R. D. 1597." 12mo. In this edition, beside the story of Sigismunda, mentioned in the text, there is "The Northern Mother's Blessing, written nine yeares before the death of G. Chaucer." And "The Way to

Thrift." This collection is dedicated to the worthiest Poet Maister Edmond Spenser.

^v Begins the Prologue, "Forasmuche as ydelness is rote of all vices." This and the following piece are also printed in quarto, by Wynkyn de Worde. [He likewise compiled "A lytell contravers dialogue bytwene love and counsell, with many goodly argumentes of good women and bad, very compendyouus to all estates." — RITSON.]

^{*} [This opinion Warton afterwards rejected. Vid. *infra*, Sect. xxxiii. — PRICE.]

^z Professed in the year 1467. Catal. Mon. Cant. inter MSS. C. C. C. C. N. 7.

BECKETT, written about the year 1180, in Latin ^a, by Herbert Bosham ^b. The manuscript, which will not bear a citation, is preserved in Benet college in Cambridge ^c. The original had been translated into French verse by Peter Langtoft ^d. Bosham was Becket's secretary, and present at his martyrdom.

SECTION XXIX.

Barklay's Ship of Fools. Its origin. Specimens. Barklay's Eclogues, and other pieces. Alcock, bishop of Ely. Modern Bucolics.

I PLACE Alexander Barklay within the year 1500, as his *SHIP OF FOOLS* appears to have been projected about that period. He was educated at Oriel college in Oxford ^a, accomplished his academical studies by travelling, and was appointed one of the priests, or prebendaries, of the college of saint Mary Ottery in Devonshire ^b. Afterwards he became a Benedictine monk of Ely monastery ^c; and at length took the habit of the Franciscans at Canterbury ^d. He temporised with the changes of

^a Vita et Res Gestæ Thomæ Episcopi Cantuariensis, published in the Quadriologus, Paris. 1495. 4to.

^b See supr. vol. i. p. 78. [It was printed in prose by R. Pinson, 4to. without date, says Herbert, MS. note.—*PARK.*]

^c MSS. Coll. C. C. Cant. cccxcvii. 1. Beginn. Prol. "O ye vertuous soverayns spirituall and temporall."

^d Pits. p. 890. Append.

^e He seems to have spent some time at Cambridge, Eglog. i. Signat. A. iii.

And once in Cambridge I heard a scoller say,
One of the same that go in copès gay.

^f The chief patron of his studies appears to have been Thomas Cornish, provost of Oriel college, and suffragan bishop of Tyne, in the diocese of Bath and Wells; to whom he dedicates, in a handsome Latin epistle, his *Ship of Fools*. But in the poem, he mentions *My Maister Kyrkham*, calling himself "his true servitour, his chaplayne, and bede-man." fol. 152 b. edit. 1570. Some biographers suppose Barklay to have been a native of Scotland. It is certain that he has a long and laboured encomium on James the Fourth, king of Scotland; whom he compliments for his bravery, prudence, and other eminent virtues. One of the stanzas of this panegyric is an acrostic on Jacobus. fol.

206 a. He most probably was of Devonshire or Gloucestershire. [Wood, who designates him Alexander de Barklay, surmises him to have been born at or near a town so called in Somersetshire; but Ritson owns that there is no such town in that county. Bale, the oldest authority, tells us that some contend he was a Scot, others an Englishman. Pitts admits, that with some he appeared to have been a Scot, but was verily an Englishman, and probably a Devonshire man. Dr. Bulleyn, his cotemporary, says he was born beyond the cold river of Tweed; and Holinshed positively calls him a Scot. He is likewise claimed as his countryman by Dempster, who informs us, he lived in England, being expelled (from his native country) for the sake of religion. This report, however, is considered as the invention of Dempster, since no religious dissensions had taken place in Scotland so early as 1506. After all this diversity of allegation, Ritson's conclusion is, that Barklay's name of baptism and the orthography of his surname seem to prove that he was of Scottish extraction. See Bibliogr. Poetica, p. 46.—*PARK.*]

^g In the title to his translation from Mancinus, called the *Mirror of Good Manners*.

^h MS. Bale, Sloan. f. 68.

religion; for he possessed some church-preferments in the reign of Edward the Sixth^b. He died, very old, at Croydon, in Surrey¹, in the year 1552.

Barklay's principal work is the *SHIP OF FOOL'S*, above-mentioned. About the year 1494 [1470*], Sebastian Brandt, a learned civilian of Basil, and an eminent philologist, published a satire in German with this title¹. The design was to ridicule the reigning vices and follies of every rank and profession, under the allegory of a Ship freighted with Fools of all kinds, but without any variety of incident, or artificiality of fable; yet although the poem is destitute of plot, and the voyage of adventures, a composition of such a nature became extremely popular. It was translated into French²; and, in the year 1488†, into tolerable Latin verse, by James Locher, a German, and a scholar of the inventor Brandt¹. From the original, and the two translations, Barklay formed a large English poem, in the balade or octave stanza, with considerable additions gleaned from the follies of his countrymen. It was printed by Pinson, in 1509, whose name occurs in the poem.

^b He was instituted to Much Badew in Essex, in 1546. Newcourt, Rep. i. 254. And to Wokey in Somersetshire, the same year. Registr. Wellens. He had also the church of All Saints, in Lombard-street, London, on the presentation of the dean and chapter of Canterbury, which was vacant by his death, Aug. 24, 1552. Newcourt, ut supr.

¹ He frequently mentions Croydon in his *Egloges*. He was buried in Croydon church. Egl. i. Signat. A. iii.

And as in Croidon I heard the Collier preache.

Again, *ibid*.

While I in youth in Croidon towne did dwell.

Again, *ibid*.

He hath no felowe betwene this and Croidon

Save the proude plowman *Gnatho* of *Chorlington*.

He mentions the collier again, *ibid*.

Such maner riches the collier tell thee can.

Also, *ibid*.

As the riche shepheard that woned in *Mortlake*.

* [In the Additions to this volume, Warton instructed the reader to expunge the date 1494, and substitute that of 1470. But Brandt was not born till the year 1458, a circumstance which makes this correction quite untenable. The German bibliographers speak of an edition printed at Basle without date, as the ear-

liest known to them, though others maintain the Strasburg edition of 1494 to be the first of the German original. If this be true, Locher must have translated from Brandt's manuscript.—PRICE.]

¹ I presume this is the same Sebastian Brandt, to whom Thomas Acuparius, poet laureate, dedicates a volume of Poggius's works, Argentorat. 1513. fol. He is here styled, "Juris utriusque doctor, et S. P. Q. Argentinensis cancellarius." The dedication is dated 1511. See Hendreich. Pandect. p. 703.—[Brandt was a doctor of laws, an imperial counsellor, and Syndic to the Senate of Strasburg.—PRICE.]

² By Joce Bade. Paris, 1497. [In verse. From which the French prose translation was made the next year.—ADDITIONS.]

† With this title, "Sebastiani Brandt NAVIS STULTIFERA Mortalium, a vernaculo ac vulgari sermone in Latinum conscripta, per Jacobum Locher cognomine Philomusum Suevum, cum figuris. Per Jacobum Zachoni de Romano, anno 1488." 4to. In the colophon, it is said to have been *jampridem traducta* from the German original by Locher; and that this Latin translation was revised by the inventor Brandt, with the addition of many new FOOLS. A second edition of Locher's Latin was printed at Paris in 1498. 4to. There is a French prose translation by Jehan Drouyn, at Lyons. 1498. fol. In the royal library at Paris, there is a curious copy of Barklay's English *Ship of Fools*, by Pinson, on vellum, with the wood-cuts: a rarity, not, I believe, to be found in England.—ADDITIONS.]

See the Prologue.

Howbeit the charge PINSON has on me layde
With many fooles our navy not to charge.^m

It was finished in the year 1508, and in the college of saint Mary Ottery, as appears by this rubric, "The SHYP OF FOLYS, translated in the colege of saynt Mary Otery, in the counte of Devonshyre, oute of Laten, Frenche, and Doch, into Englishe tonge, by Alexander Barclay, preste and chaplen in the sayd colledge, M.CCC.CC.VIIIⁿ." Our author's stanza is verbose, prosaic, and tedious; and for many pages together, his poetry is little better than a trite homily in verse. The title promises much character and pleasantry: but we shall be disappointed, if we expect to find the foibles of the crew of our ship touched by the hand of the author of the CANTERBURY TALES, or exposed in the rough yet strong satire of Pierce Plowman. He sometimes has a stroke of humour; as in the following stanza, where he wishes to take on board the eight secondaries, or minor canons, of his college. "*Alexander Barclay ad FATUOS, ut dent locum OCTO SECUNDARIIS beate Mariæ de Ottery, qui quidem prima hujus ratis transtra merentur^o.*"

Softe, Foolis, softe, a litle slacke your pace,
Till I have space you to' order by degree;
I have eyght neyghbours, that first shall have a place
Within this my shyp, for they most worthy be:
They may their learning receyve costles and free,
Their walles abutting and joining to the schooles^p:
Nothing they can^q, yet nought will they learn nor see,
Therefore shall they guide this one ship of fooles.

The ignorance of the English clergy is one of the chief objects of his animadversion. He says^r,

For if one can flatter, and beare a hawke on his fist,
He shalbe made parson of Honington or of Clist.

These were rich benefices in the neighbourhood of saint Mary Ottery. He disclaims the profane and petty tales of the times.

I write no jeste ne tale of Robin Hood^s,
Nor sowe no sparkles, ne sede of viciousnes;
Wise men love vertue, wilde people wantonnes,

^m Fol. 38. In another place he complains that some of his *wordes* are *amis*, on account of the *printers not perfect in science*. And adds, that

— The printers in their busynes
Do all their workes speedily and in haste.
fol. 258 b.

ⁿ In folio. A second edition, from which I cite, was printed with his other works, in the year 1570, by Cawood, in folio, with curious wooden cuts, taken from Pinson's impression, viz. "The Ship of Fooles, wherein is shewed the folly of all

states, with divers other works adjoined to the same," &c. This has both Latin and English. But Ames, under *Wynkyn de Worde*, recites "The Ship of Fools in this World." 4to. 1517. Hist. Print. p. 94.

^o fol. 68.

^p To the collegiate church of saint Mary Ottery a school was annexed, by the munificent founder, Grandison, bishop of Exeter. This college was founded in the year 1337.

^q know.

^r fol. 2.

^s fol. 23.

It longeth not my science nor cuning,
For Philip the sparrow the dirige to sing.

The last line is a ridicule on his cotemporary Skelton, who wrote a
LITTLE BOKE OF PHILIP SPARROW, or a Dirge,

For the soule of Philip Sparrow
That was late slaine at Carow, &c.¹

And in another place, he thus censures the fashionable reading of his
age, much in the tone of his predecessor Hawes :

For goodly scripture is not worth an hawe,
But tales are loved ground of ribaudry,
And many are so blinded with their foly,
That no scriptur thinke they so true nor gode
As is a foolish jest of Robin hode.²

As a specimen of his general manner, I insert his character of the
Student, or Bookworm, whom he supposes to be the First Fool in the
vessel.

That³ in this ship the chiefe place I governe,
By this wide sea with foolis wandering,
The cause is plaine and easy to discerne ;
Still am I busy bookes assembling,
For to have plentie it is a pleasaunt thing,
In my conceyt, to have them ay in hand ;
But what they meane do I not understande.

But yet I have them in great reverence
And honour, saving them from filth and ordure ;
By often brusshing and much diligence,
Full goodly bounde in pleasaunt coverture

¹ See Skelton's Works, p. 215. edit. 1736. This will be mentioned again below.

² fol. 23.

³ I subjoin the Latin from which he translates, that the reader may judge how much is our poet's own. fol. 1 a.

Primus in excelso teneo quod nave rudentes,
Stultivagosque sequor comites per flumina vasta,
Non ratione vacat certa, sensuque latenti :
Congestis etenim stultus confido libellis ;
Spem quoque, nec parvam, congesta volumina præbent.
Calleo nec verbum, nec libri sentio mentem :
Attamen in magno per me servantur honore,
Pulveris et cariem plumatis tergo flabellis.
Ast ubi doctrinæ certamen volvitur, inquam,
Ædibus in nostris librorum culta supellex
Eminet, et chartis vivo contentus opertis,
Quas video ignorans, juvat et me copia sola.

Constituit quondam dives Ptolomeus, haberet

Ut libros toto quæsitos undique mundo ;
Quos grandes rerum thesauros esse putabat :

Non tamen arcana legis documenta tenebat,

Queis sine non poterat vitæ disponere cursum.

En pariter teneo numerosa volumina, tardus :

Pauca lego, viridi contentus tegmine libri.
Cur vellem studio sensus turbare frequenti,
Aut tam sollicitis animum confundere rebus ?

Qui studet, assiduo motu fit stultus et amens.

Seu studeam, seu non, dominus tamen esse vocabor ;

Et possum studio socium disponere nostro,
Qui pro me sapiat, doctasque examinet artes :

Aut si cum doctis versor, concedere malo
Omnia, ne cogar fors verba Latina profari.

Of damas, sattin, or els of velvet pure^x :
 I keepe them sure fearing least they should be lost
 For in them is the cunning wherein I me boast.
 But if it fortune that any learned man
 Within my house fall to disputation,
 I drawe the curtaynes to shewe my bokes then,
 That they of my cunning should make probation :
 I love not to fall in alterication :
 And while the comen, my bookes I turne and winde,
 For all is in them, and nothing in my minde.
 Ptolomeus^y the riche caused, longe agone,
 Over all the worlde good bookes to be sought,
 Done was his commandement, &c.

* * * * *

Lo in likewise of bookès I have store,
 But few I reade, and fewer understande ;
 I folowe not their doctrine, nor their lore,
 It is enough to beare a booke in hande :
 It were too much to be in such a lande ;
 For to be bounde to loke within the booke
 I am content on the fayre coveryng to looke.—

Eche is not lettred that nowe is made a lorde,
 Nor eche a clerke that hath a benefice ;
 They are not all lawyers that plees do recorde,
 All that are promoted are not fully wise ;
 On suche chance now fortune throwes her dice :
 That though one knowe but the yrishe game
 Yet would he have a gentlemans name.

So in likewise, I am in such a case,
 Though I nought can^z, I would be called wise ;
 Also I may set another in my place
 Which may for me my bookès exercise ;
 Or els I will ensue the common guise,
 And say *concedo* to every argument
 Lest by much speech my Latin should be spent^a.

In one part of the poem, Prodicus's apologue, of Hercules meeting VIRTUE and PLEASURE, is introduced. In the speech of PLEASURE,

^x Students and monks were anciently the binders of books. In the first page of a manuscript Life of Concupranus, this note occurs :—"Ex CONIUNCTIONE dompni Wyllelmi Edys monasterii B. Marie S. Modwenæ virginis de Burton super Trent monachi, dum esset studens Oxoniæ, A.D. MDXVII." See MSS. Cotton. Cleopatr. ii.

And MSS. Coll. Oriel. N. vi. 3. et 7. Art. The word Coniunctio is *ligatura*. The book is much older than this entry.

^y Ptolomeus Philadelphus, for whom he quotes Josephus, lib. xii.

^z know.

^a fol. 2.

our author changes his metre ; and breaks forth into a lyrical strain, not totally void of elegance and delicacy, and in a rhythmical arrangement adopted by Gray.

All my vestùre is of golde pure,
 My gay chaplèt with stonès set,
 With couverture of fine asure,
 In silver net my haire upknet,
 Softe silke betwene, lest it might fret ;
 My purple pall oercovereth all,
 Cleare as cristàll, no thing egall.—
 With harpe in hande, alway I stande,
 Passing eche houre, in swete pleasour ;
 A wanton bande, of every lande,
 Are in my towre, me to honouër,
 Some of valouër, some bare and poore ;
 Kinges in their pride sit by my side :
 Every freshe floure, of swete odouër,
 To them I provide, that with me bide.—
 Whoe'er they be, that folowe me,
 And gladly flee to my standàrde,
 They shall be free, nor sicke, nor see
 Adversitie, and paynès harde.
 No poynt of payne shall he sustayne,
 But joy soverayne, while he is here ;
 No frost ne rayne there shall distayne
 His face by payne, ne hurt his chere.
 He shall his hede cast to no drede
 To get the mede^b and lawde of warre ;
 Nor yet have nede, for to take hede,
 How battayles spede, but stande afarre.
 Nor yet be bounde to care the sounde
 Of man or grounde, or trompet shrill ;
 Strokes that redound shall not confounde,
 Nor his minde wounde, but if he will, &c.^c

All ancient satirical writings, even those of an inferior cast, have their merit, and deserve attention, as they transmit pictures of familiar manners, and preserve popular customs. In this light, at least, Barclay's *SHIP OF FOOLS*, which is a general satire on the times, will be found entertaining. Nor must it be denied, that his language is more cultivated than that of many of his cotemporaries, and that he contributed his share to the improvement of the English phraseology. His author, Sebastian Brandt, appears to have been a man of universal eru-

^b *mced* ; reward.

^c fol. 241 b.

dition; and his work, for the most part, is a tissue of citations from the ancient poets and historians.

Barklay's other pieces are the *MIRROR OF GOOD MANNERS*, and five *EGLOGES*^d.

The *MIRROR* is a translation from a Latin elegiac poem, written in the year 1516, by Dominic Mancini, *DE QUATUOR VIRTUTIBUS*. It is in the ballad stanza^e. Our translator, as appears by the address prefixed, had been requested by sir Giles Alyngton to abridge, or modernise, Gower's *CONFESSIO AMANTIS*; but the poet declined this undertaking as unsuitable to his age, infirmities, and profession; and

^d He also wrote, *The figure of our mother holy church oppressed by the French king*, printed for Pinson, 4to.—*Answer to John Skelton the poet.—The Lives of St. Catharine, St. Margaret, and St. Etheldred.—The Life of St. George*, from Mantuan: dedicated to N. West bishop of Ely, and written while our author was a monk of Ely.—*De Pronuntiatione Gallica*. John Palsgrave, a polite scholar, and an eminent preceptor of the French language about the reign of Henry the Eighth, and one of the first who published in English a grammar or system of rules for teaching that language, says in his *L'Eclaircissement de la language François*, addressed to Henry the Eighth, and printed (fol. Lond.) in 1530, that our author Barklay wrote a tract on this subject at the command of Thomas duke of Norfolk.—*The famous Cronycle of the Warre which the Romans had agaynst Jugurth usurper of the kingdom of Numidy: which cronycle is compyled in Latyn by the renowned Romayn Sallust. And translated into Englishe by SYR ALEXANDER BARCLAY, preest, at the commaundmente of the hye and mighty prince Thomas duke of Norfolk*. In two editions, by Pinson, of this work, both in folio, and in the public library at Cambridge, the Latin and English are printed together. The Latin is dedicated to Vesey bishop of Exeter, and dated "ex Cellula Hatfeld regia [i. e. King's Hatfield, Hertfordshire] iii. id. Novemb." A new edition, without the Latin and the two dedications, was printed by J. Waley, 1557, 4to.—*Orationes variae.—De fide Orthodoxa*.—To these I add, what does not deserve mention in the text, a poem translated from the French, called *THE CASTEL OF LABOURE, wherein is riches, vertue, and honor*. It is of some length, and an allegory; in which Lady Reason conquers Despair, Poverty, and other evils, which attend a poor man lately married. The Prologue begins, "Ye mortal people that desire to obtayne." The poem begins, "In musyng

an evenyng with me was none." Printed for Wynkyn de Worde, 1506. 4to. and again by Pinson, without date. 4to. In seven-lined stanzas. By mistake I have mentioned this piece as anonymous, supra, p. 388. [Bishop Alcock's *Castel of Laboure* was translated into English from a French poem by Octavien de St. Gelais, a bishop, and an eminent translator of the classics into French at the restoration of learning, viz. "Le Chateau de Labour en rime françoise, auquel est contenu l'adresse de riches et chemin de pauvreté, par Octavien de S. Gélais, &c. Paris, Gallyot du Pré, 1536. 16mo." Our highest efforts of poetry at this period were translations from the French. This piece of St. Gelais was also translated into English rhymes by one *Done*, or *dominus*, *James*: the same perhaps who made the following version, "Here begynneth the Orcharde of Syon: in the which is contayned the revelation of saynt Catherine of Sene, with ghostly fruytes and preysous plantes for the helthe of mannës soule. Translated by Dane James. Prynted at the cost of master Richard Sutton esquyre, Stewarde of the monasterie of Syon, 1519." For Wynkyn de Worde, in folio, with fine Gothic cuts in wood. This *Master* Richard Sutton, steward of the opulent monastery of Sion near London, was one of the founders of Brasenose college in Oxford.—*ADDITIONS.*]

^e Printed as above, 1570. fol. And by Pinson, at the command of Richard earl of Kent. Without date, 4to. The Latin elegiacs are printed in the margin, which have been frequently printed. At Basil, 1543. At Antwerp, 1559. With the epigram of Peter Carmelian annexed. And often before. Lastly, at the end of *MARTINI Braccarenensis Formula honestæ Vitæ*, Helmstad. 1691. 8vo. They are dedicated "Frederico Severinati episcopo Mallescenti." They first appeared at Leipsic, 1516. See Trithemius, concerning another of his poems, Mancini's, *De passione Domini*, cap. 995.

chose rather to oblige his patron with a grave system of ethica. It is certain that he made a prudent choice. The performance shows how little qualified he was to correct Gower.

Our author's EGLOGES, I believe, are the first that appeared in the English language^f. They are, like Petrarch's and Mantuan's^g, of the moral and satirical kind; and contain but few touches of rural description and bucolic imagery. They seem to have been written about the year 1514^h. The three first are paraphrased, with very large additions, from the MISERIE CURIALIUM of Eneas Sylviusⁱ, and treat of the *Miseries of Courtiers and Courtes of all Princes in general*. The fourth, in which is introduced a long poem in stanzas, called the *Tower of Vertue and Honour*^j, of the behaviour of *riche men agaynst poetes*. The fifth, of the *disputation of citizens and men of the country*. These pastorals, if they deserve the name, contain many allusions to the times. The poet is prolix in his praises of Alcock bishop of Ely, and founder of Jesus college in Cambridge^k.

Yes since his dayes a cocke was in the fen^l,
I knowe his voyce among a thousand men :
He laught, he preached, he mended every wrong ;
But, Coridon, alas no good thing bideth long !
He All was a Cock^m, he wakened us from slepe,
And while we slumbered, he did our foldes kepe.

^f Printed as above, 1570, fol. First, I believe, by Humphry Powell. 4to. Without date. Perhaps about 1550. [Powell's early and rare edition contained the first three eclogues only, and had the following title: "Here begynneth the Egloges of Alexander Barclay, priest, whereof the first three conteineth the miseries of courtiers and courtes, of all princes in generall. The mattier whereof was translated into Englysshe by the said Alexander in forme of dialoges, out of a booke named in Latin, *Miserie Curialium*, compiled by Eneas Silvius, poete and oratour, which after was pope of Rome, and named Pius. In the whiche the interloquutors be Cornix and Coridon."—PARK.]

^g Whom he mentions, speaking of Egloges. Eglog. 1. Pro.

And in like maner, nowe lately in our dayes,
Hath other poetes attempted the same wayes,
As the most famous Baptist Mantuan
The best of that sort since poets first began,
And Frauncis Petrarke also in Italy, &c.

^h Because he praises "noble Henry which now departed late." Afterwards he falls into a long panegyric on his suc-

cessour Henry the Eighth. Eglog. i. As he does in the Ship of Fooles, fol. 205 a. where he says,

This noble prince beginneth vertuously
By justice and pitie his realme to mayntayne.

He then wishes he may retake Jerusalem from the Turks; and compares him to Hercules, Achilles, &c.

ⁱ That is, pope Pius the Second, who died in 1464. This piece is among his Epistles, some of which are called Tracts. Epist. clvi.

^j It is properly an elegy on the death of the duke of Norfolk, lord high admiral.

^k This very learned and munificent prelate deservedly possessed some of the highest dignities in church and state. He was appointed bishop of Ely in 1486. He died at Wisbech, 1501. See Whart. Angl. Sacr. i. 675. 801. 381. Rosse says, that he was tutor to prince Edward, afterwards Edward the Fifth, but removed by the king's uncle Richard. Rosse, I think, is the only historian who records this anecdote. Hist. Reg. Angl. p. 212. edit. Hearn.

^l The isle of Ely.

^m Alcock.

No cur, no foxes, nor butchers dogges wood,
 Could hurt our fouldes, his watching was so good.
 The hungry wolves, which that time did abounde,
 What time he crowed^a, abashed at the sounde.
 This cocke was no more abashed of the foxe,
 Than is a lion abashed of an oxe.
 When he went, faded the floure of al the fen;
 I boldly sweare this cocke trode never hen!

Alcock, while living, erected a beautiful sepulchral chapel in his cathedral, still remaining, but miserably defaced*. To which the shepherd alludes in the lines that follow:

This was the father of thinges pastorall,
 And that well sheweth his cathedrall.
 There was I lately, aboute the midst of May:
 Coridon, his church is twenty sith more gay
 Then all the churches between the same and Kent;
 There sawe I his tombe and chapel excellent.—
 Our parishe church is but a dongeon
 To that gay churche in comparison.—
 When I sawe his figure lye in the chapel side, &c.^o

In another place he thus represents the general lamentation for the death of this worthy prelate: and he rises above himself in describing the sympathy of the towers, arches, vaults, and images, of Ely monastery.

The pratie palace by him made in the fen^p,
 The maidens, widowes, the wives, and the men,

^a Among Wren's manuscript Collections, (Registr. parv. Consistorii Eliensis, called the Black Book,) the following curious memorial, concerning a long sermon preached by Alcock at saint Mary's in Cambridge, occurs. "I. Alcock, divina gratia episcopus Eliensis, prima die dominica, 1488, bonum et blandum sermonem prædicavit in ecclesia B. Mariæ Cantabrig. qui incepit in hora prima post meridiem et duravit in horam tertiam et ultra." He sometimes, and even in the episcopal character, condescended to sport with his own name. He published an address to the clergy assembled at Barnwell, under the title of *GALLI CANTUS ad confratres suos curatos in synodo apud Barnwell*, 25 Sept. 1498. To which is annexed his Constitution for celebrating certain feasts in his diocese. Printed for Pinson, 1498. 4to. In the beginning is the figure of the bishop preaching to his clergy, with two cocks on each side; and there is a cock in the first page. By the way, Alcock wrote many other pieces. The Hill of Perfection, from the Latin.

For Pinson, 1497. 4to. For Wynkyn de Worde, 1497. 4to. Again, for the same, 1501. 4to. The Abby of the Holy Ghost *that shall be founded and grounded in a clear conscience, in which abbey shall dwell twenty and nine ladies ghostly*. For the same, 1531. 4to. Again, for the same, without date, but before 1500. 4to. At the end, "Thus endeth without bost, The Abby of the holi gost." [See MSS. Harl. 5272. 3.—1704. 9. fol. 32 b. And MSS. C.C.C. Oxon. 155. and MSS. More, 191.] Spousage of a Virgin to Christ, 1486. 4to. *Homelie vulgarea. Meditationes piæ*. A fragment of a comment upon the Seven Penitential Psalms, in English verse, is supposed to be by bishop Alcock, MSS. Harl. 1704. 4. fol. 13.

* [The chapel is defaced, but not miserably. The allusion is to the chapel, not to its defacing, which had not then taken place.—*ASHBY.*]

^o Eglog. i. Signat. A. iii.

^p He rebuilt, or greatly improved, the episcopal palace at Ely.

With deadly dolour were pearced to the hearte,
 When death constrayned this shepherd to départe.
 Corne, grasse, and fieldes, mourned for wo and payne,
 For oft his prayer for them obtayned rayne.
 The pleasaunt floures for him faded eche one.—
 The okès, elmès: every sorte of dere^a
 Shrunk under shadowes, abating all their chere.
 The mightie walles of Ely monastery,
 The stonès, rockes, and towrès semblably,
 The marble pillours, and images eche one,
 Swete all for sorrowe, when this cocke was gone, &c.^r

It should be remembered, that these pastorals were probably written while our poet was a monk of Ely; and although Alcock was then dead, yet the memory of his munificence and piety was recent in the monastery^s.

Speaking of the dignity and antiquity of shepherds, and particularly of Christ at his birth being first seen by shepherds, he seems to describe some large and splendid picture of the Nativity painted on the walls of Ely cathedral.

I sawe them myselfe well paynted on the wall,
 Late gasing upon our churche cathedrall:
 I saw great wethers, in picture, and small lambes,
 Daunsing, some sleping, some sucking of their dams;
 And some on the grounde, mesemed, lying still:
 Then sawe I horsemen appendant of an hill;
 And the three kings, with all their company,
 Their crownes glistering bright and oriently,
 With their presents and giftès mysticall:
 All this behelde I in picture on the wall.^t

^a beasts, quadrupeds of all kinds. So in the romance of *Syr Bevis*, Signat. F. iii.

Rattes and myse and such smal *dere*
 Was his meate that seven yere.

Whence Shakspeare took, as Dr. Percy has observed, the well-known distich of the madman in *King Lear*, act iii. sc. 4.

Mice and rats and such small *deere*
 Have been Tom's food for seven long yeere.

It cannot now be doubted, that Shakspeare in this passage wrote *deer*, instead of *geer* or *cheer*, which have been conjecturally substituted by his commentators.

^r Egl. iii.

^s He also compliments Alcock's predecessor Moreton, afterwards archbishop

of Canterbury: not without an allusion to his troubles, and restoration to favour, under Richard the Third and Henry the Seventh. Egl. iii.

And shepheard MORETON, when he durst
 not appeare,
 Howe his olde servauntes were carefull
 of his chere;

In payne and pleasour they kept fidelitie,
 Till grace agayne gave him authoritie, &c.

And again, Egl. iiiii.

Micene [Mecenas] and MORETON be
 deade and gone certaine."

The *Deane of Powles*, I suppose dean Colet, is celebrated as a preacher, *ibid.* As is, "The olde friar that wonned in Greenwich." Egl. v.

^t Egl. v.

Virgil's poems are thus characterised, in some of the best-turned lines we find in these pastorals :

He sunge of fieldes, and tilling of the groundes,
Of shepe and oxen, and battayle did he sounde ;
So shrille he sounded in termes eloquent
I trowe his tunes went to the firmament.^u

He gives us the following idea of the sports, spectacles, and pleasures of his age.

Some men deliteth beholding men to fight,
Or goodly knightes in pleasaunt apparayle,
Or sturdie souldiers in bright harnes and male^x.—
Some glad is to see these ladies beauteous,
Goodly appoynted in clothing sumptuous :
A number of people appoynted in like wise^y
In costly clothing, after the newest gise ;
Sportes, disguising^z, fayre coursers mount and prounce,
Or goodly ladies and knightes sing and daunce :
To see fayre houses, and curious picture,
Or pleasaunt hanging^a, or sumptuous vesture,
Of silke, of purpure, or golde moste orient,
And other clothing divers and excellent :
Hye curious buildinges, or palaces royall,
Or chapels, temples fayre and substanciall,
Images graven, or vaultes curious^b;
Gardeynes, and meadowes, or places^c delicious,
Forests and parkes well furnished with dere,
Cold pleasaunt streames, or wellès fayre and clere,
Curious cundytes, &c.^d

^u Egl. iv.

^x armour and coats of mail.

^y apparelled in uniform.

^z masques, &c.

^a tapestry.

^b roofs, curiously vaulted.

^c houses, seats.

^d Egl. ii. I shall here throw together in the Notes, some traits in these Eclogues of the common customs and manners of the times. A shepherd, after mentioning his skill in shooting birds with a bow, says, Egl. i.

No shephearde throweth the *azletree* so farre.

A gallant is thus described, Egl. ii.

For women use to love them most of all,
Which boldly boasteth, or that can sing and jet ;

Whiche hath the maistry oftimes in tournament,
Or that can gambauld, or dance feat and gent.

The following sorts of wine are recited, Egl. ii.

As muscadell, caprike, romney, and malmesey,
From Genoe brought, from Greece, or Hungary.

As are the dainties of the table, *ibid.* A shepherd at court must not think to eat

— Swanne, nor heron,
Curlewe, nor crane. —

Again, *ibid.*

What fishe is of savour swete and delicious, —

We have before seen, that our author and Skelton were rivals. He alludes to Skelton, who had been laureated at Oxford, in the following lines.

Then is he decked as *poete laureate*,
When stinking Thais made him her *graduate*:—
If they have smelled the *artes trivial*,
They count them poets *hye and heroically*.*

The TOWRE OF VERTUE AND HONOUR, introduced as a song of one of the shepherds into these pastorals, exhibits no very masterly strokes of a sublime and inventive fancy. It has much of the trite imagery

Rosted or sodden in swete herbes or wine;
Or fried in oyle, most saporous and fine.—
—— The pasties of a hart.—
The crane, the fesaunt, the pecocke, and
curlewe,
The partriche, plover, bittorn, and heron-
sewe:—
Seasoned so well in licour redolent,
That the hall is full of pleasant smell and
sent.

At a feast at court, *ibid*.

Slowe be the sewers in serving in alway,
But swift be they after, taking the meate
away:
A speciall custom is used them amonge,
No good dishe to suffer on borde to be
long:
If the dishe be pleasaunt, eyther fleshe or
fishe,
Ten handes at once swarme in the dishe:
And if it be fleshe ten knives shall thou
see
Mangling the fleshe, and in the platter
flee:
To put there thy handes is perill without
fayle,
Without a gauntlet or els a glove of mayle.

The two last lines remind us of a saying of Quin, who declared it was not safe to sit down to a turtle-feast in one of the city-halls, without a basket-hilted knife and fork. Not that I suppose Quin borrowed his *bons mots* from black-letter books.

The following lines point out some of the festive tales of our ancestors. Egl. iv.

Yet would I gladly heare some mery FIT
Of Mayde Marian, or els of Robin Hood;
Or Bentley's Ale which chafeth well the
blood,
Of Perte of Norwich, or sauce of Wilber-
ton,
Or buckish Toby well-stuffed as a ton.

He mentions *Bentley's Ale*, which *maketh me to winke*, Egl. ii.

Some of our ancient domestic pastimes and amusements are recorded, Egl. iv.

Then is it pleasure the yonge maydens
amonge
To watche by the fire the winter-nightes
long:—

And in the ashes some playes for to marke,
To cover wardens [pears] for faulte of
other warke:

To toste white shevers, and to make pro-
phitroles;
And, after talking, oftimes to fill the bowles,
&c.

He mentions some musical instruments, Egl. ii.

— — — Methinkes no mirth is scant,
Where no rejoycing of minstrelsie doth
want:

The bagpipe or fiddle to us is delectable,
&c.

And the mercantile commodities of different countries and cities, Egl. iv.

England hath cloth, Bordeus hath store of
wine,
Cornwalle hath tinne, and Lymster woolles
fine.

London hath scarlet, and Bristowe plea-
saunt red, &c.

Of songs at feasts, Egl. iv.

When your fat dishes smoke hot upon
your table,

Then laude ye songes and balades mag-
niffe,

If they be merry, or written craftely,
Ye clappe your handes and to the ma-
kinge harke,

And one say to another, Lo here a proper
warke.

He says that minstrels and singers are highly favoured at court, especially those of the *French gise*, Egl. ii. Also *jugglers* and *pipers*, Egl. iv.

* Egl. iv.

usually applied in the fabrication of these ideal edifices. It, however, shows our author in a new walk of poetry. This magnificent tower, or castle, is built on inaccessible cliffs of flint: the walls are of gold, bright as the sun, and decorated with *olde historyes and pictures manyfolde*: the turrets are beautifully shaped. Among its heroic inhabitants are king Henry the Eighth, Howard duke of Norfolk, and the earl of Shrewsbury. LABOUR is the porter at the gate, and VIRTUE governs the house. LABOUR is thus pictured, with some degree of spirit.

Fearfull is LABOUR, without favour at all,
 Dreadfull of visage, a monster intractable;
 Like Cerberus lying at gates infernall;
 To some men his looke is halfe intollerable,
 His shoulders large for burden strong and able,
 His bodie bristled, his necke mightie and stiffe;
 By sturdie sinewes his joynts strong and stable,
 Like marble stones his handes be as stiffe.
 Here must man vanquish the dragon of Cadmus,
 Gainst the Chimere here stoutly must he fight;
 Here must he vanquish the fearfull Pegasus,
 For the golden fleece here must he shewe his might:
 If LABOUR gainsay, he can nothing be right:
 This monster LABOUR oft changeth his figure,
 Sometime an oxe, a bore, or lion wight,
 Playnely he seemeth thus changeth his nature.
 Like as Protheus ofte changeth his stature.

* * * * *

Under his browes he dreadfully doth lowre
 With glistering eyes, and side-dependant beard,
 For thirst and hunger alway his chere is soure,
 His horned forehead doth make faynt hearts afeard.
 Alway he drinketh, and yet alway is drye,
 The sweat distilling with droppes abundant, &c.

The poet adds, that when the noble Howard had long boldly contended with this hideous monster, had broken the bars and doors of the castle, had bound the porter, and was now preparing to ascend the tower of Virtue and Honour, FORTUNE and DEATH appeared, and interrupted his progress^f.

The first modern Latin Bucolics are those of Petrarch, in number twelve, written about the year 1350^g. The Eclogues of Mantuan, our author's model, appeared about the year 1400, and were followed by many others. Their number multiplied so soon, that a collection of thirty-eight modern bucolic poets in Latin was printed at Basil, in the

^f Egl. iv.

^g Bucolicorum Eclogæ xii.

year 1546^b. These writers judged this indirect and disguised mode of dialogue, consisting of simple characters which spoke freely and plainly, the most safe and convenient vehicle for abusing the corruptions of the church. Mantuan became so popular, as to acquire the estimation of a classic, and to be taught in schools. Nothing better proves the reputation in which this writer was held, than a speech of Shakspeare's pedant, the pedagogue Holofernes: "*Fauste, precor, gelida quando pecus omne sub ulmo*¹, and so forth. Ah, good old MANTUAN! I may speak of thee, as the traveller doth of Venice, *Vinegia, Vinegia, chi non te vedi, ei non te pregia*. Old MANTUAN! Old MANTUAN! Who understandeth thee not, loveth thee not^k." But although Barklay copies Mantuan, the recent and separate publication in England of Virgil's bucolics, by Wynkyn de Worde^l, might partly suggest the new idea of this kind of poetry.

With what avidity the Italian and French poets, in their respective languages, entered into this species of composition, when the rage of Latin versification had subsided, and for the purposes above mentioned, is an inquiry reserved for a future period. I shall only add here, that before the close of the fifteenth century, Virgil's bucolics were translated into Italian^m, by Bernardo Pulci, Fossa de Cremona, Benivieni, and Fiorini Buoninsegni.

^b Viz. xxxviii. *Authores Bucolici*, Basil. 1546. 8vo.

¹ One of Mantuan's lines. Farnaby in his Preface to Martial says, that *Fauste precor gelida*, was too often preferred to *Arma virumque cano*. I think there is an old black letter translation of Mantuan into English. Another translation appeared by one Thomas Harvey, 1656. Mantuan was three times printed in England before the year 1600. viz. B. Mantuani *Carminum theologi Adolescentia seu Bucolica*. With the commentary of Jodocus Badius. Excud. G. Dewes and H. Marshe, 1584. 12mo. Again, for the same, the same year, 12mo. Again, for Robert Dexter, 1598. 12mo. With Arguments to the Eclogues, and Notes by John Murmelius, &c.

[The old black letter translation of Mantuan mentioned above, was by Turberville, and appeared in 1567; a copy is in the King's library. See Cens. Literaria.—PARK.]

^k See Shaks. *Love's Labour Lost*, act iv. sc. 3.

^l *Bucolica Virgilii cum commento familiarum*. At the end, *Ad juvenes hujus Maroniani operis commendatio. Die vero viii Aprilis*. 4to. And they were reprinted by the same, 1514 and 1516.

^m Viz. *La Bucolica di Virgilio per Fratrem Evangelistam Fossa de Cremona ord. servorum*. In Venezia, 1494. 4to. But thirteen years earlier we find, Bernardo Pulci nella *Bucolica di Virgilio*: di Jeronimo Benivieni, Jacopo Fiorino Buoninsegni de Sienna: *Epistole di Luca Pulci*. In Firenze, per Bartolomeo Miscomini, 1484. A dedication is prefixed, by which it appears, that Buoninsegni wrote a *Piscatory Eclogue*, the first ever written in Italy, in the year 1468. There was a second edition of Pulci's version, *La Bucolica di Virgilio tradotta per Bernardo Pulci con l'Elegie*. In Fiorenza, 1494.

SECTION XXX.

Digression to the Scotch poets. William Dunbar. His Thistle and Rose, and Golden Terge. Specimens. Dunbar's comic pieces. Estimate of his genius. Moralities fashionable among the Scotch in the fifteenth century.

It is not the plan of this work to comprehend the Scotch poetry. But when I consider the close and national connection between England and Scotland in the progress of manners and literature, I am sensible I should be guilty of a partial and defective representation of the poetry of the former, were I to omit in my series a few Scotch writers, who have adorned the present period, with a degree of sentiment and spirit, a command of phraseology, and a fertility of imagination, not to be found in any English poet since Chaucer and Lydgate: more especially as they have left striking specimens of allegorical invention, a species of composition which appears to have been for some time almost totally extinguished in England.

The first I shall mention is William Dunbar, a native of Salton in East Lothian, about the year 1470. His most celebrated poems are THE THISTLE AND THE ROSE, and THE GOLDEN TERGE.

THE THISTLE AND THE ROSE was occasioned by the marriage of James the Fourth, king of Scotland, with Margaret Tudor, eldest daughter of Henry the Seventh, king of England; an event, in which the whole future political state of both nations was vitally interested, and which ultimately produced the union of the two crowns and kingdoms. It was finished on the ninth day of May in the year 1503, nearly three months before the arrival of the queen in Scotland; whose progress from Richmond to Edinburgh was attended with a greater magnificence of parade, processions, and spectacles, than I ever remember to have seen on any similar occasion*. It may be pertinent to premise, that

* See a memoir, cited above, in Leland's Coll. tom. iii. Append. edit. 1770. p. 265. It is worthy of particular notice, that during this expedition there was in the magnificent suite of the princess a company of players, under the direction of one John Inghish, who is sometimes called Johannes. "Amonge the saide lordes and the queene was in order, Johannes and his compagne, the minstrells of musicke," &c. p. 267. See also p. 299. 300. 280. 289. In the midst of a most splendid procession, the princess rode on horseback behind the king into the city of Edinburgh, p. 287. Afterwards the ceremonies of this stately marriage are described; which yet is not equal,

in magnificence and expense, to that of Richard the Second with Isabell of France, at Calais, in the year 1397. This last-mentioned marriage is recorded with the most minute circumstances, the dresses of the king and the new queen, the names of the French and English nobility who attended, the presents, one of which is a collar of gold studded with jewels, and worth three thousand pounds, given on both sides, the banquets, entertainments, and a variety of other curious particulars, in five large vellum pages, in an ancient Register of Merton priory in Surrey, in old French. MSS. Laud, E. 54. fol. 105 b. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Froissart, who is most

Margaret was a singular patroness of the Scotch poetry, now beginning to flourish. Her bounty is thus celebrated by Stewart of Lorne, in a Scotch poem, called *LERGES OF THIS NEW YEIR DAY*, written in the year 1527.

Grit God relief^b MARGARET our quene!
 For and scho war as scho hes bene^c
 Scho wald be lenger of lufray^d
 Than all the laif that I of mene^e,
 For lerges^f of this new-yeir day.^g

Dunbar's *THISTLE AND ROSE* is opened with the following stanzas, which are remarkable for their descriptive and picturesque beauties.

Quhen^h Merche wes with variand windis past,
 And Appryll had with hir silver shouris
 Tane leifⁱ at Nature, with ane orient blast,
 And lusty May, that muddir^k is of flouris,
 Had maid the birdis to begyn thair houris^l,
 Amang the tendir odouris reid and quhyt,
 Quhois harmony to heir it wes delyt :

In bed at morrow sleiping as I lay,
 Methocht Aurora, with her cristall ene
 In at the window lukit^m by the day,
 And halsitⁿ me with visage pale and grene ;
 On quhois hand a lark sang, fro the splene^o,

commonly prolix in describing pompous ceremonies, might have greatly enriched his account of the same royal wedding, from this valuable and authentic record. See his *Chron.* tom. iv. p. 226. ch. 78 B. penult. Paris, 1574. fol. Or lord Berners's Translation, vol. ii. f. 275. cap. ccxvi. edit. Pinson, 1523. fol.

[The presents at this marriage ascertain a doubtful reading in Chaucer, viz. "UN NOUCHE pr. ccc. livr.—It. un riche NOUCHE.—UN NOUCHE priz decynk cents marcs."—In the Clerke's Tale, Grisilde has a crown "full of ouchis grete and smale." The late editor acquaints us, that the best manuscripts read *nouchis*.—ADDITIONS.]

^b great God help, &c.

^c If she continues to do as she has done.

^d bounty. Fr. *l'Offre*.

^e any other I could speak of.

^f largess, bounty.

^g St. x.

^h when. *Qu* has the force of *wo*.

ⁱ taken leave.

^k mother.

^l Matin orisons. From *Horæ* in the missal. So again in the Golden Terge,

St. ii. where he also calls the birds the *chapel-clarkes* of Venus, St. iii. In the *Courte of Love*, Chaucer introduces the birds singing a mass in honour of May. Edit. Urr. p. 570. v. 1353. seq.

On May-day, when the larke began to ryse,

To Mattins went the lustie nightingale.

He begins the service with *Domine labia*. The eagle sings the *Venite*. The popin-jay *Cæli enarrant*. The peacock *Domineus regnavit*. The owl *Benedicite*. The *Te Deum* is converted into *Te Deum AMORIS*, and sung by the thrush, &c. &c. Skelton, in the Boke of Philip Sparrow, ridicules the missal, in supposing various parts of it to be sung by birds. p. 226. edit. Lond. 1739, 12mo. Much the same sort of fiction occurs in Sir David Lyndesay's *Complaynt of the Papyngo*, edit. ut infr. Signat. B. iii.

Suppose the geis and hennis suld cry
 alarum,
 And we sall serve *secundum usum Sa-*
rum, &c.

^m looked.

ⁿ hailed.

^o with good will.

"Awak, luvaris^p, out of your slemering^q,
Se how the lusty morrow dois upspring!"

Methocht fresche May befoir my bed upstude,
In weid^r depaynt of mony diverse hew,
Sober, benyng, and full of mansuetude,
In bright attair of flouris forgit new^s,
Hevinly of color, quhyt, reid, brown, and blew,
Balmit in dew, and gilt with Phebus' bemys;
Quhil al the house illumynit of her lemys.^t

MAY then rebukes the poet, for not rising early, according to his annual custom, to celebrate the approach of the spring; especially as the lark has now announced the dawn of day, and his heart in former years had always

— — — glaid and blissful bene
Sangis^u to mak undir the levis grene.^x

The poet replies, that the spring of the present year was unpromising and ungenial; unattended with the usual song of birds, and serenity of sky; and that storms and showers, and the loud blasts of the horn of *lord* Eolus, had usurped her mild dominion, and hitherto prevented him from wandering at leisure under the vernal branches. MAY rejects his excuse, and with a smile of majesty commands him to arise, and to perform his annual homage to the flowers, the birds, and the sun. They both enter a delicious garden, filled with the richest colours and odours. The sun suddenly appears in all his glory, and is thus described in the luminous language of Lydgate.

The purpoure sone, with tendir bemys reid,
In orient bricht as angell did appeir,
Throw goldin skyis putting up his heid,
Quhois gilt tressis schone so wondir cleir,
That all the world tuke comfort fer and neir.^y

Immediately the birds, like the morning-stars, singing together, hail the unusual appearance of the sunshine.

^p lovers.

^q slumbering.

^r attire.

^s From Chaucer, Miller's Tale, v. 147.
p. 25. Urr.

Full brightir was the shining of hir hewe
Than in the Towre the noble *forged*
newe.

^t brightness.

^u songs.

^x St. iv. See Chaucer's Knight's Tale,
v. 1042. p. 9. Urr.

She was arisin, and all redie dight,
For May will have no sluggardy an-
night:

The season prikkith every gentill herte;
And makith it out of his slepe to sterte,
And sayth, Aryse, and do May obser-
vaunce, &c.

^y St. viii.

And, as the blissful sone of cherarchy^a,
 The foulis sung throu comfort of the lycht;
 The burdis did with oppin voices cry,
 To luvaris so, "Away thow duly nicht,
 And welcum day that comfortis every wicht.
 Hail May, hail Flora, hail Aurora schene,
 Hail princes Nature, hail Venus, luvis quene."^a

NATURE is then introduced, issuing her interdict, that the progress of the spring should be no longer interrupted, and that Neptune and Eolus should cease from disturbing the waters and air.

Dame Nature gaif an inhibitioun thair,
 To fers Neptune, and Eolus the bauld^b,
 Nocht to perturb the wattir nor the air;
 And that no schouris^c and no blastis cawld
 Effray suld^d flouris, nor fowlis on the fauld;
 Scho bad eik Juno goddes of the sky
 That scho the hevin suld keip amene and dry.^e

This preparation and suspense are judicious and ingenious; as they give dignity to the subject of the poem, awaken our curiosity, and introduce many poetical circumstances. NATURE immediately commands every bird, beast, and flower, to appear in her presence; and, as they had been used to do every May-morning, to acknowledge her universal sovereignty. She sends the roe to bring the beasts, the swallow to collect the birds, and the yarrow^f to summon the flowers. They are assembled before her in an instant. The lion advances first, whose figure is drawn with great force and expression.

This awfull beist full terrible of cheir,
 Persing of luke, and stout of countenance,
 Ryght strong of corpes, of fassoun fair, but feir^g,
 Lusty of shaip, lycht of deliverance,
 Reid of his cullour as the ruby glance,
 In field of gold he stude full mychtely
 With floure de lucis circulit^h lustely.ⁱ

This is an elegant and ingenious mode of blazoning the Scottish arms,

^a The hierarchy. See Job, ch. xxxviii.
 v. 7. The morning-stars singing together.

^b St. ix.

^c bold.

^d read *Scho-u-ris*.

^e should hurt, [affright.]

^f St. x.

^g The yarrow is *Achillea*, or *Millefolium*, commonly called *Sneewort*. There is no reason for selecting this plant to go

on a message to the flowers; but that its name has been supposed to be derived from *Arrow*, being held a remedy for healing wounds inflicted by that weapon. The poet, to apologise for his boldness in personifying a plant, has added, "full craftely conjurit scho." St. xii.

^h fierce.

ⁱ encircled.

^j St. xiv.

which are a lion with a border, or tressure, adorned with flower de luces. We should remember, that heraldry was now a science of high importance and esteem. NATURE lifting up his *clavis cleir*, or shining claws, and suffering him to rest on her knee, crowns him with a radiant diadem of precious stones, and creates him the king of beasts: at the same time she enjoins him to exercise justice with mercy, and not to suffer his subjects of the smallest size or degree, to be oppressed by those of superior strength and dignity. This part of NATURE's charge to the lion is closed with the following beautiful stroke, which indicates the moral tenderness of the poet's heart:—

And lat no bowgle with his busteous^k hornis
The meik pluch-ox^l oppress for all hys pryd,
Bot in the yok go peciable him besyd.^m

She next crowns the eagle king of fowls; and sharpening his talons like darts of steel, orders him to govern great and small, the wren or the peacock, with an uniform and equal impartiality. I need not point out to my reader the political lessons couched under these commands. NATURE now calls the flowers; and observing the thistle to be surrounded with a bush of spears, and therefore qualified for war, gives him a crown of rubies, and says, "In field go forth and fend the laifⁿ." The poet continues elegantly to picture other parts of the royal arms; in ordering the thistle, who is now king of vegetables, to prefer all herbs, or flowers, of rare virtue, and rich odour; nor ever to permit the nettle to associate with the flour de lys, nor any ignoble weed to be ranked in competition with the lily. In the next stanza, where NATURE directs the thistle to honour the rose above all other flowers, exclusive of the heraldic meaning, our author with much address insinuates to king James the Fourth an exhortation to conjugal fidelity, drawn from the high birth, beauty, and amiable accomplishments of the royal bride, the princess Margaret^o.

Nor hald no udir flour in sic denty^p
As the fresche Rose, of cullor reid and quhyt;
For gif thou dois^q, hurt is thyne honesty,
Considdering that no flour is so perfyte,
So full of vertew, plesans, and delyt,

^k boisterous, strong.

^l plough-ox.

^m St. xvi.

ⁿ defend the rest.

^o Among the pageants exhibited at Edinburgh in honour of the nuptials, she was complimented with the following curious mixture of classical and scriptural history. "Ny to that cross was a scar-fawst [scaffold] made, where was represented Paris and the three Deesses, with Mercure that gaff hym the apyll of gold for to gyffe to the most fayre of the Thre,

which he gave to Venus. In the scar-fawst was also represented the Salutation of Gabriell to the Virgyne in saying *Ave gratia*, and sens after [next,] the solemnizacion of the very maryage betwix the said Vierge [Virgin] and Joseph." Leind, Coll. iii. Append. p. 289. ut supr. Not to mention the great impropriety, which they did not perceive, of applying such a part of scripture.

^p dainty, price.

^q if thou doest.

So ful of blissfull angelik bewty,
Imperial birth, honour, and dignite^r.

NATURE then addresses the rose, whom she calls, "O lusty daughter most benyng," and whose lineage she exalts above that of the lily. This was a preference of Tudor to Valois. She crowns the rose with *clarified* gems, the lustre of which illumines all the land. The rose is hailed queen by the flowers. Last, her praises are sung by the universal chorus of birds, the sound of which awakens the poet from his delightful dream. The fairy scene is vanished, and he calls to the muse to perpetuate in verse the wonders of the splendid vision.

Although much fine invention and sublime fabling are displayed in the allegorical visions of our old poets, yet this mode of composition, by dealing only in imaginary personages, and by excluding real characters and human actions, necessarily fails in that chief source of entertainment which we seek in ancient poetry, the representation of ancient manners,

Another general observation, immediately resulting from the subject of this poem, may be here added, which illustrates the present and future state of the Scotch poetry. The marriage of a princess of England with a king of Scotland, from the new communication and intercourse opened between the two courts and kingdoms by such a connection, must have greatly contributed to polish the rude manners, and to improve the language, literature, and arts, of Scotland.

The design of Dunbar's GOLDEN TERGE, is to show the gradual and imperceptible influence of love, when too far indulged, over reason. The discerning reader will observe, that the cast of this poem is tinged with the morality and imagery of the ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE, and the FLOURE AND LEAFE, of Chaucer.

The poet walks forth at the dawn of a bright day. The effects of the rising sun on a vernal landscape, with its accompaniments, are thus delineated in the manner of Lydgate, yet with more strength, distinctness, and exuberance of ornament.

Richt as the sterne of day begouth to schyne,
Quhen gone to bed was Vesper and Lucyne,
I raise, and by ane rosere^a did me rest :
Upsprang the goldyn candill matutine,
With cleir depurit^t bemys chrystallyne,
Glading the mery fowlis in thair nest :
Or Phebus wes in purpoure kaipⁿ revest,
Upraise the lark, the hevenis menstral syne^w,
In May intill a morrow mirthfullest.

^r St. xxi.

^a rose-tree.

^w then.

^t purified.

ⁿ cape. Ere Phœbus was dressed in his purple robe.

[The printed copies read *syne*, instead of *syne* as given by War-ton.—PRICE.]

Full angelyk the birdis sang thair houris,
 Within their courtyngis^x grene, into thair bouris
 Apperrellit quhite and reid with blumys sweet:
 Ennamelit wes the feild with all cullouris,
 The perlie droppis schuke in silver schouris^y,
 Quhyle al in balme did branche and levis fleit
 To pairt fra Phebus, did Aurora greit,
 Hir chrySTALL teiris I saw hing on the flouris,
 Quhilk he for lufe all drank up with his heit.

For mirth of May, with skippis and with hoppis,
 The birdis sang upon the tendir croppis^z,
 With curious note, as Venus' chapell-clarkes:
 The rosis yung, new spreiding of their knoppis^a,
 Were powderit^b bricht with hevinly berial-droppis,
 Throw bemis reid, burning as ruby sparkis;
 The skyis rang for schoutyng of the larkis,
 The purpoure hevin ourskaillit in silver sloppis^c
 Owregilt the treis, branchis, lef and barkis.

Doun throu the ryce^d ane revir ran with stremis
 So lustely agayn the lykand^e lemys,
 That all the lake as lamp did leme of licht,
 Quhilk shaddowit all about with twynkline gleimis^f;
 The bewis^g baithit war in secund bemis,
 Throu the reflex of Phebus visage bricht
 On every side the hegies raise on hicht^h:
 The bank was grene, the bruke wes ful of bremys,
 The stanneris cleir as stern in frostie nicht.

The crystall air, the sapher firmament,
 The ruby skyis of the orient,

^x curtains.

^y The pearled drops fell from the trees like silver showers.

^z branches. ^a knobs; buds.

^b besprinkled. An heraldic term. See Observations on the Fairy Queen, ii. p. 158. seq.

^c covered with streaks, *slips*, of silver.

^d through the bushes, the trees. Rice, or *Ris*, is properly a long branch. This word is still used in the west of England. Chaucer, Miller's Tale, v. 215. p. 26. Urr. edit.

And thereupon he had a fair surplice
 As white as is the blosome on the rice.

[See *supra*, p. 194.] So in a Scotch poem by Alexander Scott, written 1562.

Antient Scottish Poems, Edinb. 1770. p. 194.

Welcum our rubent rois [rose] upon the rice.

So also Lydgate, in his poem called London Lickpenny, MSS. Harl. 367.

Hot pescode own [one] began to crye,
 Straberys rype, and cherries in the RYSE.

That is, as he passed through London streets, they cried, hot pease, ripe strawberries, and cherries on a *bough*, or twig.

^e pleasant.

^f The water blazed like a lamp, and threw about it shadowy gleams of twinkling light.

^g boughs.

^h The high-raised edges, or bank.

Kest^l berial bemis on emerant bewis grene,
 The rosy garth^k, depaynt, and redolent,
 With purpour, asure, gold, and gowlis^l gent,
 Arrayit wes, by dame Flora the quene,
 Sa nobilly, that joy wes for to sene :
 The rocke^m, agane the rivir resplendent,
 As low enlumynit all the levis schene.ⁿ

Our author, lulled by the music of the birds and the murmuring of the water, falls asleep on the flowers, which he calls *Flora's mantill*. In a vision, he sees a ship approach, whose sails are like the *blossom upon the spray*, and whose masts are of gold bright as the *star of day*^o. She glides swiftly through a crystal bay; and lands in the blooming meadows, among the green rushes and reeds, a hundred ladies clad in rich but loose attire. They are clothed in green kirtles; their golden tresses, tied only with glittering threads, flow to the ground; and their snowy bosoms are unveiled.

As fresche as flouris that in the May upspredis
 In kirtills grene, withoutyn kell^p or bandis
 Thair bricht hairis hang gleting on the strandis
 In tressis cleir, wyppit^q with goldin threidis;
 With papis^r quhyt, and middills small as wandis.^s

In this brilliant assembly, the poet sees NATURE, *dame Venus quene*, the *fresche AURORA*, May, *lady Flora schene*, Juno, Latona, Proserpine, Diana goddess of the chase and *woodis grene*, *lady Clio*, Minerva, Fortune, and Lucina. These *michty quenes* are crowned with diadems, glittering like the morning-star. They enter a garden. May, the

^l cast.

^k garden.

^m gules. The heraldic term for red.

ⁿ The rock, glittering with the reflection of the river, illuminated as with fire all the bright leaves. Low is flame.

^o St. i. seq. Compare Chaucer's Morning, in the Knight's Tale, v. 1493. p. 12. Urr.

The mery lark, messengere of the day,
 Salewith in her song the morowe gray;
 And fyrie Phebus rysing up so bright
 That all the orient laughith at the sight,
 And with his stremis dryith in the greves
 The silver dropis hanging in the leves.

It is seldom that we find Chaucer indulging his genius to an absurd excess in florid descriptions. The same cannot be said of Lydgate.

^o In our old poetry and the romances, we frequently read of ships superbly decorated. This was taken from real life. Froissart, speaking of the French fleet

in 1387, prepared for the invasion of England under the reign of Richard the Second, says, that the ships were painted with the arms of the commanders, and gilt, with banners, pennons, and standards, of silk; and that the masts were painted from top to bottom, glittering with gold. The ship of lord Guy of Tremoyll was so sumptuously garnished, that the painting and colours cost 2000 French franks, more than 222 pounds of English currency at that time. See Grafton's Chron. p. 364. At his second expedition into France, in 1417, king Henry the Fifth was in a ship, whose sails were of purple silk most richly embroidered with gold. Speed's Chron. B. ix. p. 636. edit. 1611. Many other instances might be brought from ancient miniatures and illuminations.

^p caul.

^r paps.

^q bound.

^s St. vii.

queen of mirthful *months*, is supported between her sisters April and June : as she walks up and down the garden, the birds begin to sing, and NATURE gives her a gorgeous robe adorned with every colour under heaven.

Thair sawe I NATURE present till^t her a gown
 Rich to behald, and nobil of renoun.
 Of every hew undir the hevin that bene
 Depaynt and broud^u be gude proportioun.^w

The vegetable tribes then do their obeisance to NATURE, in these polished and elegant verses :—

And every blome on brenche, and eik on bonk,
 Opnyt, and spred thair balmy levis donk,
 Full low enclyneyng to thair quene full cleir,
 Quhame for their noble norising thay thonk.^x

Immediately another court, or group, appears. Here Cupid the king presides :

— — — wyth bow in hand ybent,
 And dredefull arrowis grundyn scharp and squair.
 Thair saw I Mars the god armipotent
 Awfull and sternè, strong and corpolent.
 Thair saw I crabbit^y Saturne, ald and haire^z,
 His luke wes lyk for to perturb the air.
 Thair wes Mercurius, wise and eloquent,
 Of rethorik that fand^a the flouris fair.^b

These are attended with other pagan divinities, Janus, Priapus, Eolus, Bacchus the *glader of the table*, and Pluto. They are all arrayed in green ; and singing amorous ditties to the harp and lute, invite the ladies to dance. The poet quits his ambush under the trees, and pressing forward to gain a more perfect view of this tempting spectacle, is espied by Venus. She bids her *keen archers* arrest the intruder. Her attendants, a group of fair ladies, instantly drop their green mantles, and each discovers a huge bow. They form themselves in battle-array, and advance against the poet.

And first of all, with bow in hand ybent,
 Come dame BEWTRE, richt as scho wald me schent ;
 Syne followit all her damosalls yfeir,
 With mony divers awfull instrument^c :
 Unto the pres FAIR HAVING^d with hir went ;

^t to her.^u broad.^y crabbed.^z hoar.^w St. x.^x St. xi.^a found.^b St. xiii.^c formidable weapons.^d behaviour.

Syne* PORTRATURE, PLESANCE, and lusty CHEIR,
 Than come RESSOUN, with schelde of gold so cleir,
 In plate and maille, as Mars armipotent,
 Defendit me that noble^f chevellere.^g

BEAUTY is assisted by *tender* YOUTH with her *virgin's ying*, GREEN INNOCENCE, MODESTY, and OBEDIENCE: but their resistance was but feeble against the golden target of REASON. WOMANHOOD then leads on PATIENCE, DISCRETION, STEDFASTNESS, BENIGNE LOOK, MYLDE CHEIR, and HONEST BUSINESS.

Bot RESSOUN bure the Terge with sic constance,
 Thair scharp assayes might do no dures^h,
 To me for all thair awfull ordinance!^k

The attack is renewed by DIGNITY, RENOWN, RICHES, NOBILITY, and HONOUR. These, after displaying their *high* banner, and shooting a cloud of arrows, are soon obliged to retreat. Venus, perceiving the rout, orders DISSEMBLANCE to make an attempt to pierce the Golden Shield. DISSEMBLANCE, or DISSIMULATION, chooses for her archers, PRESENCE, FAIR CALLING, and CHERISHING. These bring back BEAUTY to the charge. A new and obstinate conflict ensues.

Thik was the schott of grundyn dartis kene,
 Bot RESSOUN, with the scheld of gold so schene,
 Warly^l defendit quhosoevir assayit:
 The awfull stour he manly did sustene.^m

At length PRESENCE, by whom the poet understands that irresistible incentive accruing to the passion of love by society, by being often admitted to the company of the beloved object, throws a magical powder into the eyes of REASON; who is suddenly deprived of all his powers, and reels like a drunken man. Immediately the poet receives a deadly wound, and is taken prisoner by BEAUTY; who now assumes a more engaging air, as the clear eye of REASON is growing dim by intoxication. DISSIMULATION then tries all her arts on the poet: FAIR CALLING smiles upon him: CHERISHING soothes him with soft speeches: NEW ACQUAINTANCE embraces him awhile, but soon takes her leave, and is never seen afterwards. At last DANGER delivers him to the custody of GRIEF.

By this time, "God Eolus his bugle blew." The leaves are torn with the blast: in a moment the pageant disappears, and nothing remains but the forest, the birds, the banks, and the brook.ⁿ In the twinkling of an eye they return to the ship; and unfurling the sails, and stemming the sea with a rapid course, celebrate their triumph with a discharge of

* next, [after].

^f warrior.

^h injury.

^g St. xvii.

^k weapons.

^l St. xix.

^m St. xxiii.

ⁿ warily.

^o St. xxvi.

ordnance. This was now a new topic for poetical description. The smoke rises to the firmament, and the roar is re-echoed by the rocks, with a sound as if the rainbow had been broken.

And as I did awake of this sweving^o,
 The joyfull birdis merily did sing
 For mirth of Phebus tendir bemis schene.
 Sweit war the vapouris, soft the morrowing,
 Hailsum the vaill^p depaynt with flouris ying,
 The air attemperit sobir and amene;
 In quhit and reid was al the felde besene,
 Throw Naturis nobill fresch annameling
 In mirthfull May of every moneth quene.^q

Our author then breaks out into a laboured encomium on Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. This I choose to recite at large, as it shows the peculiar distinction anciently paid to those fathers of verse; and the high ideas which now prevailed, even in Scotland, of the improvements introduced by their writings into the British poetry, language, and literature.^r

O reverend CHAUCERE, rose of rethoris all,
 As in oure tong ane flour^s imperial
 That raise in Britane evir, quha reidis richt^t,
 Thou beris of makarism^u the tryumph ryall,
 Thy fresche annamilit termes celestiall:
 This mater coud illuminit haif full bricht^v;
 Was thou noucht of our English all the licht,
 Surmounting every tong terrestriall
 Als fer as Mayis morrow dois midnycht.

O morale GOWER, and LYDGATE laureat
 Your sugarit^x lippis^y, and tongis aureat,
 Bene to our eiris^z cause of grit delyte;
 Your angel mouthis most mellifluat
 Our rude langage hes cleir illumynat,
 And fair owregilt our speche, that imperfyte
 Stude, or your goldin pennis schup to wryt^a,
 This yle befoir wes bair and dissolat^b
 Of rethorik, or lusty fresche indyte^c.^d

This panegyric, and the poem, is closed with an apology, couched in

^o dream.

^p vale.

^q This subject would have appeared to some advantage, had not, &c.

^r St. xxviii.

^s Other instances occur in the elder Scotch poets. See supra, p. 328.

^t one flower.

^u Ever rose, or sprung, in Britain, whose reads right.

^v Thou bearest of poets.

^x sugared.

^y to our ears.

^z Ere your golden pens were shaped to write.

^a bare and desolate.

^b elegant composition. ^c St. xxx.

elegant metaphors, for his own comparative humility of style. He addresses the poem, which he calls a *litill quair*.

I know quhat thou of rethoric has spent;
Of all hir lusty rosis redolent
Is nane into thy gerland sett on hicht^e.
Eschame^f tharof, and draw thè out of sicht!
Rude is thy weid^g, desteynit, bair, and rent,
Wele aucht thou be affeirrit of the licht!^h

Dunbar's DAUNCE has very great merit in the comic style of painting. It exhibits a group of figures touched with the capricious but spirited pencil of Callot. On the eve of Lent, a general day of confession, the poet in a dream sees a display of heaven and hell. Mahomet¹, or the devil, commands a dance to be performed by a select party of fiends; particularly by those, who in the other world had never made confession to the priest, and had consequently never received absolution. Immediately the SEVEN DEADLY SINS appear; and present a mask, or mummery, with the newest gambols just imported from France^k. The first is PRIDE, who properly takes place of all the rest, as by *that SIN fell the angels*. He is described in the fashionable and gallant dress of those times; in a bonnet and gown, his hair thrown back, his cap awry, and his gown affectedly flowing to his feet in large folds.

Let se, quoth he^l, now quha beginis?
With that the fowll Deadly Sinnis
Begouth to leip attanis^m.
And first of all in dance was PRYD,
With hair wyld bak, bonet on syde,
Lyk to mak vaistie wanis;
And round about him as a quheillⁿ,
Hang all in rumpillis^o to the heill,
His kethat^p for the nanis.^q

^e No fresh and fragrant roses of rhetoric are placed on high in thy garland.

^f be ashamed.

^g weed; dress.

^h St. xxxi.

¹ Mahon. Sometimes written Mahoun, or Mahound. See Mat. Paris, p. 289. ad ann. 1236. and Du Fresne, Lat. Gloss. V. MAHUM. The Christians in the crusades were accustomed to hear the Saracens swear by their prophet Mahomet, which thence became in Europe another name for the devil.

^k The original is *garmountis*. In the Memoir, cited above, concerning the pro-

gress of the princess Margaret into Scotland, we have the following passage. "The lord of Northumberland made his *devoir*, at the departyng, of *gambades* and *lepps*, [leaps,] as did likewise the lord Scrop the father, and many others that returned agayne, in *takyng ther congie*." p. 281. [See Notes, supr. pp. 429, 430.]

^m Mahomet.

ⁿ began to dance at once.

^o wheel.

^p rumples.

^q casaque, cassock.

^r nonce, designedly.

Many proud trumpour^r with him trippit,
 Throw skaldan^s fyr ay as they skippit
 They girnd with hyddous^t granis.^v

Several *holy harlots* follow, attended by monks, who make great sport for the devils.^w

Heilie harlottis in hawtain wyis^x,
 Come in with mony sindrie gyis^y,
 But yet luche nevir^z Mahoun :
 Quhill priestis cum with bair schevin^a nekks,
 Than all the feynds lewche^b, and maid gekks^c,
Black-belly, and Bawsy-brown.

Black-belly and Bawsy-brown are the names of popular spirits in Scotland. The latter is perhaps our ROBIN GOODFELLOW, known in Scotland by the name of BROWNIE.

ANGER is drawn with great force, and his accompaniments are boldly feigned. His hand is always upon his knife, and he is followed, in pairs, by boasters, threateners, and quarrelsome persons, all armed for battle, and perpetually wounding one another^d.

Than YRE come in with sturt^e and stryfe ;
 His hand was aye upon his knyfe,
 He brandeist lyk a beir :
 Bostaris, braggarists, and barganeria,
 Efter hym passit in pairis,
 All bodin in feir of weir^f :
 In jakkis, stryppis, and bonnettis of steil^g,
 Thair leggis wer cheyned to the heill^h,
 Frawart was thair affeirⁱ ;
 Sum upon uder with brands beft^k,
 Sum jagit utheris to the heft^l
 With knyvis that scheirp coud scheir^m.

^r deceiver. See Spenser's *Sir Trompart*. Or perhaps an empty fellow, a rattle. Or Trompour may be *trumpeter*, as in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, v. 2673. See Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, with the Notes of the very judicious and ingenious editor. Lond. 1775. vol. iv. p. 231.

^s scalding.

^t they grinned hideously. ^v St. ii.

^w St. iii. ^x haughty guise.

^y gambols, [a mask].

^z never laughed.

^a while priests came with bare-shaven.

^b laughed.

^c signs of derision.

^d St. iv.

^e disturbance; affray.

^f Literally, "All arrayed in feature of war." *Bodin*, and *feir of war*, are in the Scotch statute book. Sir David Lyndesay

thus speaks of the state of Scotland during the minority of James the Fifth. *Complaynt of the Papyngo*. Signat. B. iii. edit. ut infr.

Oppressioun did sa loud his bougill blaw,
 That none durst ride but into *feir of weir*.

That is, *without being armed for battle*.

^g In short jackets, plates, or slips, and bonnets of steel. Short coat of mail and helmets.

^h Either, chained together; or, their legs armed with iron, perhaps iron network, down to the heel.

ⁱ Their business was untoward; or else their look *froward*, fierce. *Feir* is feature.

^k Some struck others, their companions, with swords.

^l Wounded others to the quick, to the haft. ^m cut sharp.

ENVY is equal to the rest. Under this SIN our author takes occasion to lament, with an honest indignation, that the courts of princes should still give admittance and encouragement to the whisperers of idle and injurious reports^a.

Next in the dance followit ENVY,
 Fild full of feid^o and felony,
 Hid malyce and dispyte;
 For pryvie haterit^p that tratour trymlit^q,
 Him followit mony freik dissymlit^r,
 With feynit wordis quhyte.
 And flattereris into mens facis,
 And back-byttaris^s of sundry racis,
 To ley^t that had delyte.
 With rownaris^u of fals lesingis^w:
 Allace! that courtis of noble kingis
 Of tham can nevir be quyte^x!

AVARICE is ushered in by a troop of extortioners, and other miscreants, patronised by the magician Warloch^a, or the demon of the covetous; who vomit on each other torrents of melted gold, blazing like wild-fire; and as they are emptied at every discharge, the devils replenish their throats with fresh supplies of the same liquefied metal^v.

SLOTH does not join the dance till he is called twice; and his companions are so slow of motion, that they cannot keep up with the rest, unless they are roused from their lethargy by being sometimes warmed with a glimpse of hell-fire^x.

Syne SWEIRNES, at the secound bidding,
 Come lyk a sow out of a midding^a,
 Full slepy was his grunyie^b.
 Mony sweir bumbard belly-huddroun^c,
 Mony slute daw and slepy duddroun^d,
 Him servit aye with sounyie^e.

He drew tham forth intill a chenyie^f,
 And Belliall, with a brydill reynie^g,
 Evir lascht thame on the lunyie^h.

^a St. v.

^o enmity.

^p hatred.

^q trembled.

^r dissembling gallant.

^s backbiters.

^t lie.

^u Rounders, whisperers. To round in the ear, or simply to round, was to whisper in the ear.

^w falsities.

^x free.

^y [The original reads:

Next him in dance cam Cuvatyce—

Catyvis, wrechis, and ockeraris,—

All with that warlo went.

Where warlo means a wicked person. A.S. *wær-loga iniquus*.—PRICE.]

^y St. vi.

^z St. vii.

^a dunghill.

^b snout, visage, [grunt].

^c lazy, drunken sloven, [glutton].

^d slothful, idle spectre, [sluggard].

^e attended on him with care.

^f into a chain.

^g a bridle-rein; thong of leather.

^h lashed them on the loins.

In daunce thay wer so slow of feit
 Thay gaif tham in the fyre a heit
 And maid tham quicker of conyie^l.

LUST enters, neighing like a horse^k, and is led by IDLENESS. When his associates mingle in the dance, their visages burn red like the turkis-stone^l. The remainder of the stanza, although highly characteristical, is too obscene to be transcribed. But this gave no offence. Their manners were too indelicate to be shocked at any indecency. I do not mean that these manners had lost their delicacy, but that they had not yet acquired the sensibility arising from civilisation. In one of the Scotch interludes of this age, written by a fashionable court-poet, among other ridiculous obscenities, the trying on of a Spanish padlock in public makes a part of theatrical representation.

GLUTTONY brings up the rear, whose insatiable rout are incessantly calling out for meat and drink; and although they are drenched by the devils with draughts of melted lead, they still ask for more.

Than the fowll monster GLUTTONY,
 Of wame^m unsasiable and gredy,
 To daunce syn did him dress:
 Him followit mony fowll drunckhart,
 With can and collop, copⁿ and quart,
 In surfett and excess.

Full many a waistless wally-drag^o,
 With waimis^p unweildable did furth wag,
 In creische^q that did inress:
 Drink, aye thay cryit with mony a gaip^r,
 The feyndis gave them hait leid to lap^s,
 Their lovery^t was na less^u.

At this infernal dance no minstrels played. No GLEEMAN, or minstrel, ever went to hell; except one who committed murder, and was admitted to an inheritance in hell *by brief of richt*, that is, *per breve de recto*^w. This circumstance seems an allusion to some real fact.

The concluding stanza is entirely a satire on the Highlanders. Dunbar, as I have already observed, was born in Lothian, a county of the Saxons. The mutual antipathy between the Scottish Saxons and the Highlanders was excessive, and is not yet quite eradicated. Mahoun, or Mahomet, having a desire to see a highland pageant, a fiend is commissioned to fetch Macfadyan; an unmeaning name, chosen for its harshness. As soon as the infernal messenger begins to publish his summons, he gathers about him a prodigious crowd of *Ersche men*,

^l apprehension.

^k "Berand like a bagit horse." The French *baguette* need not be explained.

^l St. viii.

^m womb, belly.

ⁿ cup.

^o outcast, [sot].

^p wombs, bellies.

^q fat.

^r hot lead to drink, to lap.

^s desire, appetite.

^t gape.

^u St. ix.

^w St. x.

who soon took up great room in hell. These loquacious *termagants* began to chatter like rooks and ravens, in their own barbarous language; and the devil is so stunned with their horrid yell, that he throws them down to his deepest abyss, and smothers them with smoke.

Then cryd Mahoun for a heleand padyane,
Syn ran a feynd to fetch Makfadayne
Far northwart in a nuke^a:
Be he the correnoth had done schout^y,
Ersche men so gadderit him about,
In hell grit rume thay tuke:
Thae turmagantis^a with tag and tatter
Full loud in Ersche begout to clatter,
And rowp lyk revin and ruke^a.
The devil sa devit^b wes with thair yell
That in the deepest pot of hell
He smorit them with smoke^c.

I have been prolix in my citations and explanations of this poem, because I am of opinion, that the imagination of Dunbar is not less suited to satirical than to sublime allegory; and that he is the first poet who has appeared with any degree of spirit in this way of writing since Pierce Plowman. His *THISTLE AND ROSE*, and *GOLDEN TERGE*, are generally and justly mentioned as his capital works; but the natural complexion of his genius is of the moral and didactic cast. The measure of this poem is partly that of Sir THOMAS in Chaucer; and hence we may gather by the way, that Sir THOMAS was anciently viewed in the light of a ludicrous composition. It is certain that the pageants and interludes of Dunbar's age must have quickened his invention to form those grotesque groups. The exhibition of *MORALITIES* was now in high vogue among the Scotch. A Morality was played at the mar-

^a nook.

^y As soon as he had made the cry of distress, what the French call *à l'aide*. Some suppose, that the *correnoth*, or *corrynock*, is a highland tune. In Makgregor's Testament, [MS. infr. citat.] the author speaks of being outlawed by the Corrinnoch, v. 51.

The loud *CORRINOCH* then did me exile,
Throw Lorne, Argyle, Monteith, and
Braidalbane, &c.

That is, The *Hue and Cry*. I presume what this writer, in another place, calls the King's-horn, is the samething, v. 382. Quhen I have beine aft at the *KINGIS HORNE*.

^a Perhaps the poet does not mean the common idea annexed to *termagant*. The context seems to show, that he alludes to a species of wild-fowl, well known in the

highlands, and called in the Scotch statute-book *termigant*. Thus he compares the highlanders to a flock of their country birds. For many illustrations of this poem, I am obliged to the learned and elegant editor of Ancient Scottish Poems, lately published from Lord Hyndford's manuscript; and to whom I recommend a task, for which he is well qualified, The History of Scotch Poetry. [This task, though thus persuasively recommended, the late Lord Hailes of Session (Sir David Dalrymple) was not prevailed upon to undertake. Mr. Ashby conceived that the allusion above was not to the fowl *Ptarmigan*, of the grouse kind, which makes no noise or disturbance, but to *termagants*, scolds. See Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry, i. 76-77. edit. 1794.—PARK.]

^a chattered hoarsely.

^b deafened.

^c St. xi.

riage of James the Fourth and the princess Margaret^d. Mummeries, which they call GYSARTS, composed of moral personifications, are still known in Scotland; and even till the beginning of this century, especially among the festivities of Christinas, itinerant maskers were admitted into the houses of the Scotch nobility.

SECTION XXXI.

Scotch poets continued. Gawen Douglass. His translation of the Æneid. His genius for descriptive poetry. His Palace of Honour, and other pieces.

ANOTHER of the distinguished luminaries, that marked the restoration of letters in Scotland at the commencement of the sixteenth century, not only by a general eninence in elegant erudition, but by a cultivation of the vernacular poetry of his country, is Gawen Douglass. He was descended from a noble family, and born in the year 1475^e. According to the practice of that age, especially in Scotland, his education perhaps commenced in a grammar-school of one of the monasteries: there is undoubted proof, that it was finished at the university of Paris. It is probable, as he was intended for the sacred function, that he was sent to Paris for the purpose of studying the canon law, in consequence of a decree promulgued by James the First, which tended in some degree to reform the illiteracy of the clergy, as it enjoined, that no ecclesiastic of Scotland should be preferred to a prebend of any value without a competent skill in that science^f. Among other high promotions in the church, which his very singular accomplishments obtained, he was provost of the collegiate church of saint Giles at Edinburgh, abbot of the opulent convent of Abberbrothrock, and bishop of Dunkeld. He appears also to have been nominated by the queen regent to the archbishoprick, either of Glasgow, or of saint Andrew's; but the appointment was repudiated by the pope^g. In the year 1513, to avoid the persecutions of the duke of Albany, he fled from Scotland into England, and was most graciously received by king Henry the Eighth; who, in consideration of his literary merit, allowed him a liberal pension^h. In England he contracted a friendship with Polydore Virgil, one of the classical scholars of Henry's courtⁱ. He died of the plague in London, and was buried in the Savoy church, in the year 1521^k.

^d Memoir, ut supra, p. 300.

^e Hume, Hist. Dougl., p. 219.

^f Lesl. Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. ix.

^g Thynne, Continuat. Hist. Scot. 455.

^h Hollinsh. Scot. 307.—iii. 872.

ⁱ Bale, xiv. 58.

^k Weever, Fun. Mon. p. 446. And Stillington. Orig. Brit. p. 54.

In his early years he translated Ovid's *ART OF LOVE*, the favourite Latin system of the science of gallantry, into Scottish metre, which is now lost¹. In the year 1513, and in the space of sixteen months^m, he translated into Scotch heroics the *Eneid* of Virgil, with the additional thirteenth book by Mapheus Vegius, at the request of his noble patron Henry earl of Sinclairⁿ. But it was projected so early as the year 1501; for in one of his poems written that year^o, he promises to Venus a translation of Virgil, in atonement for a ballad he had published against her court: and when the work was finished, he tells Lord Sinclair, that he had now made his peace with Venus, by translating the poem which celebrated the actions of her son Eneas^p. No metrical version of a classic had yet appeared in English; except of Boethius, who scarcely deserves that appellation. Virgil was hitherto commonly known, only by Caxton's romance on the subject of the *Eneid*; which, our author says, no more resembles Virgil, than the devil is like saint Austin^q.

This translation is executed with equal spirit and fidelity; and is a proof that the lowland Scotch and English languages were now nearly the same: I mean the style of composition; more especially in the glaring affectation of anglicising Latin words. The several books are introduced with metrical prologues, which are often highly poetical; and show that Douglas's proper walk was original poetry. In the prologue to the sixth book, he wishes for the Sybill's golden bough, to enable him to follow his master Virgil through the dark and dangerous labyrinth of the infernal regions^r. But the most conspicuous of these prologues is a description of May, the greater part of which I will insert^s.

As fresche Aurore, to mychty Tithone spous,
Ischit^t of her saffron bed, and euyr^u hous,
In crammesy^w clad and granite violate,
With sanguyne cape, the selvage^x purpurate;
Unschet^y the wyndoys of hir large hall,
Spred all with rosis, and full of balme royall.
And eik the hevinly portis cristallyne
Upwarpis brade, the warlde till illumyne.

¹ See edit. Edinb. fol. 1710. p. 483. In the Epistle, or Epilogue, to Lord Sinclair. I believe the editor's name is Robert Freebairn, [Thomas Ruddiman] a Scotchman. This translation was first printed at London, 1553. 4to. bl. lett.

^m Leisl. Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. ix. p. 379. Rom. 1675.

ⁿ Epil. ut supr.

^o The Palace of Honour, ad calcem.

^p Epil. ut supr.

^q Prologue to the Translation, p. 5. The manuscript notes written in the margin of a copy of the old quarto edition of this translation, by Patrick Junius, which bi-

shop Nicolson (Hist. Libr. p. 99.) declares to be excellent, are of no consequence, Bibl. Bodl. Archiv. Seld. B 54. 4to. The same may be said of Junius's Index of obsolete words in this translation, Cod. MSS. Jun. 114. (5225.) See also Mus. Ashmol. *Diverse Scotch words*, &c. Cod. Ashm. 846. 13.

^r In the Prologue to the eighth book, the alliterative manner of Pierce Plowman is adopted.

^s Pag. 400.

^t ivory.

^u edge.

^x unshut, i. e. opened.

^y issued.

^w crimson.

The twynkling stremouris^a of the orient
 Sched purpour sprayngis with gold and asure ment^a.
 Eous the stede, with ruby hammys rede,
 Abouf the seyis liftis furth his hede
 Of culloure sore, and somedele broun as bery,
 For to alichtin and glad our emispery ;
 The flambe out brastin at the neis thirlis.—
 Quhil schortlie, with the blesand^b torche of day,
 Abulzeit^c in his lemand^d fresche array,
 Furth of his palice ryall ischit Phebus,
 With golden croun and visage glorious,
 Crisp haris^e, bricht as chrissolite or thopas ;
 For quhais hew^f mycht nane behold his face :
 The firie sparkis brasting from his ene,
 To purge the air, and gilt the tender grene.—
 The auriat phanis^g of his trone soverane
 With glitterand glance overspred the octiane^h ;
 The largè fluidis, lemand all of licht,
 Bot with ane blenkⁱ of his supernal sicht,
 For to behald, it was ane glorie to se
 The stabillyt^k wyndis, and the calmyt se ;
 The soft sessoun^l, the firmament serene ;
 The loune illuminate are^m, and firthⁿ amene :
 The silver-scalit fyschis on the grete^o,
 Ouer thowrt^p clere stremes sprinkilland^q for the hete,
 With fynnyis schinand broune as synopare^r,
 And chesal talis^s, stourand here and there^t :
 The new cullour, alichting^u all the landis,
 Forgane the stanryis schene^v, and beriall strandis :
 Quhil the reflex of the diurnal bemes
 The bene bonkis^w kest ful of variant gleemes :
 And lustie Flora did her blomes sprede
 Under the fete of Phebus fulzeart^y stede,
 The swardit soyll enbrode with selkouth hewis^z,
 Wod and forest obumbrate with bewis^a,

^a streamers.^a streaks, mingled with, &c.^b blasing.^c Fr. *habillé*; clothed.^d luminous. ^e curled locks.^f whose excessive brightness.^g fans, or vanes, of gold.^h ocean.ⁱ only with one glance.^k settled, calmed.^l season.^m air without wind, &c.ⁿ frith.^o sand, gravel.^p athwart, across, through.^q Gliding swiftly, with a tremulous motion, or vibration of their tails.^r cinnabar.^s tails shaped like chisels.^t swimming swiftly, darting hastily.^u illuminating.^v Over, upon, over-against, the bright gravel, or small stones, thrown out on the banks of rivers. Hence the strands were all of beryl.^w pleasant banks.^y brilliant, glittering.^z Bladed with grass, and embroidered with strange colours.^a boughs.

Quhais blysful branchis, porturate^b on the ground,
 With schaddois schene schew rocchis rubicund:
 Towris, turrettis, kirkallis^c, and pynnakillis hie,
 Of kirkis, castellis, and ilk faire citie,
 Stude payntit, every fane, phioll^d, and stage^e,
 Apoun the playn grounde by thaire awn umbrage^f.
 Of Eolus north blastis havand^g no drede,
 The sulze spred hir brad bosum on brede^h.—
 The cornis croppis, and the bere new-blerdeⁱ,
 With gladsum garment revesting the erde^k.—
 The variant vesture of the venust vale
 Schrowdis the scherand fur^l, and every fale^m
 Ouerfrettⁿ with fulzeis^o, and fyguris ful dyuers,
 The pray^p bysprent with spryngand sproutis dyspers
 For callour humours on the dewy nycht,
 Rendryng sum place the gyrs pylis thare licht,
 Als fer as catal the lang somerys day
 Had in thare pasture ete and gnyp away:
 And blyssful blossomys in the blomyt zard-
 Submittis thare hedys in the zoung sonnys safeguard:
 Iue leius^q rank ouerspred the barmkyn^r wall,
 The blomit hauthorne cled his pykis all,
 Furth of fresche burgeouns^s the wyne grapis^t zing
 Endlang the trazileys^u dyd on twistis hing,
 The loukit^w buttouns on the gemyt treis
 Ouerspredand leuis of naturis tapestryis.
 Soft gresy verdoure eftir balmy schouris,
 On curland stalkis smyland to thare flowris:
 Behaldand thame sa mony divers hew
 Sum piers^x, sum pale, sum burnet, and sum blew,
 Sum gres, sum gowlis, sum purpure, sum sanguane,
 Blanchit or broun, fauch zallow mony ane,
 Sum heuinly colourit in celestial gre,

^b portrayed, painted, reflected.

^c battlements.

^d round tower.

^e story.

^f their own shadow.

^g having.

^h The soil, the country, spread abroad
her expansive bosom.

ⁱ new-sprung barley.

^k earth.

^l furrow.

^m turf.

ⁿ It is evident our author intends to describe two distinct things, viz. corn-fields and meadows or pasture-lands: the former in the three first lines; *the variant vesture*, &c. is plainly arable, and the *fulzeis* and *fyguris full dyuers*, are the various leaves and flowers of the weeds growing

among the corn, and making a piece of embroidery. And here the description of corn-fields ends; and that of pasture-lands begins at, *The pray bysprent*, &c. *Pray*, not as the printed glossary says, *corruptedly* for *spray*, but formed, through the French, from the Lat. *Pratum*; and *Spryngand Sproutis*, rising springs, from the Ital. *spruzzare*, *spruzzolare*, *aspergere*.

^o leaves.

^p mead.

^q ivy-leaves.

^r rampart.

^s sprigs.

^t young.

^u trellises; espaliers for vines.

^w locked, enclosed, gemmed.

^x red.

Sum watty^y hewit as the haw wally^z se,
 And sum departe in freklis rede and quhyte,
 Sum bricht as gold with aureate leuis lyte.
 The dasy did on brede^a hir crownel smale,
 And euery flour unlappit in the dale,
 In battil gers^b burgeouns, the banwart wyld,
 The claur, catcluke, and the cammomyld; ;
 The flourdelyce furth sprede his heuynly hew,
 Floure damas, and columbe blak and blew,
 Sere downis smal on dentilioun^c sprang,
 The zounge grene^d blomit strabery leus amang,
 Gimp jereflouris^e thareon leuis unschet,
 Fresche prymrois, and the pourpour violet,
 The rois knoppis, tetand furth thare hede,
 Gan chyp, and kyth thare vernale lippis rede,
 Crysp skarlet leuis sum scheddand baith at attanis,
 Kest^f fragrant smel amynd fra goldin granis^g,
 Heuinlie lyllyis, with lokkerand toppis, quhyte,
 Opynnit and schew thare creistis redemyte^h,
 The balmy vapour from thare sylkyn croppis
 Distilland haiesum sugurat hony droppis,
 And sylver schakerisⁱ gan fra leuis hing,
 With chrystal sprayngis on the verdure zing :
 The plane powderit with semelie seitis sound,
 Bedyit ful of dewy peirlys round ;
 So that ilk burgeon, syon, herbe, or floure,
 Wox all embalmit of the fresche liquour,
 And baithit hait did in dulce humouris flete,
 Quhareof the beis wrocht thare hony swete.—
 Swannis^k souchis throw out the respand^l redis,

^y watchet.^z blue and wavy.^a unbraid.^b grass embattelled.^c dandelion.^d young weeds.^e Gilliflowers. *Gariophilum*, Lat. *Καρδοφύλλον*, Gr. The Scotch word is nearer the original. Probably the poet wrote *thare awin*. See ver. 72. *thare awin umbrage*.^f It is observable, that our poet never once mentions the scent of flowers till he comes to the rose, and never at all the scent of any particular flower, except the rose, not even of the lily; for I take it, the words, *from thare sylkyn croppis*, are meant to describe the flowers in general; and *the balmy vapour* to be the same with *the fresche liquour*, and *the dulce humouris quhareof the beis wrocht thare hony swete*, an exhalation distinct from that which causes the scent. Afterwards *redolent odour* is general; for he certainly means to close his description of the vegetable

world by one universal cloud of fragrance from all nature.

^g seeds.^h *Redeemed*. Released, opened. The glossary says, Decked, Beautiful, from *Redimitus*, Lat.ⁱ shakers.^k That Milton had his eye upon this passage is plain, from his describing the swan, the cock, and peacock, in this order, and with several of the attributes that our author has given them. See *Parad. L. vii. 438. seq.*— The Swan with arched neck
 Between her white wings mantling
 proudly, rows
 Her state with oary feet; yet oft they
 quit
 The dank, and rising on stiff pennons,
 tower
 The mid aerial sky: otheis on ground

Ouer all the lochis^m and the fludis gray,
 Sersand by kynd ane place quhare they suld lay;
 Phebus rede foule his curale creist can stere,
 Oft strekand furth his hekkil crawand clere
 Amyd the wortis, and the rutis gent,
 Pickland hys mete in alayis quhare he went,
 His wyffis Toppa and Partolet hym by,
 As bird al tyme that hantis bygamy;
 The payntit powneⁿ paysand with plumys gym,
 Kest up his tale ane proud plesand quhile rym^o,
 Ischrowdit in his fedderane bricht and schene,
 Schapand the prent of Argois hundreth ene;
 Amang the bronys^p of the olyue twistis,
 Sere smale foulis, wirkand crafty nestis,
 Endlang the hedgeis thik, and on rank akis^q
 Ilk bird reiosand with thare mirthful makis:
 In corneris and clere fenesteris of glas
 Full besely Arachne weuand was,
 To knyt hyr nettis and hyr wobbis sle,
 Tharewith to cauch the litil mige^r or fle:
 Under the bewis bene in lufely valis,
 Within fermance and parkis clois of palis,
 The bustuous bukkis rakis furth on raw,
 Heirdis of hertis throw the thyck wod schaw,
 The zoung fownys followand the dun days^a,
 Kiddis skip pand throw ronnyes eftir rais^t,
 In lesuris^u and on levis litill lammes
 Full tait and trig socht bletand to thare dammes.
 On salt stremes wolk Dorida and Thetis,
 By rynnand strandis, nymphs and naiades,
 Sic as we clepe wenschis and damys sellis,
 In gersy grauis wanderand by spring wellis,
 Of blomed branchis and flouris quhyte and rede
 Plettand their lusty chaplettis for thare hede:
 Sum sang ring sangis, ledis, and roundis,
 With vocis schil, quhil all the dale resoundis.—
 Dame naturis menstrualis on that uthyr parte,
 Thare bliissful bay intonyng euery arte,
 To bete thare amouris of thare nychtis bale,
 The merle, the mauys, and the nychtingale,
 With mirry notis myrthfully furth brist,
 Enforssing thaym quha micht do clink it best.

Walk'd firm: the crested Cock, whose
 clarion sounds
 The silent hours, and th' other, whose
 gay train
 Adorus him, color'd with the florid hue
 Of rainbows and starry eyes.—

¹ rustling.
^a peacock.
^p branches.
^r gnat.
^t roes.

^m lakes.
^o wheel-rim.
^q oaks.
^s does.
^u leasowes.

The kowschot^w croudis and pykkis on the ryse,
 The stirling changis diuers steuynnys nyse^x,
 The sparrow chirmis in the wallis clyft,
 Goldspink and lintquhite fordynnand the lyft^y,
 The gukkow galis^z, and so quhitteris the quale,
 Quhil ryveris reirdit^a, schawis, and euery dale,
 And tendir twistis trymblit on the treis,
 For birdis sang, and bemyng of the beis,
 In werblis dulce of heuinlie armonyis,
 The larkis loude releischand^b in the skyis,
 Louis thare lege^c with tonys curious;
 Bayth to dame Natur, and the fresche Venus,
 Rendring hie laudis in thare obseruance,
 Quhais suggourit throttis^d made glade hartis dance,
 And al smal foulis singis on the spray;

Welcum the lord of licht, and lampe of day,
 Welcum fosterare of tendir herbis grene,
 Welcum quihikkynnar of flurist flouris schene,
 Welcum support of euery rute and vane,
 Welcum confort of al kind frute and grane,
 Welcum the birdis beild^e apoun the brere,
 Welcum maister and reulare of the zere,
 Welcum walefare of husbandis at the plewis^f,
 Welcum reparare of woddis, treis, and bewis,
 Welcum depaynter of the blomyt medis,
 Welcum the lyffe of euery thing that spredis,
 Welcum storare^g of all kynd bestial,
 Welcum be thy bricht bemes gladand al.

The poetical beauties of this specimen will be relished by every reader who is fond of lively touches of fancy, and rural imagery*. But

^w dove.

^x fine tunes.

^y firmament.

^z Cries. So Chaucer of the nightingale. Cour. L. v. 1357.

But DOMINE LABIA gan he crie and GALE. So the Friar is said to *gale*, Wife of B. Prol. v. 832. [In Chaucer's Cuckowe and Nightingale, the latter is said to GREDE, v. 135, p. 544. Urr.

And that for that skil ocy ocy I GREDE. That is, *I cry*. Ital. *Gridare*. The word is used with more propriety in Adam Davie's Gest of Alexander, written in 1312. fol. 55. col. 2. [See *supr.* p. 6.]

Averil is meory, and longith the day,
 Ladies loven solas and play,
 Swaynes justis, knygtis turnay,
 Syngith the nygtyngale, GREDETH the jay.

ADDITIONS.]

^a resounded.

^b mounting.

^c praised their Lady Nature.

^d sugared throats.

^e who build.

^f ploughs.

^g restorer.

* [In the last-mentioned excellent old poem, Autumn is touched with these circumstances, fol. 95. col. 2.

In tyme of heruest merry it is ynous,
 Peres and apples hongeth on bouz,
 The hayward bloweth his horne,
 In everych felde ripe is corne,
 The grapes hongon on the vyne,
 Swete is trewe love and fyne;
 King Alisaunder a morowe arist,
 The sonne dryveth away the mist,
 Fforth he went farre into Ynde
 Moo meruayles for to fynde.

ADDITIONS.]

the verses will have another merit with those critics who love to contemplate the progress of composition, and to mark the original workings of genuine nature; as they are the effusion of a mind not overlaid by the descriptions of other poets, but operating, by its own force and bias, in the delineation of a vernal landscape, on such objects as really occurred. On this account, they deserve to be better understood; and I have therefore translated them into plain modern English prose. In the mean time, this experiment will serve to prove their native excellence. Divested of poetic numbers and expression, they still retain their poetry; and, to use the comparison of an elegant writer on a like occasion, appear like Ulysses, still a king and conqueror, although disguised like a peasant, and lodged in the cottage of the herdsman Eumæus.

“Fresh Aurora, the wife of Tithonus, issued from her saffron bed, and ivory house. She was clothed in a robe of crimson and violet-colour; the cape vermilion, and the border purple: she opened the windows of her ample hall, overspread with roses, and filled with balm, or nard. At the same time, the crystal gates of heaven were thrown open, to illumine the world. The glittering streamers of the orient diffused purple streaks mingled with gold and azure.—The steeds of the sun, in red harness of rubies, of colour brown as the berry, lifted their heads above the sea, to glad our hemisphere: the flames burst from their nostrils:—while shortly, apparelled in his luminous array, Phœbus, bearing the blazing torch of day, issued from his royal palace; with a golden crown, glorious visage, curled locks bright as the chrysolite or topaz, and with a radiance intolerable.—The fiery sparks, bursting from his eyes, purged the air, and gilded the new verdure.—The golden vanes of his throne covered the ocean with a glittering glance, and the broad waters were all in a blaze, at the first glimpse of his appearance. It was glorious to see the winds appeased, the sea becalmed, the soft season, the serene firmament, the still air, and the beauty of the watery scene. The silver-scaled fishes, on the gravel, gliding hastily, as it were from the heat or sun, through clear streams, with fins shining brown as cinnabar, and chisel-tails, darted here and there. The new lustre, enlightening all the land, beamed on the small pebbles on the sides of rivers, and on the strands, which looked like beryl: while the reflection of the rays played on the banks in variegated gleams; and Flora threw forth her blooms under the feet of the sun’s brilliant horses. The bladed soil was embroidered with various hues. Both wood and forest were darkened with boughs; which, reflected from the ground, gave a shadowy lustre to the red rocks. Towers, turrets, battlements, and high pinnacles, of churches, castles, and every fair city, seemed to be painted; and, together with every bastion and story, expressed their own shape on the plains. The glebe, fearless of the northern blasts, spread her broad bosom.—The corn-crops, and the new-sprung barley, reclothed the earth with a gladsome garment.—The variegated vesture

of the valley covered the cloven furrow ; and the barley-lands were diversified with flowery weeds. The meadow was besprinkled with rivulets ; and the fresh moisture of the dewy night restored the herbage which the cattle had cropped in the day. The blossoms in the blowing garden trusted their heads to the protection of the young sun. Rank ivy-leaves overspread the wall of the rampart. The blooming hawthorn clothed all his thorns in flowers. The budding clusters of the tender grapes hung end-long, by their tendrils, from the trellises. The gems of the trees unlocking, expanded themselves into the foliage of Nature's tapestry. There was a soft verdure after balmy showers. The flowers smiled in various colours on the bending stalks. Some red, &c. others, watchet, like the blue and wavy sea ; speckled with red and white ; or bright as gold. The daisy unbraided her little coronet. The grass stood embattled, with banewort, &c. The seeded down flew from the dandelion. Young weeds appeared among the leaves of the strawberries. Gay gilliflowers, &c. The rose buds, putting forth, offered their *red vernal lips* to be kissed ; and diffused fragrance from the crisp scarlet that surrounded their golden seeds. Lilies, with white curling tops, showed their crests open. The odorous vapour moistened the silver webs that hung from the leaves. The plain was powdered with round dewy pearls. From every bud, scion, herb, and flower, bathed in liquid fragrance, the bee sucked sweet honey.—The swans clamoured amid the rustling reeds ; and searched all the lakes and gray rivers where to build their nests. The red bird of the sun lifted his coral crest, crowing clear among the plants and *rutis gent*, picking his food from every path, and attended by his wives Toppa and Partlet. The painted peacock with gaudy plumes, unfolded his tail like a bright wheel, inshrouded in his shining feathers, resembling the marks of the hundred eyes of Argus. Among the boughs of the twisted olive, the small birds framed their artful nests, or along the thick hedges, or rejoiced with their merry mates on the tall oaks. In the secret nook, or in the clear windows of glass, the spider full busily wove her sly net, to ensnare the little gnat or fly. Under the boughs that screen the valley, or within the pale-inclosed park, the nimble deer trooped in ranks, the harts wandered through the thick woody shaws, and the young fawns followed the dappled does. Kids skipped through the briers after the roes ; and in the pastures and leas, the lambs, *full tight and trig*, bleated to their dams. Doris and Thetis walked on the salt ocean ; and Nymphs and Naiads, wandering by spring-wells in the grassy groves, plaited lusty chaplets for their hair, of blooming branches, or of flowers red and white. They sung, and danced, &c.—Meantime, dame Nature's minstrels raise their amorous notes, the ring-dove coos and pitches on the tall copse, the starling whistles her varied descant, the sparrow chirps in the clefted wall ; the goldfinch and linnet filled the skies, the cuckow cried, the quail twittered ; while rivers, shaws, and every dale resounded ; and the

tender branches trembled on the trees, at the song of the birds, and the buzzing of the bees," &c.

This landscape may be finely contrasted with a description of WINTER, from the Prologue to the seventh book^h, a part of which I will give in literal prose.

"The fern withered on the miry fallows: the brown moors assumed a barren mossy hue: banks, sides of hills, and bottoms, grew white and bare: the cattle looked hoary from the dank weather: the wind made the red weed waver on the dike: from crags and the foreheads of the yellow rocks hung great icicles, in length like a spear: the soil was dusky and gray, bereft of flowers, herbs, and grass: in every holt and forest, the woods were stripped of their array. Boreas blew his bugle horn so loud, that the solitary deer withdrew to the dales: the small birds flocked to the thick briers, shunning the tempestuous blast, and changing their loud notes to chirping: the cataracts roared, and every linden-tree whistled and *brayed* to the sounding of the wind. The poor labourers *went wet and weary, draggled in the fen*. The sheep and shepherds lurked under the hanging banks, or wild broom.—Warm from the chimney-side, and refreshed with generous cheer, I stole to my bed, and laid down to sleep; when I saw the moon shed through the windows her twinkling glances, and watery light: I heard the horned bird, the night-owl, shrieking horribly with crooked bill from her cavern: I heard the wild-geese, with screaming cries, fly over the city through the silent night. I was soon lulled asleep, till the cock clapping his wings crowed thrice, and the day peeped. I waked and saw the moon disappear, and heard the jackdaws cackle on the roof of the house. The cranes, prognosticating tempests, in a firm phalanx, pierced the air with voices sounding like a trumpet. The kite, perched on an old tree, fast by my chamber, cried lamentably, a sign of the dawning day. I rose, and half-opening my window, perceived the morning, livid, wan, and hoary; the air overwhelmed with vapour and cloud; the ground stiff, gray, and rough; the branches rattling; the sides of the hills looking black and hard with the driving blasts; the dew-drops congealed on the stubble and rind of trees; the sharp hail-stones, deadly-cold, *hopping* on the thatch and the neighbouring causeway," &c.

Bale, whose titles of English books are often obscured by being put into Latin, recites among Gawin Douglass's poetical works, his *Narrationes Aureæ*, and *Comædiæ aliquot sacræ*ⁱ. Of his NARRATIONES AUREÆ, our author seems to speak in the EPILOGUE to VIRGIL, addressed to his patron lord Sinclair^k.

I have also a strange command [comment] compyld,
To expone strange hystories and termes wild.

^h p. 200. fol. edit.

ⁱ xiv. 58.

^k Ut supr. p. 483.

Perhaps these tales were the fictions of ancient mythology. Whether the *COMÆDIÆ* were sacred interludes, or *MYSTERIES*, for the stage, or only sacred narratives, I cannot determine. Another of his original poems is the *PALICE OF HONOUR*, a moral vision, written in the year 1501, planned on the design of the *TABLET* of Cebes, and imitated in the elegant Latin dialogue *De Tranquillitate Animi* of his countryman Florence Wilson, or Florentius Volusenus¹. It was first printed at London, in 1553^m. The object of this allegory, is to show the instability and insufficiency of worldly pomp; and to prove, that a constant and undeviating habit of virtue is the only way to true Honour and Happiness, who reside in a magnificent palace, situated on the summit of a high and inaccessible mountain. The allegory is illustrated by a variety of examples of illustrious personages; not only of those, who by a regular perseverance in honourable deeds gained admittance into this splendid habitation, but of those who were excluded from it, by debasing the dignity of their eminent stations with a vicious and unmanly behaviour. It is addressed, as an apologue for the conduct of a king, to James the Fourth; is adorned with many pleasing incidents and adventures, and abounds with genius and learning.

SECTION XXXII.

Scotch poets continued. Sir David Lyndesay. His chief performances the Dreame and Monarchie. His talents for description and imagery. His other poems examined. An anonymous Scotch poem, never printed, called Duncane Laidir. Its humour and satire. Feudul robbers. Blind Harry reconsidered. A history of the Scotch poetry recommended.

WITH Dunbar and Douglass I join Sir David Lyndesay, although perhaps in strictness he should not be placed so early as the close of

¹ Lugd. apud Seb. Gryph. 1543. 4to.

^m In quarto. Again, Edinb. 1579. 4to. "When pale Aurora with face lamentable." [Mr. Pinkerton has since published another allegorical poem by Douglas, called King Hart. Vide Ancient Scottish Poems. 1786.—PRICE.] Douglas also wrote a small Latin History of Scotland. [That bishop Douglas wrote a small Latin history of Scotland seems to be a mistake. He wrote a letter on the subject to Polydore Virgil.—RITSON.] See also a Dialogue concerning a theological

subject to be debated between *duos famulos viros*, G. Douglas provost of saint Giles, and master David Cranstoun bachelour of divinity, prefixed to John Major's *Commentarii in prim. Sentent.* Paris. 1519. fol. [This was reprinted at Edinburgh in 1571, 1707, and 1751. The two latter editions were superintended by Ruddiman and Wishart. The work was translated into English verse by Robert Blair, the classical author of that deservedly popular poem "The Grave."—PARK.]

the fifteenth century. He appears to have been employed in several offices about the person of James the Fifth, from the infancy of that monarch, by whom he was much beloved; and at length, on account of his singular skill in heraldry, a science then in high estimation and among the most polite accomplishments, he was knighted and appointed Lion king of arms of the kingdom of Scotland. Notwithstanding these situations, he was an excellent scholar^a.

Lyndesay's principal performances are *THE DREME*, and *THE MONARCHIE*. In the address to James the Fifth, prefixed to the *DREME*, he thus, with much tenderness and elegance, speaks of the attention he paid to his majesty when a child.

Quhen thou wes young, I bure the in myne arme
Full tenderlye, till thow begouth to gang^o;
And in thy bed, oft happit the full warme
With lute in hand, syne^p softlye to the sang.

He adds, that he often entertained the young prince with various dances and gesticulations, and by dressing himself in feigned characters, as in an interlude^q. A new proof that theatrical diversions were now common in Scotland.

Sumtyme, in dansing, feirelie I flang,
And sumtyme playand farsis^r on the flure:

* * * * *

And sumtyme lyke ane feind^s transfigure,
And sumtyme lyke the grislie gaist of Gy^t,
In divers formis oftymes disfigure,
And sumtyme disagysit full plesandlye^u.

^a See the *WARKIS OF THE FAMOUS AND WORTHIE KNIGHT SCHIR DAVID LYNDESAY of the Mount, &c.* Newly correctit and vindicate from the former errouris, &c. Pr. by John Scott, A.D. 1568, 4to. They have been often printed. I believe the last edition is at Edinburgh, 1709. 12mo. [The last edition is by Mr. G. Chalmers, 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1806. by which the present text has been corrected.—PRICE.]

^o began to walk. ^p then.

^q So also his *Complaynt to the Kingis Grace*. Signat. E. iii.

— As ane chapman beris his pack,
I bure thy grace upon my back;
And sumtymes stridlingis on my nek,
Dansand with mony bend and bek. —
And aye quhen thow come fra the scule,
Than I behuffit to play the fule. —
I wat thou luffist me better than
Nor now sum wyfe dois hir gude man.

^r playing farces, frolics.

^s in the shape of a fiend.

^t the grisly ghost of Guy earl of Warwick.

^u Disguised, masked, to make sport. Signat. D. i. He adds, what illustrates the text, above,

So sen thy birth I have continuallye
Bene occupyit, and aye to thy plesour,
And sumtyme Sewar, Coppar, and Car-
vour;

that is, sewer, and cupper or butler. He then calls himself the king's *secreit The-saurar*, and chief *Cubicular*. Afterwards he enumerates some of his own works.

I have at lenth the storeis done discryve
Of Hector, Arthur, and gentill Julius,
Of Alexander, and worthy Pompeius.

Of Jason and Medea, al at lenth,
Of Hercules the actis honorabill,
And of Sampson the supernaturall strenth,
And of leill luffaris [lovers] stories ami-
abill:

And oftymes have I feinzeit mony fabill,
Of Troylus the sorrow and the joy,
And seiges all of Tyre, Thebes, and Troy.

In the PROLOGUE to the DREME, our author discovers strong talents for high description and rich imagery. In a morning of the month of January, the poet quits the copse and the bank, now destitute of verdure and flowers, and walks towards the sea-beach. The dawn of day is expressed by a beautiful and brilliant metaphor.

Be this, fair Titan with his lemis licht
Over all the land had spred his banner bricht.

In his walk, musing on the desolations of the winter, and the distance of spring, he meets Flora disguised in a sable robe^w.

I met dame Flora in dule weid disagysit^x,
Quhilk into May was dulce and delectabill,
With stalwart^y stormis hir sweitnes wes supprysit,
Hir hevinly hewis war turnit into sabill,
Quhilkis umquhyle^z war to luffaris amiabill.
Fled from the frost the tender flouris I saw
Under dame NATURIS mantill lurkyng law^a.

The birds are then represented, flocking round NATURE, complaining of the severity of the season, and calling for the genial warmth of summer. The expostulation of the lark with Aurora, the sun, and the months, is conceived and conducted in the true spirit of poetry.

"Allace, AURORE, the sillie lark can cry,
Quhare hes thow left thy balmy liquour sweet,
That us rejosit, we mounting in the sky?
Thy silver droppis ar turnit into sleit!
O fair Phebus, quhare is thy hailsum heit?
* * * * *

The prophecyis of Rymour, Beid, and Marling,

And of mony uther plesand storye,
Of the reid Etin, and the gyir carling;
that is, the prophecies of Thomas Rymour, venerable Bede, and Merlin. [See supr. vol. i. pp. 70, 71. seq. And MSS. Ashm. 337. 6.] Thomas the Rimour, or Thomas Leirmouth of Erceldoun, seems to have written a poem on Sir Tristram. Rob. Brunne says this story would exceed all others,

If men yt sayd as made Thomas;
that is, "If men recited it according to the original composition of Thomas Erceldoun, or the Rimour." See Langtoft's Chron. Append. Pref. p. 100. vol. i. edit. Hearne. Oxon. 1725. 8vo. He flourished about 1280. I do not understand, The reid Etin, and the gyir carling: but gyir is a masque or masquerade. [The taylor of

the red Etin is mentioned in *The Complaynt of Scotland*, as a popular story of a giant with three heads. *Chalmers*. The Gyir-carling is Hecate, or the mother witch of the [Scottish] peasants. *Dr. Jamieson*.]—Many of Lyndesay's Interludes are among Lord Hyndford's manuscripts of Scotch poetry, and are exceedingly obscene. One of Lyndesay's Moralities, called ANE SATYRE OF THE THREE ESTATS in commendation of veruew and vytuperation of vyce, was printed at Edinburgh, 1602. This piece, which is entirely in rhyme, and consists of a variety of measures, must have taken up four hours in the representation.

^w Signat. D. ii.

^x disguised in a dark [sad] garment.

^y violent.

^z once, one while, [formerly.]

^a low.

Quhare art thou, MAY, with JUNE thy sister schene,
 Weill bordourit with dasyis of delyte?
 And gentill JULIE, with thy mantill grene
 Enamilit with rosis reid and whyte?"

The poet ascends the cliffs on the sea-shore, and entering a cavern, *high in the crags*, sits down to register in rhyme some mery mater of antiquitie. He compares the fluctuation of the sea with the instability of human affairs; and at length, being comfortably shrouded from the falling sleet by the closeness of his cavern, is lulled asleep by the whistling of the winds among the rocks, and the beating of the tide. He then has the following vision.

He sees a lady of great beauty and benignity of aspect; who says, she comes to soothe his melancholy by showing him some new spectacles. Her name is REMEMBRANCE. Instantaneously she carries him into the centre of the earth. Hell is here laid open^b; which is filled with popes, cardinals, abbots, archbishops in their pontifical attire, and ecclesiastics of every degree. In explaining the causes of their punishments, a long satire on the clergy ensues. With these are joined *bishop* Caiaphas, *bishop* Annas, the traitor Judas, Mahomet, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. Among the tyrants, or unjust kings, are Nero, Pharaoh, and Herod. Pontius Pilate is hung up by the heels. He sees also many duchesses and countesses, who suffer for pride and adultery. She then gives the poet a view of purgatory^c.

^b It was a part of the old mundane system, that hell was placed in the centre of the earth. So a fragment, cited by Hearne, Glossary Rob. Glouc. ii. 583.

Ryght so is hell-pitt, as clerkes telles,
 Amyde the erthe and no where elles.

So also an old French tract, *L'IMAGE DU MONDE*, or *Image of the world*, "Saches que en la terre est enfer, car enfer ne pourrait estre en si noble lieu comme est l'air," &c. ch. viii.

^c See above, pp. 387, 388. I have there mentioned a Vision of Hell, under the title of OWAYNE MILES. One Gilbertus Ludensis, a monk sent by king Stephen into Ireland, where he founded a monastery, with an Irish knight called OEN, wrote *De OENI Visione in Purgatorio*. See Wendover, apud Mat. Paris, sub ann. 1158. Reg. Stephan. According to Ware, Gilbertus flourished in the year 1152. Scriptor. Hibern. p. 111. Among the manuscripts of Magdalene college in Oxford, are the *Visiones* of Tundal, or Tungal, a knight of Ireland. "Cum anima mea corpus exueret." MSS. Coll. Magd. 53. It is printed in Tinnmouth's Sanctilogium; and in the Speculum Historiale of Vin-

centius Bellovacensis, lib. xxvii. cap. 88. He is called Tundalus in a manuscript of this piece, Bibl. Bodl. NE. B. 3. 16. He lived in the year 1149. Ware, ut supr. p. 55. I believe this piece is in the Cotton library, under the name of Tundale, MS. Calig. A. 12. f. 17. See what is said in Froissart, of the visions of a cave in Ireland, called saint Patrick's Purgatory. tom. ii. c. 200. Berners's Translat.

[There is a manuscript, Of a knight, called SIR OWYNN, visiting saint Patrick's Purgatory, Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. 550. MSS. Cott. Nero, A. vii. 4. [See ad. pp. 387, 388.] This piece was written by Henry, a Cistercian monk of Saltry in Huntingdonshire. See T. Messingham, Florileg. p. 86. seq. In the Catalogue of the library of Sion monastery, which contained fourteen hundred volumes, in Bennet library, it is falsely attributed to Hugo de Salterea. MSS. C. C. C. C. xli. The French have an ancient spiritual romance on this favourite expedition, so fertile of wonders, entitled, "Le Voyage du Puy Saint Patrice, auquel lieu on voit les peines du Purgatoire et aussi les joyes de Paradis, Lyon, 1506. 4to."--ADDITIONS.]

A lytill above that dolorous dungeoun,
 We enterit in ane cuntre full of cair;
 Quhare that we saw mony ane legioun
 Greitand and gowland with mony ruthfull rair^d.
 Quhat place is this, quod I, of blis so bair?
 Scho answerit and said, Purgatorie,
 Qhuilk purgis saulis or thay cum to glorie.^e

After some theological reasonings on the absurdity of this intermediate state, and having viewed the dungeon of unbaptized babes, and the limbus of the souls of men who died before Christ, which is placed in a vault above the region of torment, they reascend through the bowels of the earth. In passing, they survey the secret riches of the earth, mines of gold, silver, and precious stones. They mount, through the ocean, which is supposed to environ the earth; then travel through the air, and next through the fire. Having passed the three elements, they bend towards heaven, but first visit the seven planets^f. They enter the sphere of the moon, who is elegantly styled,

Queene of the sey, and bewtie of the night.

The sun is then described, with great force.

Than past we to the spheir of Phebus bricht,
 That Justye lamp and lanterne of the hevin;
 And glaidir of the steris with his licht;
 And principal of all the planetis sevin,
 And set in middis of thame all full evin:
 As roy^g royall rolling in his spheir
 Full plesandlye into his goldin chair.—
 For to discryve his diademe royall,
 Bordourit with precious stanis schyning bricht,
 His goldin cart, or throne imperiall,
 The foure steidis that drawith it full richt, &c.^h

They now arrive at that part of heaven which is called the CRYSTALLINEⁱ, and are admitted to the *Empyrean*, or heaven of heavens.

^d roar.

^e Signat. D. iii.

^f The planetary system was thus divided. i. The Primum Mobile, or first motion. ii. The crystalline heaven in which were placed the fixed stars. iii. The twelve signs of the zodiac. iv. The spheres or circles of the planets in this order: viz. Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercury, and lastly the moon, which they placed in the centre of universal nature. Again, they supposed the earth to be surrounded by three elementary spheres, fire, air, and water. Milton, in his *Elegy on the Death of a fair Infant*, makes a very poetical use of the notion of a *primum mobile*, where he supposes that the soul of the child hovers

—— Above that high FIRST MOVING SPHERE,

Or in th' Elysian fields, &c.

St. vi. 39. See *Parad. L.* iii. 483.

^g to be pronounced dissyllabically.

^h Signat. E. i.

ⁱ Most of this philosophy is immediately borrowed from the first chapters of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, a celebrated book when Lyndesay wrote, printed in the year 1493. It is there said, that of the waters above the firmament which were frozen like crystal, God made the crystalline heaven, &c. fol. iv. This idea is taken from *Genesis*, i. 4. See also *saint Paul*, ii. *Epist. Cor.* xii. 2. The same system is in *Tasso*, where the archangel Michael de-

Here they view the throne of God, surrounded by the nine orders of angels, singing with ineffable harmony.* Next the throne is the Virgin Mary, the queen of queens, "well cumpanyit with ladyis of delyte." An exterior circle is formed by patriarchs, prophets, evangelists, apostles, conquerors in the three battles of the world, of the flesh, and of the devil, martyrs, confessors, and *doctours in divinitie*, under the command of saint Peter, who is represented as their lieutenant-general.¹

Milton, who feigns the same visionary route with very different ideas, has these admirable verses, written in his nineteenth year, yet marked with that characteristical great manner which distinguishes the poetry of his maturer age. He is addressing his native language.

Yet I had rather, if I were to chuse,
Thy service in some graver subject use;
Such as may make thee search thy coffers round,
Before thou clothe my fancy in fit sound:

scends from heaven, Gier. Lib. C. ix. st. 60. seq. And in Milton, Parad. L. iii. 481.

They pass the planets, seven, and pass the fix'd,
And that crystallin sphere, &c.

* Because the scriptures have mentioned several degrees of angels, Dionysius the Areopagite, and others, have divided them into nine orders; and those they have reduced into three hierarchies. This was a tempting subject for the refining genius of the school-divines: and accordingly we find in Thomas Aquinas a disquisition, *De ordinatione Angelorum secundum Hierarchias et Ordines*. Quæst. cviii. The system, which perhaps makes a better figure in poetry than in philosophy, has been adopted by many poets who did not outlive the influence of the old scholastic sophistry. See Dante, Parad. C. xxviii. Tasso mentions, among *La grande oste del ciel*,

TRE POLTE SQUADRE, et ogni squadra
instrutta
IN TRE ORDINI gira, &c.

Gier. Lib. xviii. 96. And Spenser speaks of the angels singing in their TRINALL TRIPLICITIES. Fair. Qu. i. xii. 39. And again, in his Hymne of Heavenly Love. See also Sannazarius, De Part. Virgin. iii. 241. Milton perhaps is the last poet who has used this popular theory. Parad. L. v. 748.

Regions they pass'd, and mighty regencies
Of Seraphim, and Potentates, and Thrones,
In their TRIPLE DEGREES.—

And it gives great dignity to his arrangement of the celestial army. See *ibid.* supr. 583.

— Th' empyreal host
Of angels, by imperial summons call'd,
Innumerable before th' Almighty's throne,
Forthwith from all the ends of heaven
appear'd,
Under their HIERARCHIES in ORDERS
bright.—
Ten thousand thousand ensigns high
advanced,
Standards and gonfalons, twixt van and
rear
Stream in the air, and for distinction
serve
Of HIERARCHIES, of ORDERS, and DE-
GREES.

Such splendid and sublime imagery has Milton's genius raised on the problems of Thomas Aquinas! See also *ibid.* v. 600. Hence a passage in his Hymn on The Morning of Christ's Nativity is to be illustrated. St. xiii. 131.

And with your ninefold harmony
Make up full concert to the angelike
symphony;

that is, the symphony of the nine orders of angels was to be answered by the ninefold music of the spheres. One Thomas Haywood, a most voluminous dramatic poet in the reign of James the First, wrote a long poem with large notes on this subject, called *The Hierarchie of Angels*, printed in folio, at London, 1635. See also Jonson's *Elegie on my Muse*, in the *Underwood*, p. 260. edit. fol. Lond. 1640.

¹ *Ibid.*

Such, where the deep-transported mind may soar
 Above the wheeling poles; and at Heaven's door
 Look in, and see each blissfull deitie
 How he before the thunderous throne doth lie,
 Listening to what unshorn Apollo sings
 To th' touch of golden wires, while Hebe brings
 Immortal nectar to her kingly sire.
 Then passing through the spears of watchfull fire,
 And mistie regions of wide air next under,
 And hills of snow, and lofts of piled thunder,
 May tell at length how green-eyed Neptune raves,
 In heaven's defiance mustering all his waves.^m

REMEMBRANCE and the poet, leaving heaven, now contemplate the earth, which is divided into three parts. To have mentioned America, recently discovered, would have been heresy in the science of cosmography; as that quarter of the globe did not occur in Pliny and Ptolemy.ⁿ The most famous cities are here enumerated. The poet next desires a view of Paradise; that glorious *garth*, or garden, of every flower. It is represented as elevated in the middle region of the air, in a climate of perpetual serenity.^o From a *fair* fountain, springing in the midst of this ambrosial garden, descend four rivers, which water all the east. It is inclosed with walls of fire, and guarded by an angel.

The cuntre closit is about full richt,
 With wallis hie of hote and birnyng fyre,
 And straitly keipit be ane angell bricht.^p

From Paradise a very rapid transition is made to Scotland. Here the poet takes occasion to lament, that in a country so fertile, and filled with inhabitants so ingenious and active, universal poverty, and every national disorder, should abound. It is very probable, that the poem was written solely with a view of introducing this complaint. After an inquiry into the causes of these infelicities, which are referred to political mismanagement, and the defective administration of justice, the COMMONWEALTH OF SCOTLAND appears, whose figure is thus delineated.

We saw a bousteous berne^q cum ovir the bent^r,
 But^s hors on fute, als fast as he micht go;

^m At a Vacation Exercise, &c. Newton's Milt. ii. p. 11.

ⁿ For the benefit of those who are making researches in ancient cosmography, I observe that the map of England, mentioned by Harrison and Hearne, and belonging to Merton college library, appears to have existed at least so early as the year 1512: for in that year, it was lent to the dean of Wells, William Cosyn, with a caution of forty shillings. Registr.

Vet. Coll. Mert. fol. 218 b. See its restitution, *ibid.* fol. 219 b.

^o "Paradisus tantæ est altitudinis, quod est inaccessibilis secundum Bedam; et tam altus, quod etheream regionem pertingat," &c. Chron. Nur. ut supr. f. viii. b.

^p Signat. E. iii.

^q boisterous fellow, [strong, powerful.]

^r coarse grass, [also, an open field, or plain.]

^s without.

Quhose rayment was all raggit, revin^t, and rent,
 With visage lene, as he had fastit Lent :
 And fordwart fast his wayis he did advance,
 With ane malicious countenance :
 With scrip on hip, and pykstaff in his hand,
 As he had purposit, to pas fra hame.
 Quod I, Gude man, I wald fane understand,
 Gif ye pleisit^u, to wit^w quhat is your name?
 Quod he, My sone, of that I think greit schame.
 Bot sen thow wald of my name have ane feill,
 Forsuthe thay call me *Jhone* the Commoun-weill.*^v

The reply of SYR COMMONWEALTH to our poet's question, is a long and general satire on the corrupt state of Scotland. The spiritual prelates, he says, have sent away Devotion to the mendicant friars; and are more fond of describing the dishes at a feast, than of explaining the nature of their own establishment.

Sensual Plesour hes baneist Chaistitie.

Liberality, Loyalty, and Knightly Valour, are fled, ~

And Cowardice, with lordis is laureate.

From this sketch of Scotland, here given by Lyndesay, under the reign of James the Fifth, who acted as a viceroy to France, a Scotch historian might collect many striking features of the state of his country during that interesting period, drawn from the life.

The poet then supposes, that REMEMBRANCE conducts him back to the cave on the sea-shore, in which he fell asleep. He is awakened by a ship firing a broadside.[†] He returns home, and entering his oratory, commits his vision to verse. To this is added an exhortation of ten stanzas to king James the Fifth; in which he gives his majesty advice, and censures his numerous instances of misconduct, with incredible boldness and asperity. Most of the addresses to James the Fifth, by the Scotch poets, are satires instead of panegyrics.

I have not at present either leisure or inclination to enter into a

[†] riven.

^u if you please.

^w know.

[†] John, for what reason I know not, is a name of ridicule and contempt in most modern languages.

^v Signat. F. i.

[†] Thay sparit nocht the poulder nor the *stanis*.

A proof that stones were now used instead of leaden bullets. At first they shot darts, or *carrieaux*, i. e. quarrels, from great guns; afterwards stones, which they called *gun-stones*. In the Brut of En-

gland, it is said, that when Henry the Fifth, before Hareflete, received a taunting message from the Dauphin of France, and a ton of tennis-balls by way of contempt, "he anoone lette make tenes balles for the *Dofts* [Henry's ship] in all the haste that they myght, and they were great *GOONESTONES* for the *Dofts* to playe with alle." But this game at tennis was too rough for the besieged, when Henry "playede at the tenes with his harde *GOONESTONES*," &c. See Strutt's Customs and Manners of the English, vol. ii. p. 32. Lond. 1775.

minute inquiry, how far our author is indebted in his DREME to Tully's DREAM OF SCIPIO, and the HELL, PURGATORY, and HEAVEN, of Dante.^a

Lyndesay's poem, called the MONARCHIE, is an account of the most famous monarchies that have flourished in the world ; but, like all the Gothic prose-histories, or chronicles, on the same favorite subject, it begins with the creation of the world, and ends with the day of judgment.^b There is much learning in this poem. It is a dialogue between EXPERIENCE and a courtier. This mode of conducting a narrative by means of an imaginary mystagogue, is adopted from Boethius. A descriptive prologue, consisting of octave stanzas, opens the poem, in which the poet enters a delightful park.^c The sun clad in his embroidered mantle, brighter than gold or precious stones, extinguishes the *horned queen of night*, who hides her visage in a *misty veil*. Immediately Flora began to expand

— — — hir tapistrie

Wrocht be dame NATURE queynt and curiouslye,
Depaynt with mony hundreth hevinlie hewis.

Meanwhile, Eolus and Neptune restrain their fury, that no rude sounds might mar the melody of the birds which echoed among the rocks.^d

^a In the Medicean library at Florence, and the Ambrosian at Milan, there is a long manuscript Italian poem, in three books, divided into one hundred chapters, written by Matteo Palmeri, a learned Florentine, about the year 1450. It is in imitation of Dante, in the *terza rima*, and entitled *CITTA DI VITA*, or *The City of Life*. The subject is, the peregrination of the soul, freed from the shackles of the body, through various ideal places and situations, till at length it arrives in the city of heaven. This poem was publicly burnt at Cortona, because the author adopted Origen's heresy concerning a third class of angels who for their sins were destined to animate human bodies. See Trithem. c. 797. Julius Niger, Scriptor. Florent. p. 404.

^b In a manuscript at Lambeth [332.] this poem is said to have been begun Jun. 11, 1556. This is a great mistake. [The meaning is, that the transcript was begun on that day.—*Chalmers*.] It was printed Hafn. 1552. 4to.

^c Signat. i. B. A park is a favorite scene of action in our old poets. See Chaucer's Compl. Bl. Kn. v. 39.

Toward a park enclosid with a wall, &c. and in other places. Parks were anciently the constant appendage of almost

every considerable manorial house. The old patent-rolls are full of licences for imparcations, which do not now exist.

^d Instead of Parnassus he chooses mount Calvary, and his Helicon is the stream which flowed from our Saviour's side on the cross, when he was wounded by Longinus, that is Longias. This is a fictitious personage in Nicodemus's Gospel. I have mentioned him before. Being blind, he was restored to sight by wiping his eyes with his hands which were bloody. See more of him in Chaucer's Lament. Mary Magd. v. 176. In the Gothic pictures of the Crucifixion, he is represented on horseback, piercing our Saviour's side ; and in Xavier's Persic History of Christ, he is called a horseman. This notion arose from his using a spear, or lance ; and that weapon, *λougχh*, undoubtedly gave rise to his ideal name of Longias, or Longinus. He is afterwards supposed to have been a bishop of Cesarea, and to have suffered martyrdom. See Tillemont. Memor. Hist. Ecclesiast. tom. i. pp. 81. 251. and Fabric. Apocr. Nov. Testam. tom. i. p. 261. In the old Greek tragedy of Christ Suffering, the converted Centurion is expressly mentioned, but not by this name. Almost all that relates to this person, who could not escape the fictions of the monks, has been collected by J. Ch. Wolfius, Cur. Philol.

In the park, our poet, under the character of a courtier, meets with EXPERIENCE, reposing under the shade of a holly. This portrait is touched with uncommon elegance and expression.

Into that park I saw appeir
 Ane agit man, quhilk drew me neir;
 Quhais berd was weil thre quarter lang,
 His hair down ovir his schulders hang,
 The quhilk as ony snaw was quhyte,
 Quhome to behald I thocht delyte.
 His habit angellyke of hew,
 Of colour lyke the sapheir blew:
 Under ane holyne he reposit.—
 To sit down he requiestit me
 Under the schadow of that tre,
 To saif me frome the sonnis heit,
 Amangis the flowris soft and sweet^f.

In the midst of an edifying conversation concerning the fall of man and the origin of human misery, our author, before he proceeds to his main subject, thinks it necessary to deliver a formal apology for writing in the vulgar tongue. He declares that his intention is to instruct and to be understood, and that he writes to the people^g. Moses, he says, did not give the Judaic law on mount Sinai in Greek or Latin. Aristotle and Plato did not communicate their philosophy in Dutch or Italian. Virgil and Cicero did not write in Chaldee or Hebrew. Saint Jerom, it is true, translated the Bible into Latin, his own natural language; but had saint Jerom been born in Argyleshire, he would have translated it into Erse. King David wrote the psalter in Hebrew, because he was a Jew. Hence he very sensibly takes occasion to recommend the propriety and necessity of publishing the scriptures and the missal, and of composing all books intended for common use, in the respective vernacular language of every country. This objection being answered, which shows the ideas of the times, our author thus describes the creation of the world and of Adam.

Quhen God had maid the hevenis bricht,
 The sone, and mone, for to gyf licht,
 The sterry hevin, and christallyne;
 And, be his sapience divine,
 The planeitis, in thair circles round
 Quhirling about with merrie sound:—

^et Crit. in S. Evangel. tom. i. p. 414. ii. 984. edit. Basil. 1741. 4to. See also Hoffman. Lexic. Universal. Continuat. in Voc. tom. i. p. 1036. col. 2. Basil. 1643. fol.

^f Signat. B. i.

^g Quharefore to coilsearis, carteris, and to cukis,
 To Jok and Thome, my ryme sal be directit. Signat. C. i.

He cled the erth with herbis and treis ;
 All kynd of fisches in the seis,
 All kynd of beist he did prepair,
 With fowlis fleing in the air.—
 Quhen hevin, and erth, and thair contentis,
 Wer endit, with thair ornamentis,
 Than, last of all, the lord began
 Off maist vyle erth to mak the man :
 Nocht of the lillie nor the rose,
 Nor cyper-tre, as I suppose,
 Nouthir of gold, nor precious stanis,
 Of erth he maid flesche, blude, and banis ;
 To that intent God maid him thus,
 That man suld nocht be glorious,
 Nor in himself na thyng suld se
 Bot mater of humilite^h.

Some of these nervous, terse, and polished lines need only to be reduced to modern and English orthography, to please a reader accustomed solely to relish the tone of our present versification.

To these may be added the destruction of Jerusalem and Solomon's temple.

Prince Titus with his chevalrye
 With sound of trompe tryumphandlyc,
 He enterit in that greit citie, &c.
 Thare wes nocht ellis bot tak and slay,
 For thare nicht na man win away^l.
 The strandis of blude ran throuch the streitis,
 Of deid folk trampit under feit^{is} ;
 Auld wedowis in the preis war smorit^k,
 Young virginis, schamefully deflorit.
 The greit tempill of Salamone,
 With mony aue curious carvit stone,
 With perfyte pinnacles on hicht,
 Quhilkis war richt bewtifull and wicht^l,
 Quharein ryche jowellis did abound,
 Thay ruscheit^m rudelie to the ground ;
 And set, in till thair furious ireⁿ,
 Sancta Sanctorum into fire^o.

The appearance of Christ coming to judgement is poetically painted, and in a style of correctness and harmony, of which few specimens were now seen.

^h Signat. C. iii.

^l escape.

^l white.

^k smothered.

^m *f. rased*, [or dashed.]

ⁿ in their rage.

^o Signat. L. iii.

As fyreflaucht haistely glansing^p,
 Discend sall the maist hevinly king ;
 As Phebus in the orient
 Lichtnis^q in haist the occident,
 Sa plesandlye he sall appeir
 Amang the hevinlye cluddis cleir.—
 The angellis of the ordouris nyne
 Inviron sall that throne devyne.—
 In his presens thare sal be borne
 The signis^r of cros, and croun of thorne,
 Pillar, naillis, scurgis, and speir,
 With everilk thing that did him deir^s,
 The tyme of his grym passioun :
 And, for our consolatioun,
 Appeir sall, in his handis and feit,
 And in his syde the prent compleit
 Of his fyve woundis precious
 Schynand lyke rubies radious.

When Christ is seated at the tribunal of judging the world, he adds,

Thare sall ane angell blawe ane blast
 Quhilk sall mak all the warld agast^t.

Among the monarchies, our author describes the papal see ; whose innovations, impostures, and errors, he attacks with much good sense, solid argument, and satirical humour ; and whose imperceptible increase, from simple and humble beginnings to an enormity of spiritual tyranny, he traces through a gradation of various corruptions and abuses, with great penetration, and knowledge of history^u.

Among ancient peculiar customs now lost, he mentions a superstitious idol annually carried about the streets of Edinburgh.

Of Edinburgh the greit idolatrie,
 And manifest abhominatioun !
 On thair feist day, all creature may see,
 Thay beir ane auld stok-image^w through the toun,
 With talbrone^x, trumpet, schalme, and clarioun,
 Quhilk hes bene usit mony ane yeir bygone,
 With priestis, and freiris, into processioun,
 Siclyke^y as Bal wes borne through Babylone^z.

^p A meteor quickly glancing along,
 [lightning.]

^q lightens.

^r representations.

^s dismay, torment, [or hurt.]

^t Signat. P. iii.

^u Signat. M. iii.

^w an old image made of a stock of wood.

[The auld stock-image which is here re-

probated by Lyndsay, was the image of St. Giles the patron saint of Edinburgh ; and which was yearly, on the first of September, carried through the town in grand procession.—CHALMERS.]

^x tabor.

^z Signat. H. iii.

^y so as.

He also speaks of the people flocking to be cured of various infirmities, to the *auld rude*, or cross, of Kerrail^a.

Our poet's principal vouchers and authorities in the *MONARCHIE*, are Livy, Valerius Maximus, Josephus, Diodorus Siculus, Avicen the Arabic physician, Orosius, saint Jerom, Polydore Virgil, Cario's chronicle, the *FASCICULUS TEMPORUM*, and the *CHRONICA CHRONICORUM*. The *FASCICULUS TEMPORUM* is a Latin chronicle, written at the close of the fifteenth century by Wernerus Rolewinck, a Westphalian, and a Carthusian monk of Cologne; a most venerable volume, closed with this colophon: "*FASCICULUS TEMPORUM, a Carthusiense compilatum in formam, cronicis figuratum usque in annum 1478, a me Nicolao Gatz de Seltztat impressum*"^b. THE *CHRONICA CHRONICORUM*, or *CHRONICON MUNDI*, written by Hartmannus Schedelius, a physician at Nuremberg, and from which our author evidently took his philosophy in his *DREME*, was printed at Nuremberg in 1493^c. This was a most popular compilation, and is at present a great curiosity to those who are fond of history in the Gothic style, consisting of wonders conveyed in the black letter and wooden cuts. Cario's chronicle is a much more rational and elegant work: it was originally composed, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, by Ludovicus Cario, an eminent mathematician, and improved or written anew by Melancthon. Of Orosius, a wretched but admired Christian historian, who compiled in Latin a series of universal annals from the creation to the fifth century, he cites a translation.

The translatour of Orosius
Intill his cronicle wryttis thus^d.

I know of no English translation of Orosius, unless the Anglo-Saxon version by king Alfred, and which would perhaps have been much more difficult to Lyndesay than the Latin original, may be called such: yet Orosius was early translated into French^e and Italian^f. For the story of Alexander the Great, our author seems to refer to Adam Davie's poem on that subject, written in the reign of Edward the Second^g: a

^a Signat. H. i. For allusions of this kind the following stanza may be cited, which I do not entirely understand. Signat. H. iii.

This wes the practick of sum pilgramage,
Quhen fillokis into Fyfe began to fon
With Joke and Thom than tuke thai thair
vayage

In Angus till the feild chapell of Dron:
Than kittock thare als caidgie as ane con,
Without regarde outhter to sin or schame,
Gave Lawrie leif at laiser to loup on,
Far better had bene till have bidden at
hame.

I will here take occasion to explain two
lines, Signat. I. iii.

Nor yit the fair maydin of France
Danter of Inglis ordinance.

That is, Joan of Arc, who so often *daunted*
or defeated the English army. To this
heroine, and to Penthesilea, he compares
Semiramis.

^b See it also among Scriptor. German.
per J. Pistorium, tom. i. p. 580.

^c Again, *ibid.* by Joh. Schensperger.
1497. fol.

^d Signat. F. ii.

^e By Philip Le Noir. Paris, A.D. 1526.
fol.

^f By Benaccivoli. Ven. 1528. 4to.

^g See *supr.* p. 6.

work which I never remember to have seen cited before, and of which, although deserving to be printed, only two public manuscripts now remain, the one in the library of Lincoln's-inn, and the other in the Bodleian library at Oxford.

Alexander the conquerour,
Gif thow at lenth wald reid his ring^h,
And of his crewell conquessing,
In INGLIS TOUNG IN HIS GREIT BUKE,
At lenth his LYFE thare thow may luke^l.

He acquaints us, yet not from his own knowledge, but on the testimony of other writers, that Homer and Hesiod were the inventors in Greece, of poetry, medicine, music, and astronomy^k.

EXPERIENCE departs from the poet, and the dialogue is ended, at the approach of the evening; which is described with these circumstances.

Behald, how Phebus downwart dois descend,
Towart his palyce in the occident!—
The dew now donkis^l the rosis redolent:
The mariguldis, that all day wer rejosit
Of Phebus heit, now craftily ar closit^m.—
The cornecraik in the croft, I heir hir cry;
The bak, the howlattⁿ, febyl of thair eis,
For thair pastyme, now in the evinning fleis.
The nichtingail with myrthful melody
Hir naturall notis, peirsith through the sky.^o

Many other passages in Lyndesay's poems deserve attention. Magdalene of France, married to James the Fifth of Scotland^p, did not live to see the magnificent preparations made for her public entry into Edinburgh. In a poem, called the DEITH OF QUENE MAGDALENE, our author, by a most striking and lively prosopopeia, an expostulation with DEATH, describes the whole order of the procession. I will give a few of the stanzas.

THEIF, saw thow nocht the greit preparatyvis
Of Edinburgh, the nobill famous toun?

^h If thou at length would read his reign.
^l Signat. K. iii. He also cites Lucan for Alexander, Signat. L. i. For an account of the riches of pope John, he quotes Palmerius. Signat. N. i. This must have been Mattheus Palmerius above mentioned, author of the *Citta di Vita*, who wrote a general chronicle from the fifth century to his own times, entitled *De Temporibus*, and, I believe, first printed at Milan, 1475. fol. afterwards reprinted with improvements and continuations, particularly at

Venice, 1483. 4to. and by Grynæus at the end of Eusebius, fol. 1570.

^k Signat. K. iii.

^l moistens.

^m are closed.

ⁿ owl, owl.

^o Signat. R.

^p Not inelegantly, he compares James making frequent and dangerous voyages into France to address the princess, to Leander swimming through the Hellespont to Hero.

Thow saw the pepill lauboring for thair lyvis,
To mak tryumphe with trump and clarioun !—

* * * * *
Thow saw makand^q richt costlie scaffolding,
Depaintit weill with gold and asure fyne,
Reddye prepairit for the upsetting,
With fontanis flowing water cleir and wyne :
Disagysit^r folkis, lyke creaturis divyne,
On ilk scaffold to play ane sundrie storie^s :
Bot all in greiting^t turnit thow that glorie.

Thow saw mony ane lustie fresche galland
Weill ordourit for resaiving of thair quene,
Ilk craftisman with bent bow in his hand,
Ful galzeartlie in schort clething of grene, &c.—

* * * * *
Syne nyxt in ordour passing throw the toun,
Thow suld haif hard the din of instrumentis,
Of tabrone, trumpet, schalme, and clarioun,
With reird^u redoundand throw the elementis ;
The herauldis with thair awful vestimentis,
With maseris^w upon ather of thair handis,
To rewle the preis, with burneist silver wandis, &c.—

Thow suld haif hard^x the ornate oratouris,
Makand hir hynes salutatioun,
Baith of the clergy town and counsalouris,
With mony notabill narratioun.
Thow suld haif sene hir coronatioun,
In the fair abbay of the haly rude,
In presence of ane myrthfull multitude.

Sic banketting, sic awfull tornamentis
On hors and fute, that tyme quhilk suld haif bene,
Sic chapell royall with sic instrumentis,
And craftie musick, &c.^y — —

Exclusive of this artificial and very poetical mode of introducing a description of these splendid spectacles, instead of saying plainly that the queen's death prevented the superb ceremonies which would have attended her coronation, these stanzas have another merit, that of transmitting the ideas of the times in the exhibition of a royal entertainment.^z

^q making. ^r men, actors disguised.

^s plays and pageants acted on move-
able scaffolds.

^t to grief.

^u sound.

^w maces.

^y Signat. K. iii.

^z heard.
The curious reader may compare
" The ordynance of the entre of quene

Our author's COMPLAINYNT contains a curious picture, like that in his DREME, of the miserable policy by which Scotland was governed under James the Fifth. But he diversifies and enlivens the subject, by supposing the public felicity which would take place, if all corrupt ministers and evil counsellors were removed from the throne. This is described by striking and picturesque personifications.

For Justice haldis hir swerd on hie,
With hir ballance of equitie.—
Dame Prudence hes the be the heid,
And Temperance dois thy brydill leid.
I se dame Force mak assistance,
Bearand thy targe of assurance :
And lusty lady Chastitie
Hes banischit Sensualitie.
Dame Ryches takis on the sic cure,
I pray God that scho lang indure !
That Povertie dar nocht be sene
Into thy hous, for baith hir ene :
Bot fra thy grace fled mony mylis
Amangis the huntaris in the llis.*

I know not whether it be worth observing, that playing at cards is mentioned in this poem, among the diversions, or games, of the court.

Isabell into the towne of Paris," in Froissart. Berner's Transl. tom. ii. c. clvii. f. 172 b.

* Signat. G. i. I here take occasion to explain the two following lines :

Als Jhone Makrery, the kingis fule,
Gat dowbill garmentis agane the yule.

That is, "The king's fool got two suits of apparel, or garments doubly thick, to wear at Christmas." Signat. G. i. Yule is Christmas. So James the First, in his declaration at an assembly of the Scotch Kirk at Edinburgh, in 1590, "The church of Geneva keep *Pasche* and YULE," that is, *Easter* and CHRISTMAS. Calderwood's Hist. Ch. Scot. p. 256. Our author, in the Complaynt of the Papyngo, says that his bird sung well enough to be a minstrel at Christmas. Signat. A. iii.

Scho might have bene ane menstrall at the gule.

Thus Robert of Brunne, in his chronicle, speaking of King Arthur keeping Christmas at York,

On yole day mad he fest
With many barons of his geste.

See Hearne's Rob. Glouc. vol. ii. p. 678. and Leland's Itin. vol. ii. p. 116. In the north of England, Christmas to this day is called *ule*, *yule*, or *youle*. Blount says, "in the northern parts they have an old custom, after sermon or service on Christmas-day; the people will, even in the churches, cry *ule*, *ule*, as a token of rejoicing, and the common sort run about the streets singing

ULE, ULE, ULE,
Three puddings in a pule,
Crack nuts, and cry ULE."

Diction. Voc. ULE. In Saxon the word is *gehul*, *gehul*, or *geol*. In the Welch rubric every saint's day is the *Wyl*, or *Gwl*, of that saint; either from a British word signifying *watching*, or from the Latin *Vigilia*, Vigil, taken in a more extended sense. In Wales *wyliaw* or *gwyliaw* hadollg, signifies the Christmas holidays, where *wyla* or *gwyliaw* is the plural of *wyl* or *gwyyl*.

I also take this opportunity of observing, that the court of the Roman pontiff was exhilarated by a fool. The pope's fool was in England in 1230, and received forty shillings of king Henry the Third, *de dono regis*. MSS. James, xxviii. p. 190.

Thare was na play, bot CARTIS and dyce^c.

And it is mentioned as an accomplishment in the character of a bishop:

Bot, gif thay can play at the CARTIS.^d

Thus, in the year 1503, James the Fourth of Scotland, at an interview with the princess Margaret in the castle of Newbattle, finds her playing at cards. "The kynge came prively to the said castell, and entred within the chammer [chamber] with a small cumpany, whare he founde the quene *playing at the CARDES*."*

Prophecies of apparent impossibilities were common in Scotland; such as the removal of one place to another. Under this popular prophetic formulary, may be ranked the prediction in Shakspeare's MACBETH, where the APPARITION says, that Birnam-wood shall go to Dunsinane. In the same strain, peculiar to his country, says our author,

Quhen the Bas and the isle of May
Beis set upon the mont Sinay,
Quhen the Lowmound besyde Falkland
Beis liftit to Northumberland.

But he happily avails himself of the form, to introduce a stroke of satire.

* Signat. F. iii.

^d Signat. G. i.

^c Leland. Coll. Append. iii. p. 284. ut supr. In our author's Tragedie of Cardinal Betoun, a soliloquy spoken by the cardinal, he is made to declare, that he played with the king for three thousand crowns of gold in one night, at *cartis* and dice. Signat. I. ii. They are also mentioned in an old anonymous Scotch poem, *Of COVETICE*. Anc. Sc. P. ut supr. p. 168. st. iii.

Halking, hunting, and swift horse rynn-
ning,
Are changit all in wrangus wyunning;
Thar is no play bot *cartis* and dyce.

Where, by the way, horse-racing is considered among the liberal sports, such as hawking and hunting, and not as a species of gaming. See also, *ibid.* p. 146. st. v.

Cards are mentioned in a statute of Henry the Seventh, xi. Hen. vii. cap. ii. That is, in 1496. Du Cange cites two Greek writers, who mention card-playing as one of the games of modern Greece, at least before the year 1498. Gloss. Gr. tom. ii. V. XAPTIA. p. 1734. It seems highly probable, that the Arabians, so famous for their ingenuity, more especially in whatever related to numbers and

calculation, were the inventors of cards, which they communicated to the Constantinopolitan Greeks. Carpentier says, that cards, or *folia lusoria*, are prohibited in the STATUTA CRIMIN. Saonæ, cap. xxx. p. 61. But the age of these statutes has not occurred to me. Suppl. Lat. Gloss. Du Cange, V. Cartæ. tom. i. p. 842.

Benedictus Abbas has preserved a very curious edict, which shows the state of gaming in the Christian army, commanded by Richard the First, king of England, and Philip of France, during the crusade in the year 1190. No person in the army is permitted to play at any sort of game for money, except knights and clergymen; who in one whole day and night shall not, each, lose more than twenty shillings, on pain of forfeiting one hundred shillings, to the archbishops of the army. The two kings may play for what they please, but their attendants, not for more than twenty shillings. Otherwise, they are to be whipped naked through the army for three days, &c. Vit. Ric. I. p. 610. edit. Hearn. tom. ii. King Richard is described playing at chess in this expedition. MSS. Harl. 4690.

And kyng Rychard stode and plays
Att the chesse in hys galleye.

Quhen kirkman yairnis^f na dignite,
Nor wyffis na soveranite.^g

The minority of James the Fifth was dissipated in pleasures, and his education most industriously neglected. He was flattered, not instructed, by his preceptors. His unguarded youth was artfully exposed to the most alluring temptations^h. It was in this reign, that the nobility of Scotland began to frequent the court; which soon became the theatre of all those idle amusements which were calculated to solicit the attention of a young king. All these abuses are painted in this poem with an honest unreserved indignation. It must not in the mean time be forgotten, that James possessed eminent abilities, and a love of literature; nor is it beside our present purpose to observe, that he was the author of the celebrated ballad called *CHRIST'S KIRK ON THE GREEN*.ⁱ

THE *COMPLAYNT OF THE PAPINGO* is a piece of the like tendency. In the Prologue, there is a curious and critical catalogue of the Scotch poets who flourished about the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. As the names and works of many of them seem to be totally forgotten, and as it may contribute to throw some new lights on the neglected history of the Scotch poetry, I shall not scruple to give the passage at large, with a few illustrations. Our author declares, that the poets of his own age dare not aspire to the praise of the three English poets, Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. He then, under the same idea, makes a transition to the most distinguished poets who formerly flourished in Scotland.

Or quha can now the warkis contrefait^k
Off KENNEDIE^l, with termes aureait?
Or of DUNBAR, quha language had at large,
As may be sene intill his GOLDIN TARGE^m?

^f earn, gain.

^g Ibid. Signat. H. i.

^h Even his governors and preceptors threw these temptations in his way: a circumstance touched with some humour by our author. Ibid. Signat. G.

There was few of that garnisoun

That lernit hym ane gude lessoun.—

Quod ane, The devill stik me with ane knife,

Bot, schir, I knaw ane maide in Fyfe,
Ane of the lustiest wantoun lassie!—
Hald thy tounge, brother, quod ane uther,
I knaw ane fairer be systene futher.

Schir, whan ye pleis to Linlithquow pas,
Thare sall ye se ane lustie las.

Now *tritill tritill trow low*,
Quod the third man, thow dois bot mow;
Quhen his grace cummls to fair Stirling
Thare sal he se ane dayis darling.

Schir, quod the fourt, tak my counsell,
And go all to the hie bordell,
Thare may we loup at liberte
Withoutin any gravite, &c.

Compare Buchanan, *Histor. lib. xiv. ad fin.*

ⁱ Printed at Oxford, by Edm. Gibson, 1691. 4to. with Notes. He died in 1542.

^k imitate.

^l I suppose Walter Kennedie, who wrote a poem in Scottish metre, whether printed I know not, on the *Passion of Christ*. MSS. Coll. Gresham, 286. Some of Kennedie's poems are in MSS. Hyndford. The *Flying between Dunbar and Kennedie* is in the *Evergreen*. See Dunbar, ut *supr.* p. 77. And *ibid.* p. 274. And Kennedie's *Prais of Age*, *ibid.* p. 189. He exceeds his cotemporary Dunbar in smoothness of versification.

^m The poem examined above, p. 438.

QUINTYN^a, MERSE^r, ROWL^p, HENDERSON^q, HAY^r, and
HOLLAND^a,

Thocht thay be deid, thair libellis bene livand^t,
Quhilkis to reherse makith reidaris to reiose.
Allace for ane quhilk lamp was of this land,
Of eloquence the flowand balmy strand^u,
And in our Inglis rethorick the rose,
As of rubeis the carbunkle bene chose,
And as Phebus dois Cynthia precell;
So GAWIN DOWGLAS, bischop of Dunkell,

Had, quhen he wes into this lande on lyve,
Abuf vulgar poetis prerogatyve,
Baith in practick and speculatioun.
I say na mair: gude reidaris may discryve
His worthy werkis, in noumer mo than fyve.
And speciallie the trew translatioun
Of Virgill, quhilk bene consolatioun

To cunning men to know his greit ingyne,
Als weill in naturall science as devyne.

^a He flourished about the year 1320. He was driven from Scotland under the devastations of Edward the First, and took refuge at Paris. He wrote a poem, called the *Complaint of the Miseries of his Country*, printed at Paris, 1511. Dempst. xv. 1034. [It is far more likely that the writer alluded to, is Quintyne Schaw, the author of a poem called "Advyce to a Courtier," printed in Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, vol. i. p. 348. He is mentioned by Dunbar in his "Lament for the Makaris," by the name of Quintyne, (as in the text) without any addition.—PRICE.]

^r Merse is celebrated by Dunbar, "Lament for the Deth of the Makkaris, or Poets." See *Anc. Scottish Poems*, ut supr. p. 77.

That did in luv so lyff wryte,
So schort, so quick, of sentens hie.

See in that Collection, his *Perrell in Paramours*, p. 156.

^p Dunbar mentions Rowll of Aberdeen, and Rowll of Costorphine, "twa bettir fallowis did no man sie." *Ibid.* p. 77. In Lord Hyndford's Manuscript [p. 104. 2.] a poem is mentioned, called Rowll's Cursing. *ibid.* p. 272. There is an allusion in this piece to pope Alexander the Sixth, who presided from 1492 to 1503.

^q Perhaps Robert Henryson. See Dunbar, *ubi supr.* p. 77. and *ibid.* p. 98 seq. In MSS. Harl. are, "The morall fabillis

of Esope compylit be Maister Robert Henrysount scholmaister of Dumferling, 1571." 3865. 1. He was most probably a teacher of the youth in the Benedictine convent at Dumfermline. See many of his poems, which are of a grave moral turn, in the elegant Scottish Miscellany just cited.

^t I know not if he means Archibald Hay, who wrote a panegyric on Cardinal Beaton, printed at Paris, 1540. 4to. He also translated the *Hecuba* of Euripides from Greek into Latin. MSS. Hatton. But I have seen none of his Scotch poetry. [Sir Gilbert Hay was chamberlain to Charles VII. of France, and, in 1456, translated from French into Scottish, the book of Bonet, prior of Salon, upon battles. From the testimony of Dunbar, it appears that Sir Gilbert also wrote poems, but his subscription does not occur in any of the ancient collections.—SIBBALD.]

^u See Dunbar, ut supr. p. 77. His poem, called the *Howlatt*, is in the Manuscripts of Lord Hyndford, and Lord Auchinleck. In this are described, the "Kyndis of instrumentis, the sportaris, [juglers] the Irish bard, and the fule." It was written before the year 1455.—[Holland's poem has since been printed. It will be found in Mr. Pinkerton's collection of "*Ancient Scottish Poems*," 1792. and in Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, vol. i. p. 61.—PRICE.]

^t living.

^u stream.

And in the courte bene present in thir dayis,
 That ballatis brevis^w lustelie and layis,
 Quhilkis to our prince daylie thay do present.
 Quha can say mair than schir JAMES INGLIS sayis
 In ballatis, farsis, and in plesand playis^x ?
 Bot CULROSS haith his pen maid impotent ?
 Kid in cunningg^y and practik richt prudent.
 And STEWARD quhilk desyrith ane staitly style
 Full ornate warkis daylie dois compyle.

STEWART of Lorne will carpe richt curiouslie^z,
 GALBRAITH, KYNLOUCH^a, quhen thay lyst tham applie
 Into that art, ar craftie of ingyne.
 But now of late is starte up haistelie,
 Ane cunningg clark, quhilk wrytith craftelie :
 Ane plant of poetis callit BALLENDYNE^b ;
 Quhose ornat workis my wit can nocht desyne ;
 Get he into the courte auctorite,
 He will precell Quintyn and Kennedie.^c

^w write.

^x I know nothing of Sir James Inglis, or of his ballads, farces, and pleasant plays. But one John English was master of a company of players, as we have before seen, at the marriage of James the Fourth. Here is a proof, however, that theatrical representations were now in high repute in the court of Scotland. [The only poem at present known which is attributed to Sir James Inglis, is one contained both in the Bannatyne and Maitland manuscript, and called "A general Satyre." In the former this piece is given to Dunbar; in the latter to Sir James. The Scottish antiquaries seem to incline to the authority of the Maitland MS.—PRICE.]

^y Yet in knowing. [Proved or practised in knowledge.—PRICE.]

^z See some of his satirical poetry, Anc. Sc. P. p. 151.

^a These two poets are converted into one, under the name of Gabriell Kinlyck, in an edition of some of Lyndesay's works *first turned and made perfect Englishe*, printed at London by Thomas Purfoote, A.D. 1581. p. 105. This edition often omits whole stanzas; and has the most arbitrary and licentious misrepresentations of the text, always for the worse. The editor, or *translator*, did not understand the Scottish language; and is, besides, a wretched writer of English. But the attempt sufficiently exposes itself.

^b I presume this is John Balantyn, or Ballenden, archdeacon of Murray, canon of Rosse, and clerk of the register in the

minority of James the Fifth and his successor. He was a doctor of the Sorbonne at Paris. G. Con, *De duplici statu religionis apud Scotos*, lib. ii. p. 167. At the command of James the Fifth, he translated the seventeen books of Hector Boethius's History of Scotland. Edinb. by T. Davidson, 1536. fol. The preface is in verse, "Thow marceyal buke pas to the nobyll prince." Prefixed is the Cosmography of Boethius's History, which Mackenzie calls, *A Description of Albany*, ii. 596. Before it is a Prologue, a vision in verse, in which Virtue and Pleasure address the king, after the manner of a dialogue. He wrote an addition of one hundred years to Boethius's history; but this does not appear in the Edinburgh edition: also *Epistles to James the Fifth*, and *On the Life of Pythagoras*. Many of his poems are extant. The author of the article BALLENDEN, in the *Biographia Britannica*, written more than thirty [years] ago, says, that "in the large collection of Scottish poems, made by Mr. Carmichael, there were some of our author's on various subjects; and Mr. Laurence Dundass had several, whether in manuscript or printed, I cannot say." vol. i. p. 461. His style has many gallicisms. He seems to have been a young man, when this compliment was paid him by Lyndesay. He died at Rome, 1550. Dempst. ii. 197. Bale, xiv. 65. Mackenz. ii. 595 seq.

^c Signat. K.

The Scotch, from that philosophical and speculative cast which characterises their national genius, were more zealous and early friends to a reformation of religion than their neighbours in England. The pomp and elegance of the catholic worship made no impression on a people, whose devotion sought only for solid edification; and who had no notion that the interposition of the senses could with any propriety be admitted to co-operate in an exercise of such a nature, which appealed to reason alone, and seemed to exclude all aids of the imagination. It was natural that such a people, in their system of spiritual refinement, should warmly prefer the severe and rigid plan of Calvin; and it is from this principle, that we find most of their writers, at the restoration of learning, taking all occasions of censuring the absurdities of popery with an unusual degree of abhorrence and asperity.

In the course of the poem before us, an allegory on the corruptions of the church is introduced, not destitute of invention, humour, and elegance; but founded on one of the weak theories of Wickliffe, who not considering religion as reduced to a civil establishment, and because Christ and his apostles were poor, imagined that secular possessions were inconsistent with the simplicity of the gospel.

In the primitive and pure ages of christianity, the poet supposes, that the Church married Poverty, whose children were Chastity and Devotion. The emperor Constantine soon afterwards divorced this sober and decent couple; and, without obtaining or asking a dispensation, married the Church with great solemnity to Property. Pope Silvester ratified the marriage; and Devotion retired to a hermitage. They had two daughters, Riches and Sensuality; who were very beautiful, and soon attracted such great and universal regard, that they acquired the chief ascendancy in all spiritual affairs. Such was the influence of Sensuality in particular, that Chastity, the daughter of the Church by Poverty, was exiled: she tried, but in vain, to gain protection in Italy and France. Her success was equally bad in England. She strove to take refuge in the court of Scotland; but they drove her from the court to the clergy. The bishops were alarmed at her appearance, and protested they would harbour no rebel to the See of Rome. They sent her to the nuns, who received her in form, with processions and other honours: but news being immediately dispatched to Sensuality and Riches, of her friendly reception among the nuns, she was again compelled to turn fugitive. She next fled to the mendicant friars, who declared they could not take charge of ladies. At last she was found secreted in the nunnery of the Burrowmoor near Edinburgh, where she had met her mother Poverty and her sister Devotion. Sensuality attempts to besiege this religious house, but without effect. The pious sisters were armed at all points, and kept an irresistible piece of artillery, called *Domine custodi nos*.

Within quhose schot, thare dar no enemies
 Approche thair place for dreid of dintis dour^d;
 Baith nicht and day thay wyrk lyke besie beis^e,
 For thair defence reddye to stand in stour^f
 And hes sic watchis on thair utter tour,
 That dame Sensuall with seige dar nocht assaileze,
 Nor cum within the schote of thair artailze.^f

I know not whether this chaste sisterhood had the delicacy to observe strictly the injunctions prescribed to a society of nuns in England; who, to preserve a cool habit, were ordered to be regularly blooded three times every year, but not by a secular person, and the priests who performed the operation were never suffered to be strangers^g.

I must not dismiss this poem, without pointing out a beautiful valediction to the royal palace of Snowdon; which is not only highly sentimental and expressive of poetical feelings, but strongly impresses on the mind an image of the romantic magnificence of ancient times, so remote from the state of modern manners.

Adew fair Snawdoun, with thy towris hie,
 Thy chapell royall, park, and tabill round^h!
 May, June, and July, wald I dwell in the,
 War I ane man, to heir the birdis sound
 Quhilk doth againe thy royall roche redoundⁱ!

Our author's poem, *To the Kingis grace in contemptioun of syde taillis*, that is, a censure on the affectation of long trains worn by the ladies, has more humour than decency^k. He allows a tail to the queen, but thinks it an affront to the royal dignity and prerogative, that

Every lady of the land
 Suld have hir taill so syde trailland.^l—
 Quhare ever thay go it may be sene
 How kirk and calsay^m thay soup clene.—
 Kittok that clekkit was yestreneⁿ,
 The morne wyll counterfute the quene.
 Ane mureland^o Mag that milkid the yowis
 Claggit^p with clay above the howis,

^d hard dints.

^e busy bees.

^f artillery. Signat. C. ii.

^g MSS. James. xxvi. p. 32. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

^h round table, tournaments.

ⁱ Signat. B. iii.

^k Compare a manuscript poem of Occleve, *Of Pride and wast clothing of Lordis men which is azens her astute*. MSS.

Laud. K. 78. f. 67 b. Bibl. Bodl. His chief complaint is against pendent sleeves, sweeping the ground, which with their fur amount to more than twenty pounds.

^l Signat. L. ii.

^m causey, street, path.

ⁿ Kitty that was born yesterday.

^o moorland.

^p clogged.

In barn, nor byir, scho will nocht byde
 Without hir kirtill taill besyde.—
 They waist more claith [cloth] within few yeiris
 Than wald cleith fyftie score of freris.⁴

In a statute of James the Second of Scotland⁵, about the year 1460, it was ordered, that no woman should come to church or to market with her face *mussaled*, that is muzzled, or covered.* Notwithstanding this seasonable interposition of the legislature, the ladies of Scotland continued *muzzled* during three reigns⁶. The enormous excrescence of female tails was prohibited in the same statute, "That na woman wear tails unfit in length." The legitimate length of these tails is not, however, determined in this statute; a circumstance which we may collect from a mandate issued by a papal legate in Germany, in the fourteenth century. "It is decreed, that the apparel of women, which ought to be consistent with modesty, but now, through their foolishness, is degenerated into wantonness and extravagance, more particularly the immoderate length of their petticoats, with which they sweep the ground, be restrained to a moderate fashion, agreeably to the decency of the sex, under pain of the sentence of excommunication⁷." The orthodoxy of petticoats is not precisely ascertained in this salutary edict: but as it excommunicates those female tails, which, in our author's phrase, *keep the kirk and causey clean*, and allows such a moderate standard to the petticoat, as is compatible with female delicacy, it may be concluded, that the ladies who covered their feet were looked upon as very laudable conformists; an inch or two less would have been avowed immodesty; an inch or two more an affectation bordering upon heresy⁸. What good effects followed from this ecclesiastical censure, I do not find: it is, however, evident, that the Scottish act of parliament against *long tails* was as little observed as that against *muzzling*. Probably the force of the poet's satire effected a more speedy reformation

⁴ Signat. L. iii. He commends the ladies of Italy for their decency in this article.

⁵ Act. 70.

* [*Muffer* appears to have been the term used in England, for the same half-masked article of dress, which was a thin piece of linen that covered the lips and chin. See a note by Mr. Stevens in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, act iv. scene 2. —PARK.] [See also Mr. Douce's *Illustrations of Shakspeare*.]

⁶ As appears from a passage in the poem before us.

Bot in the kirk and market placis
 I think thay suld nocht hide thair facis.—
 He therefore advises the king to issue a proclamation,

Baith throw the land, and Borrow-
 stounis,

To schaw thair face, and cut thair gownis.

He adds, that this is quite contrary to the mode of the French ladies.

Hail ane Frence lady quhen ye pleis,
 Scho wil discover mouth and neis.

⁷ "Velamina etiam mulierum, quæ ad *verecundiam designandam* eis sunt concessa, sed nunc, per insipientiam earum, in lasciviam et luxuriam excreverunt, et *immoderata longitudo superpelliceorum*, quibus pulverem trahunt, ad moderatum usum, sicut decet *verecundiam sexus*, per excommunicationis sententiam cohibeantur." Ludewig, Reliq. Diplom. tom. ii. p. 441.

⁸ See Notes to *Anc. Sc. Poems*, ut supr. p. 256.

of such abuses, than the menaces of the church, or the laws of the land. But these capricious vanities were not confined to Scotland alone. In England, as we are informed by several antiquaries, the women of quality first wore trains in the reign of Richard the Second; a novelty, which induced a well-meaning divine, of those times, to write a tract *Contra caudas dominarum*, against the Tails of the Ladies^w. Whether or no this remonstrance operated so far, as to occasion the contrary extreme, and even to have been the distant cause of producing the short petticoats of the present age, I cannot say. As an apology, however, for the English ladies, in adopting this fashion, we should in justice remember, as was the case of the Scotch, that it was countenanced by Anne, Richard's queen; a lady not less enterprising than successful in her attacks on established forms; and whose authority and example were so powerful, as to abolish, even in defiance of France, the safe, commodious, and natural mode of riding on horseback, hitherto practised by the women of England, and to introduce side-saddles^x.

An anonymous Scotch poem has lately been communicated to me, belonging to this period; of which, as it was never printed, and as it contains capital touches of satirical humour, not inferior to those of Dunbar and Lyndesay, I am tempted to transcribe a few stanzas^y. It appears to have been written soon after the death of James the Fifth^z. The poet mentions the death of James the Fourth, who was killed in the battle of Flodden-field, fought in the year 1513^a. It is entitled DUNCANE LAIDER, OR MACGREGOR'S TESTAMENT^b. The Scotch poets were fond of conveying invective, under the form of an assumed character writing a will^c. In the poem before us, the writer exposes the ruinous policy, and the general corruption of public manners, prevailing in Scotland, under the personage of the STRONG MAN^d, that is, tyranny or oppression. Yet there are some circumstances which seem to point out a particular feudal lord, famous for his exactions and insolence, and who at length was outlawed. Our testator introduces himself to the reader's acquaintance, by describing his own character and way of life, in the following expressive allegories.

My maister houshold was heich^e Oppressioun,
Reif^f my steward, that cairit of na wrang^g;

^w See Collectanea Historica, ex Diction. MS. Thomæ Gascoign. Apud Hearne's W. Hemingford, p. 512.

^x Chaucer represents his Wife of Bath as riding with a pair of spurs. Prol. v. 475. p. 5. Urr.

And on her feete a paire of spurris sharpe.

^y For the use of this manuscript I am obliged to the ingenious Mr. Pennant, whose valuable publications are familiar to every reader of taste and science.

^z v. 162.

^a v. 78.

^b "Copied," says my manuscript, "at Taymouth, in September 1769, from a manuscript in the library there, ending August 20th, 1490." The latter date certainly cannot refer to the time when this poem was written.

^c See *The Testament of Mr. Andro Kennedy*, Anc. Sc. Poems, ut supr. p. 389. note ^b.

^d viz. Laidir.

^e named, *hight*.

^f robbery.

^g that scrupled to do no wrong.

Murthure, Slauchtir^h, aye of ane professioun,
 My cubicularis^l has bene thir yearis lang :
 Recept, that oft tuik in mony ane fang^k,
 Was porter to the yettis^l, to oppin wyde ;
 And Covatice was chamberlane at all tyde^m.

Conspiracie, Invy, and False Report,
 Were my prime counsalouris, leveⁿ and deare ;
 Then Robberie, the peepill to extort,
 And common Thift^o tuke on tham sa the steir^p,
 That Treuth in my presence durst not appeir,
 For Falsheid had him ay at mortal feid^q,
 And Thift brocht Lautie finallie to deid^r.

Oppressioun clikit Gude Reule^s be the hair,
 And suddainlie in ane preesoun him flang^t ;
 And Crueltie cast Pitie our the stair^u,
 Quhill Innocence was murthurit in that thrang^w.
 Than Falsheid said, he maid my house richt strang,
 And furnist weill with meikill wrangus geir^x,
 And bad me neither god nor man to feir^y.

At length, in consequence of repeated enormities and violations of justice, Duncane supposes himself to be imprisoned, and about to suffer the extreme sentence of the law. He therefore very providently makes his last will, which contains the following witty bequests.

To my CURAT Negligence I resigne,
 Thairwith his parochinaris^z to teche ;
 Ane ather gift I leif him als condigne^a,
 Slouth and Ignorance sendill^b for to preche :
 The saullis he committis for to bleiche^c
 In purgatorie, quhill thaie be waschin clene^d,
 Pure religion thairbie to sustene.

To the VICAR I leif Diligence and Care
 To tak the upmost claith and the kirk kow^e,

^h murder, slaughter.
^l the pages of my bed-chamber ; called, in Scotland, *chamber-lads*.
^k took many a booty.
^l gates ; *yates, yattis*.
^m all times. ⁿ beloved.
^o theft.
^p steer, steerage ; the management.
^q enmity, hatred.
^r brought loyalty to death.
^s caught Good Rule. Read *cleikit*, clecked. *Cleik* is crooked iron, *Uncus*.
^t threw him into prison.

^u over the stairs.
^w murdered in the crowd.
^x furnished it well with much ill-gotten wealth.
^y v. 15. seq. ^z parishioners.
^a as good. ^b seldom.
^c to be bleached ; whitened, or purified.
^d till they be washed clean.
^e Part of the pall, taken as a fee at funerals. The *kirk-kow*, or *cow*, is an ecclesiastical perquisite which I do not understand. [The *kirk-kow* is the Mortuary.—RITSON.]

Mair nor^f to put the corps in sepulture:
 Have pour wad six gryis and ane sow^g,
 He will have ane to fill his bellie fowe^h:
 His thocht is mair upon the pasehe fynis,
 Nor the saullis in purgatorie that pynisⁱ.

Oppressioun the PERSONE I leif untill^k,
 Pour mens corne to hald upon the rig^l,
 Quhill he get the teynd alhail at his will^m:
 Suppois the barins thair bread suld go thigⁿ,
 His purpois is na kirkis for to big^o;
 So fair an barne-tyme^p god has him sendⁿ,
 This seven years the queir will ly unmendin^q.

I leif unto the DEAN Dignite, bot fail^r,
 With Greit Attendence quilk he sall not miss,
 Fra adulteraris [to] tack the buttock-maill^s;
 Gif ane man to ane madin gif ane kiss^t,
 Get he not geir, thai sall not come to bliss^u:
 His winnyng^v is maist throw fornicatioun.
 Spending it shur with siclike^x occupatioun.

I leif unto the PRIoure, for his part,
 Gluttony, him and his monkis to feid,

^f more than.

^g If the poor have six pigs and one sow.

^h His belly-full. Belly was not yet proscribed as a coarse indelicate word. It often occurs in our Translation of the Bible; and is used, somewhat singularly, in a chapter-act of Westminster-abbey, so late as the year 1628. The prebendaries vindicate themselves from the imputation of having reported, that their dean, bishop Williams, repaired the abbey, "out of the diet, and Bellies of the prebendaries, and revenues of our said church, and not out of his own revenues," &c. Widmore's Westminster Abbey, p. 213. Append. Num. xii. Lond. 1751. Here, as we now think, a periphrasis, at least another term, was obvious. How shocking, or rather ridiculous, would this expression appear in a modern instrument, signed by a body of clergy!

ⁱ He thinks more of his Easter-offerings, than of the souls in purgatory. Pasche is *paschal*. Pais, Easter.

^k I leave Oppression to the Parson, the proprietor of the great or rectorial tithes.

^l To keep the corn of the poor in the rig, or rick. [The rig is the ridge of the open field, where the Parson is so oppressive as to detain the whole of the poor people's corn, till he thinks fit to draw his tithe.—RITSON.]

^m Until he get the tithe all at his will.

ⁿ Suppose the children should beg their bread. *Barins*, or bearns.

^o To build no churches.

^p So fair a harvest.

^q The choir, or chancel, which, as the rector, he is obliged to keep in repair. The more tithe he receives, the less willing he is to return a due proportion of it to the church.

^r without doubt.

^s A fine for adultery. Mailis is duties, rents. Maile-men, Mailleris, persons who pay rent. Male is Saxon for tribute or tax; whence Maalman, Saxon, for one paying tribute. See Spelman and Dufresne, in vv.

^t If a man give a maid one kiss. Chaucer says of his Sompnour, or Apparitor, Prol. Urr. p. 6. v. 651.

He would suffer for a quart of wine

A good fellow to have his concubine.

See the Freeres Tale, where these abuses are exposed with much humour. Urr. edit. p. 87.

^u If he does not get his fine, they will not be saved. Geir is properly goods, chattels.

^v his profits, in the spiritual court.

^x surely in the same manner.

With far better will to drink ane quart^y,
 Nor an the bible ane chaptoure to reid^z;
 Yit ar thai wyis and subtil into deid^a,
 Fenzeis thame pour^b, and has gret sufficence,
 And takith wolph away with gret patience.

I leif the ABBOT Pride and Arrogance,
 With trappit mules in the court to ryde^c,
 Not in the closter to make residence;
 It is na honoure thair for him to byde^d,
 But ever for ane bischoprik provyde^e:
 For weill ye wat ane pour benefice
 Of ten thousand markis^f may not him suffice.

To the BISCHOP his Free will I allege^g,
 Becaus thair [is] na man him [dares] to blame;
 Fra secular men he will him replege^h,
 And weill ye wat the pape is fur fra hameⁱ:
 To preich the gospell he thinkis schame,
 (Supposis sum tym it was his professioun,)
 Rather nor for to sit upon the sessioun^k.

I leif my Flatterie, and Fals Dissembling,
 Unto the FRERIS, thai sa weill can fleitche^l,
 With mair profit throwe ane marriage-making
 Nor all the lentrane^m in the kirk to preicheⁿ.
 Thai gloiss^o the scripture, ever quhen thai teache,

^y an English gallon.

^z to read one chapter.

^a unto death.

^b feign themselves poor.

^c To ride on a mule with rich trappings. Cavendish says, that when Cardinal Wolsey went ambassador to France, he rode through London with more than twenty sumpter-mules. He adds, that Wolsey "rode very sumptuouslie like a cardinal, on a mule; with his spare-mule, and his spare-horse, covered with crimson velvett, and gilt stirrups," &c. Mem. of Card. Wolsey, edit. Lond. 1708. 8vo. p. 57. When he meets the king of France near Amiens, he mounts another mule, more superbly caparisoned. Ibid. p. 69. See also p. 192. [See a manuscript of this Life, MSS. Laud. i. 66. MSS. Arch. B. 44. Bibl. Bodl.] The same writer, one of the cardinal's domestics, says that he constantly rode to Westminster-hall, "on a mule trapped in crimson velvett with a saddle of the same." Ibid. p. 29, 30. In the Computus of Maxtoke priory, in Warwickshire, for the year 1446, this article of expenditure occurs: "Pro pabulo duarum mularum cum harnesis domini Pri-

oris hoc anno." Again in the same year, "Pro freno deaurato, cum sella et panno blodii coloris, mularum Prioris." MS. penes me supr. citat. Wicliffe describes a Worldly Priest, "with fair hors and jolly, and gay saddles and bridles ringing by the way, and himself in costly clothes and pelture." Lewis's Wicl. p. 121.

^d continue.

^e look out for a bishoprick.

^f marca.

^g give, assign.

^h He will order trial in his own court. It is therefore unsafe to attack him.

ⁱ You well know the pope is at a great distance.

^k He had rather sit in parliament.

^l fawn.

^m Or, Lentrone, Lent.

ⁿ Who get more by making one match, than by preaching a whole Lent. The mendicants gained an establishment in families, and were consulted and gave their advice in all cases. Chaucer's Freere

Had mad full manie a marriage
 Of yong women, &c. Prol. v. 212.

^o expound.

Moer in intent the auditouriss to pleiss,
Nor the trew worde of god for to appeiss^p.

Thir^q gifts that dame Nature has me lent
I have disponit^r heir, as ye may see:
It nevir was, nor yit is, my intent,
That trew kirkmen get acht belongis to me^r:
But that haulis^t Huredome and Harlottrie,
Gluttony, Invy, Covatice, and Pryde,
My executouris I mak tham at this tyde.

Adew all friends, quhill^u after that we meit,
I cannot tell yow quhair, nor in quhat place;
But as the lord dispousis for my spreit,
Quher is the well of mercie and of grace,
That I may [stand] befoirr his godlie face:
Unto the devill I leif my synnis^w all,
Fra him thai came, to him agane thei fall^x.

Some readers may perhaps be of opinion, that Makgregor was one of those Scottish lairds who lived professedly by rapine and pillage; a practice greatly facilitated, and even supported, by the feudal system. Of this sort was Edom o'Gordon, whose attack on the castle of Dunse is recorded by the Scotch minstrels, in a pathetic ballad, which begins thus:

It fell about the Martinmas,
Qhen the wind blew schril and cauld.
Saint Edom o'Gordon to his men,
We maun draw to a hauld:

And quhat a hauld sall we draw to,
My mirry men and me?
We wul gae to the house o' the Rhodes,
To see that fair ladie^y.

Other parts of Europe, from the same situations in life, afford instances of the same practice. Froissart has left a long narrative of an eminent robber, one Amergot Marcell; who became at length so formidable and powerful, as to claim a place in the history of France. About

^p explain. The mendicants not only perverted the plainest texts of scripture to cover their own fraudulent purposes, but often amused their hearers with legends and religious romances. Wicliffe, the grand antagonist of these orders, says that, "Capped [graduated] friers that had been cleped [called] masters of divinitie, have their chamber and service as lords and kings, and senden out idiots full of covetise to preche, not the gospel, but chro-

nicles, fables, and lesinges, to plesse the peple, and to robbe them." Lewis's *Life of Wicliffe*. p. 21. xiii.

^q these.

^r disposed, bequeathed.

^s A true churchman, a christian on the reformed plan, shall never get any thing belonging to me.

^t whole.

^u till.

^w sins.

^x v. 309. seq.

^y Percy's *Ball.* i. 100.

the year 1380, he had occupied a strong castle for the space of ten years, in the province of Auvergne, in which he lived with the splendor and dominion of a petty sovereign; having amassed, by pillaging the neighbouring country, one hundred thousand francs. His depredations brought in an annual revenue of twenty thousand florins. Afterwards he is tempted imprudently to sell his castle to one of the generals of the king for a considerable sum. Froissart introduces Marcell, after having sold his fortress, uttering the following lamentation, which strongly paints his system of depredation, the feudal anarchy, and the trade and travelling of those days. "What a joy was it when we rode forthe at adventure, and somtyme found by the way a ryche priour, or marchaunt, or a route of mulettes, of Montpellyer, of Narbone, of Lymons, of Fongans, of Tholous, or of Carcassone, laden with clothe of Brusselles, or peltre ware comynge from the fayres, or laden with spycery from Bruges, from Damas, or from Alysaunder! Whatsoever we met, all was ours, or els ransomed at our pleasures. Dayly we gate newe money; and the vyllaynes of Auvergne and of Lymosyn dayly provyded, and brought to our castell, whete mele, breed [bread] ready baken, otes for our horses and lytter, good wynes, beffes, and fatte mottions, pul-layne, and wylde foule. We were ever furnyshed, as though we had been kings. Whan we rode forthe, all the country trembled for feare. All was oures, goynge or comynge. Howe toke we Carlaste, I and the Bourge of Companye! and I and Perot of Bernoys toke Caluset. How dyd we scale with lytell ayde the strong castell of Marquell pertayninge to the erle Dolphyn! I kept it not past fyve dayes, but I receyved for it, on a fayre table, fyve thousand frankes; and forgave one thousand, for the love of the erle Dolphyn's chyl dren. By my faith, this was a fayrie and goodlie life!" &c.^a

But on the whole, I am inclined to think, that our testator Makgre-gor, although a robber, was a personage of high rank, whose power and authority were such, as to require this indirect and artificial mode of abuse. For the same reason, I believe the name to be fictitious.

I take this opportunity of observing, that the old Scotch poet Blind Harry belongs to this period; and, at the same time, of correcting the mistake, which, in conformity to the common opinion, and on the evidence of Dempster and Mackenzie, I have committed, in placing him towards the close of the fourteenth century^a. John Major the Scotch historian, who was born about the year 1470, remembered Blind Harry to have been living, and to have published a poem on the achievements of Sir William Wallace, when he was a boy. He adds, that he cannot vouch for the credibility of those tales which the bards were accus-tomed to sing for hire in the castles of the nobility^b. I will give his

^a See tom. ii. cap. 170. fol. 115 a. and tom. i. cap. 149. fol. 73. See also ibid. cap. 440. fol. 313 b. Berner's Translation.

^a See supr. p. 113. Dempster says he lived in 1361.

^b The poem as now extant has probably been reformed and modernised.

own words:—"Integrum librum Gulielmi Wallacei Henricus, a natiuitate luminibus captus, meæ infantie tempore cudit; et quæ vulgo dicebantur carmine vulgari, in quo peritus erat, conscripsit. Ego autem talibus scriptis solum in parte fidem impertior; quippe qui HISTORIARUM RECITATIONE CORAM PRINCIPIBUS victum et vestitum, quo dignus erat, nactus est." And that, in this poem, Blind Harry has intermixed much fable with true history, will appear from some proofs collected by Sir David Dalrymple, in his judicious and accurate annals of Scotland, lately published^d.

I cannot return to the English poets without a hint, that a well-executed history of the Scotch poetry from the thirteenth century, would be a valuable accession to the general literary history of Britain*. The subject is pregnant with much curious and instructive information, is highly deserving of a minute and regular research, has never yet been uniformly examined in its full extent, and the materials are both accessible and ample. Even the bare lives of the vernacular poets of Scotland have never yet been written with tolerable care; and at present are only known from the meagre outlines of Dempster and Mackenzie†. The Scotch appear to have had an early propensity to theatrical representations; and it is probable, that in the prosecution of such a design, among several other interesting and unexpected discoveries, many anecdotes, conducing to illustrate the rise and progress of our ancient drama, might be drawn from obscurity.

^c *Historia Magnæ Britanniae*, lib. iv. cap. xv. fol. 74 a. edit. Ascens. 1521. 4to. Compare Hollinsh. Scot. ii. p. 414. and Mack. tom. i. 423. Dempst. lib. viii. p. 349.

^d See p. 245. edit. 1776. 4to.

* [In the year 1798, an Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland was published by Mr. Alexander Campbell, which contains much interesting matter in a miscellaneous form. Mr. C. professed himself only to be a diligent pioneer, willingly relinquishing the field to any one who might be inclined to follow his track. Should Mr. George Chalmers be induced to take the field with his strong forces, no living writer could be named who possesses the means of executing

such a work with equal comprehension. —PARK.

† [Dr. David Irving, in 1804, published the Lives of the Scottish Poets in two volumes, with great research and critical ingenuity. The lives were those of Thomas Lermont, John Barbour, Andrew Winton, King James the First, Henry the Minstrel, Robert Henryson, William Dunbar, Gavin Douglas, Sir David Lindsay, John Bellenden, Sir Richard Maitland, Alexander Scot, Alexander Arbuthnot, Alexander Montgomery, King James the Sixth, Allan Ramsay, Alexander Ross, Alexander Geddes, Robert Fergusson, Robert Burns; with many minor names. A dissertation is prefixed on the early Scottish Drama. —PARK.]

SECTION XXXIII.

Skelton. His Life. Patronized by Henry, fifth earl of Northumberland. His character, and peculiarity of style. Critical examination of his poems. Macaronic poetry. Skelton's Morality called the Nigramansir. Moralities at their height about the close of the Seventh Henry's reign.

MOST of the poems of John Skelton were written in the reign of king Henry the Eighth: but as he was laureated at Oxford about the year 1489*, I consider him as belonging to the fifteenth century.

Skelton, having studied in both our universities, was promoted to the rectory of Diss in Norfolk†. But for his buffooneries in the pulpit,

* See *supr.* p. 332.

† At least before the year 1507: for at the end of his *TRENTALE for old John Clarke*, there is this colophon:—"Auctore Skelton rectore de Dis. Finis, &c. Apud Trumpinton, script. per Curatum ejusdem quinto die Jan. A.D. 1507." See the *PITHY PLEASAUNT AND PROFITABLE WORKES OF MAISTER SKELTON*, reprinted at London, 1736, 12mo. pag. 272. He was ordained both deacon and priest in the year 1498. On the title of the monastery de Gracis near the Tower of London, Registr. Savag. Episc. Lond. There is a poem by Skelton on the death of king Edward the Fourth, who died A.D. 1483. *Workes*, ut *supr.* p. 100. This is taken into the *Mirroir of Magistrates*.

Skelton's poems were first printed at London, 1512. 8vo. A more complete edition by Thomas Marsha appeared in 1568. 12mo. from which the modern edition, in 1736, was copied. Many pieces of this collection have appeared separately. We have also, *CERTAINE BOOKES OF SKELTON*. For W. Bonham, 1547. 12mo. Again, viz. Five of his poems, for John Day, 1583. 12mo. Another collection for A. Scollocker, 1582. 12mo. Another of two pieces, without date, for A. Kytson. Another, viz. *MERIE TALES*, for T. Colwell, 1575. 12mo. *MAGNIFICENCE, a goodly Interlude and a mery devysed and made by mayster Skelton, poet laureate, late deceased*, was printed by Rastell, in 1533. 4to. This is not in any collection of his poems. He mentions it in his *CROWNE OF LAWRELL*, p. 47. "And of *MAGNIFICENCE*, a notable mater," &c. [Reprinted for the

Roxburghe Club, in 1821.] Pinson also printed a piece of Skelton, not in any collection, "How yong scholars now a days emboldened in the fly blowne blast of the moche wayne glorious," &c. Without date, 4to. There are also, not in his *Works*, *Epitaph of Jasper duke of Bedford*, Lond. 4to. and, *Miseries of England under Henry Seventh*, Lond. 4to. See two of his epitaphs in Camden's *Epitaphia Regum*, &c. Lond. 1600. 4to. See a distich in Hollinsh. iii. 878. and Stanzas presented to Henry the Seventh, in 1488, at Windsor, in Ashmole's Ord. Gart. chap. xxi. Sect. vii. p. 594. A great number of Skelton's pieces remain unprinted. See MSS. Harl. 367. 36. fol. 101. seq.—2252. 51. fol. 134. seq. MSS. Reg. 18. D. 4. 5. MSS. C.C.C. Cambr. G. ix. MSS. Cotton. Vitell. E. x. 28. and MSS. Cathedr. Linc. In the *CROWNE OF LAWRELL*, Skelton recites many of his own pieces, p. 47. seq. The *soverayne Interlude of Virtue*. The *Rosiar*. *Prince Arthur's creacion*. Of *Perfidia*. *Dialogues of Ymaginacion*. The comedy of *Achademios*. *Tullis familiars*, that is, a translation of Tully's *Familiar Epistles*. Of *good Adviseement*. The *Recale against Gaguine*. See p. 47. 162. The *Popingay*. A *noble pamphlet of soveraintie*. The *Play of Magnificence*, above mentioned. *Maters of Myrth to maistres Margery*. The *Peregrinacion of Mannes Lyfe*, from the French, perhaps of Guillaume, prior of Chalis. [See *supr.* p. 319.] But it should be observed, that Pinson printed *Peregrinatio humani generis*, 1508. 4to. The *triumphes of the redde rose*, containing many stories long unremembered. *Speculum principis*, a manual written

and his satirical ballads against the Mendicants^g, he was severely censured, and perhaps suspended by Nykke his diocesan, a rigid bishop of Norwich, from exercising the duties of the sacerdotal function^h. Wood says, he was also punished by the bishop for "having been guilty of *certain crimes*, AS MOST POETS are^h." But these persecutions only served to quicken his ludicrous disposition, and to exasperate the acrimony of his satire. As his sermons could be no longer a vehicle for his abuse, he vented his ridicule in rhyming libels. At length, daring to attack the dignity of cardinal Wolsey, he was closely pursued by the officers of that powerful minister; and, taking shelter in the sanctuary of Westminster abbey, was kindly entertained and protected by abbot Islipⁱ, to the day of his death. He died, and was buried in the neighbouring church of Saint Margaret, in the year 1529.

Skelton was patronized by Henry Algernon Percy, the fifth earl of Northumberland, who deserves particular notice here; as he loved

while he was *creauncer*, or tutor, to Henry the Eighth, when a boy. The *Tunnyng of Elinour Rummyng*. See p. 123. *Colin Clout*. See p. 179. *John Yee. Joforthe Jacke*. Verses to *maistres Anne*. Epitaph of *one Adam a knave*. See p. 271. The *balade of the mustarde tarte*. The fate of *Philip Sparrowe*. See p. 215. The *grounting of the swyne*. The *mournyng of the mapely rote*. A prayer to *Moyse's hornes*. The *paiaunts* [pageaunts] played in joyous garde, that is, in king Arthur's castle, so called in the romance of MORTE ARTHUR. The *fenestrall* [window] of *castell Angel*. The *recole of Rosamundes bowre*. How *dame Minerva first found the olive-tre*. The *myller and his joly mate*, or wife. *Marione clarion*. Of the *Bonhoms of Ashrige* near Berkhamstead, where is the *sange royall of Christ's blode*, that is, the real blood of Christ. He professes to have received many favours from this monastery. The *nacion of foles*. The *boke of three foolles* is printed in his Works, p. 260. *Apollo that whirled up his chare*. The *mayden of Kent*. Of *lovers testaments*. Of *Jollas and Phillis*. The *boke of honourouse astate*: Of *royall demenaunce*: How to *de synne*: How to *speke well*. How to *dye when ye will*. A translation of *Diodorus Siculus*, oute of *freshe Latin*, that is, of *Poggius Florentinus*, containing six books. MS. C.C.C. Camb. viii. 5. *Poggius's* version was first printed at Venice, 1476. Caxton, in his Preface to Virgil's *ENEIDOS*, says that Skelton "translated diverse other workes out of Latyn into Englysh," beside Tully's Epistles, and *Diodorus Siculus*. Bale mentions his *Invectiva* on William Lily the grammarian. I know nothing more of this, than that it was answered by Lily in *Apologia ad Joh. Schel-*

tonum. Pr. "Siccine vipereo pergis me," &c. The piece of Skelton most frequently printed was, I believe, his *ELINOUR RUMMYNG*, or *Rumpkin*. The last of the old editions is in 1624. 4to. In the title page, is the picture of our genial hostess, a deformed old woman, holding a pot of ale, with this inscription:—

When Skelton wore the lawrel crown
My ale put all the alewives down.

See Davies's Critical History of Pamphlets, p. 28. 86. [Skelton's printed poems have been incorporated by Mr. A. Chalmers in his Collection of the British Poets, vol. 2d.—PRICE.]

[In Caxton's preface to his prose version of the *Æneid* (1490), he prays "Mayster John Skelton, late created poet laureate in the unyversite of Oxenforde, to oversee and correcte thys sayd booke:—for hym I knowe for suffycient to expowne and Englysshe every dyffyculte that is therein." This, however, does not seem to have flattered Skelton into the service of becoming Caxton's critical overseer, as the book had no re-impression.—PARK.]

^g See Works, p. 200. 202. &c.

^h [The following entry occurs among the Acts and Orders of the Court of Requests: "An. xvii. Hen. VII. (1501) 10 Julij, apud Westminster Jo. Skelton commissus carceribus janitoris domini regis."—PARK.]

ⁱ Ath. Oxon. i. 22. seq. [Fuller says it was for keeping a concubine, and De-lafield (in Mr. Bliss's edition of Wood Ath. Oxon.) for being married.—PRICE.]

^j His Latin epitaph or elegy on the Death of Henry the Seventh, is addressed to Islip, A.D. 1512. p. 285.

literature at a time when many of the nobility of England could hardly read or write their names, and was the general patron of such genius as his age produced. He encouraged Skelton, almost the only professed poet of the reign of Henry the Seventh, to write an elegy on the death of his father, which is yet extant. But still stronger proofs of his literary turn, especially of his singular passion for poetry, may be collected from a very splendid manuscript, which formerly belonged to this very distinguished peer, and is at present preserved in the British Museum^k. It contains a large collection of English poems, elegantly engrossed on vellum, and superbly illuminated, which had been thus sumptuously transcribed for his use. The pieces are chiefly those of Lydgate, after which follow the aforesaid Elegy of Skelton, and some smaller compositions. Among the latter are a metrical history of the family of Percy, presented to him by one of his own chaplains; and a prolix series of poetical inscriptions, which he caused to be written on the walls and ceilings of the principal apartments of his castles of Lekinfield and Wressill^l. His cultivation of the arts of external elegance

^k MSS. Reg. 18 D. 11.

^l See *supr.* p. 329. note ^u. And MSS. C.C.C. Cant. 168. Three of the apartments in Wressill Castle, now destroyed, were adorned with Poetical Inscriptions. These are called in the manuscript above-mentioned,—“PROVERBS in the LODGINGS in WRESSILL.”

1. “The proverbis in the sydis of the innere chamber at Wressill.” This is a poem of twenty-four stanzas, each containing seven lines, beginning thus:—

“When it is tyme of coste and greate
expense,
Beware of waste and spende by measure:
Who that outrageously makithe his dis-
pens,
Causythe his goodes not long to endure,”
&c.

2. “The counsell of Aristotill, whiche he gayfe to Alexander, kynge of Massydony; whiche are wrytyn in the syde of the Utter Chamber above the house in the Garden at Wresyll.” This is in distichs of thirty-eight lines, beginning thus:—

“Punyshe moderatly and discretly cor-
recte,
As well to mercy as to justice havynge
a respecte,” &c.

3. “The proverbis in the syde of the Utter Chamber above of the hous in the gardying at Wresyll.” A poem of thirty stanzas, chiefly of four lines, viz.

“Remorde thyne ey inwardly,
Fyx not thy mynde on Fortune, that
delythe dyversly,” &c.

The following apartments in Lekinfield had poetical inscriptions, as mentioned in the said manuscript. “PROVERBS in the LODGINGS at LEKINGFIELD.”

1. “The proverbis of the garette over the Bayne at Lekyngfelde.” This is a dialogue in 32 stanzas, of four lines, between “the Parte Sensatyve,” and “the Part Intellectyve;” containing a poetical comparison between sensual and intellectual pleasures.

2. “The proverbis fñ the garet at the new lodge in the parke of Lekingfelde.” This is a poem of 32 stanzas, of four lines, being a descant on Harmony, as also on the manner of Singing, and playing on most of the instruments then used; i. e. the Harps, Claricordes, Lute, Virgynall, Clarisymballis, Clarion, Shawme, Orgayne, Recorder. The following stanza relates to the Shawme, and shews it to have been used for the Bass, as the Recorder was for the Meane or Tenor:—

“A SHAWME makithe a sweet sounde for
he tunithe BASSE,
It mountithe not to hy, but kepithe rule
and space.

Yet yf it be blowne with a too vehement
wynde,
It makithe it to misgoverne out of his
kynde.”

3. “The proverbis in the rooffe of the hyst chawmbre in the gardinge at Lekingfelde.” If we suppose this to be the room mentioned by Leland, where the Genealogy was kept; the following jingling reflections on the family motto (in thirty distichs) will not appear quite so misplaced:—

appears, from the stately sepulchral monuments which he erected in the minster, or collegiate church, of Beverley in Yorkshire, to the memory of his father and mother; which are executed in the richest style of the florid Gothic architecture, and remain to this day, the conspicuous and striking evidences of his taste and magnificence. In the year 1520 he founded an annual stipend of ten marcs for three years, for a preceptor, or professor, to teach grammar and philosophy in the monastery of Alnwick, contiguous to another of his magnificent castles^m. A further instance of his attention to letters and studious employments, occurs in his *HOUSEHOLD-BOOK*, dated 1512, yet remaining; in which the *LIBRARIES* of this earl and of his lady are specifiedⁿ: and in the same curious monument of antient manners it is ordered, that one of his chaplains should be a *MAKER OF INTERLUDES*^o. With

"Esperauce en Dyeu,
Truste in hym he is most trewe.

En Dieu esperance,
In hym put thyne affiance.

Esperauce in the worlde ? nay ;
The worlde varieth every day.

Esperauce in riches ? nay, not so,
Riches slidithe and sone will go.

Esperauce in exaltacion of honour ?
Nay, it widderithe...lyke a floure.

Esperauce in bloode and highe lynage ?

At moste nede, bot esy avauntage."

The concluding distich is,

"Esperauce en Dieu, in hym is all ;
Be thou contente and thou art above
Fortune's fall."

4. "The proverbis in the roufe of my Lorde Percy closett at Lekyngfelde." A poetical dialogue, containing instructions for youth, in 142 lines.

5. "The proverbis in the roufe of my Lordis library at Lekyngfelde." Twenty-three stanzas of four lines, from which take the following specimen:—

"To every tale geve thou no credens.
Prove the cause, or thou give sentens.
Agayn the right make no dyffens,
So hast thou a clene consciens."

6. "The counsell of Aristotell, whiche he gave to Alexander kinge of Macedony; in the syde of the garet of the gardyng in Lekyngfelde." This consists of nine stanzas, of eight lines. Take the last stanza but one:—

"Punishe moderately, and discretly correct,
As well to mercy, as to justice havynge
a respect;

So shall ye have meryte for the punyshment,

And cause the offender to be sory and penitent.

If ye be moved with anger or hastynes,
Pause in youre mynde and your yre repress:

Defer vengeance unto your anger asswagede be;

So shall ye mynyster justice, and do dewe equyte."

This castle is also demolished. One of the ornaments of the apartments of the old castles in France, was to write the walls all over with amorous Sonnets.

^m From the Receiver's accompts of the earl's estates in Com. Northumb. A. xv. Henr. VIII. A.D. 1527. "SOLUCIONES DENARIORUM per WARRANTUM DOMINI, et in denariis per dominum receptorem doctori Maquerell Abbati monasterii de Alnewyk solutis, de exitibus hujus anni, pro solucione vadii unius PEDAGOGI, sive Magistri, existentis infra Abbathiam predictam, et docentis ac legentis GRAMMATICAM et PHILOSOPHIAM canonicis et fratribus monasterii predicti, ad x marcas per annum pro termino iij annorum, virtute unius warranti, cujus data est apud Wres-sill xx^{mo} die Septembris anno xij Regis predicti, signo manuali ipsius Comitis signati, et penes ipsum Abbatem remanentes, ultra vj lib. xiijs. ivd. sibi allocatas anno xij Henr. viij^{ti}, et vj lib. xiijs. iij d. similiter sibi allocatas in anno xiiij ejusdem Regis ut per ii acquietancias inde confectas, et penes Auditorem remanentes." From Evidences of the Percy Family, at Sion-house. C. iii. Num. 5. 6. Communicated by Dr. Percy.

ⁿ Pag. 44. P. Cop.

^o Pag. 378. I am indebted to the usual kindness of Dr. Percy for all the notices relating to this earl. See his Preface to the *Household Book*, pag. xxi. seq.

so much boldness did this liberal nobleman abandon the example of his brother peers, whose principal occupations were hawking and tilting; and who despised learning, as an ignoble and petty accomplishment, fit only for the purposes of laborious and indigent ecclesiastics. Nor was he totally given up to the pursuits of leisure and peace: he was, in the year 1497, one of the leaders who commanded at the battle of Blackheath against lord Audley and his partisans; and was often engaged, from his early years, in other public services of trust and honour. But Skelton hardly deserved such a patronage^p.

^p I am informed by a manuscript note in one of Mr. Oldys's books, that Skelton also wrote a poem called *TITUS AND GESIPPUS*. This I believe to be a mistake: for I suppose he attributes to Skelton, William Walter's poem on this subject, mentioned above, p. 418. At the same time I take occasion to correct a mistake of my own, concerning that piece, which I have inadvertently called, "a translation from a Latin romance concerning the siege of Jerusalem." *ibid.* Titus and Gesippus were famous for their friendship; and their history forms an interesting novel in Boccaccio, the substance of which is this. Gesippus, falling into poverty, thought himself despised by Titus; and thence growing weary of life, gave out that he was guilty of a murder just committed; but Titus, knowing the true state of the case, and desiring to save the life of his friend by losing his own, charged himself with the murder; at which the real murderer, who stood among the crowd at the trial, was so struck, that he confessed the fact. All three are saved; and Titus, to repair the broken fortunes of Gesippus, gives him his sister in marriage, with an ample dower. Bocc. Decam. Nov. viii. Giorn. x. This is a frequent example of consummate friendship in our old poets. In the Faerie Queene, they are placed in the temple of Venus among the celebrated Platonic friends of antiquity, B. iv. c. x. st. 27.

Myld Titus and Gesippus without pryde.

See also Songs and Sonnets written by E. G. At the end of lord Surrey's Works, fol. 114.

O friendship flour of flours, O lively sprite of life,

O sacred bond of blisful peace, the stalworth staunch of life!

Scipio with Lelius didst thou conjoin in care:—

GESIPPUS eke with TITE, Damon with Pythias;

And with Menethus sonne Achill by thee combynd was:

Euryalus and Nisus, &c. &c.

[Boccaccio borrowed the story of Titus and Gesippus from the *Gesta Romanorum*, or from Alphonsus, Fab. ii. There is another Latin history of these two friends, probably a translation from Boccaccio by Fr. M. Bandello, and printed at Milan in 1509. An exceedingly scarce book. "Titi Romani et Hegesippi Atheniensis Historia in Latinum versa per Fr. Mattheum Bandellum Castronovensem. Mediolani. Apud Gotard de Ponte, 1509. 4to."]

I take this opportunity of pointing out another source of Boccaccio's Tales. Friar Philip's story of the Goose, or of the Young Man who had never seen a Woman, in the Prologue to the Fourth Day of the Decameron, is taken from a spiritual romance, called the *HISTORY OF BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT*. This fabulous narrative, in which Barlaam is a hermit and Josaphat a king of India, is supposed to have been originally written in Greek by Johannes Damascenus. The Greek is no uncommon manuscript. See MSS. Laud. C. 72. It was from the old Latin translation, which is mentioned by Vincent of Beauvais, that it became a favorite in the dark ages. The Latin, which is also a common manuscript, was printed so early as the year 1470. It has often appeared in French. A modern Latin version was published at Paris in 1577. The legendary historians, who believed every thing, and even Baronius, have placed Barlaam and Josaphat in their catalogues of confessors. St. Barlaam and St. Josaphat occur in the Metrical Lives of the Saints. MSS. Bodl. 72. fol. 288 b. This history seems to have been composed by an oriental Christian; and, in some manuscripts, is said to have been brought by a monk of St. Saba into the holy city from Ethiopia. Among the Baroccian manuscripts there is an *OFFICE* in Greek for these two supposed saints. Cod. xxi.—*ADDITIONS.*]

There is a manuscript of some of Skelton's poems in the Cotton library; but the volume is so much damaged by fire, that they are almost illegible. [Brit. Mus.] Vitell. E. x. 28.

It is in vain to apologise for the coarseness, obscenity, and scurrility of Skelton, by saying that his poetry is tinged with the manners of his age. Skelton would have been a writer without decorum at any period. The manners of Chaucer's age were undoubtedly more rough and unpolished than those of the reign of Henry the Seventh. Yet Chaucer, a poet abounding in humour, and often employed in describing the vices and follies of the world, writes with a degree of delicacy, when compared with Skelton. That Skelton's manner is gross and illiberal, was the opinion of his cotemporaries; at least of those critics who lived but a few years afterwards, and while his poems yet continued in vogue. Puttenham, the author of the *ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE*, published in the year 1589*, speaking of the species of short metre used in the minstrel-romances, for the convenience of being sung to the harp at feasts, and in CAROLS and ROUNDS, "and such ðther light or lascivious poems which are commonly more commodiously uttered by those buffoons or Vices in playes than by any other person," and in which the sudden return of the rhyme fatigues the ear, immediately subjoins: "Such were the rimes of Skelton, being indeed but a rude rayling rimer, and all his doings ridiculous; he used both short distaunces and short measures, pleasing only the popular eare^l." And Meres, in his *PALLADIS TAMIA, OR WIT'S TREASURY*, published in 1598: "Skelton applied his wit to skurilities and ridiculous matters: such among the Greeks were called *pantomimi*, with us buffoons^k."

Skelton's characteristic vein of humour is capricious and grotesque. If his whimsical extravagancies ever move our laughter, at the same time they shock our sensibility. His festive levities are not only vulgar and indelicate, but frequently want truth and propriety. His subjects are often as ridiculous as his metre; but he sometimes debases his matter by his versification. On the whole, his genius seems better suited to low burlesque, than to liberal and manly satire. It is supposed by Caxton, that he improved our language†; but he sometimes

* [I reckon the interval of time when Skelton began to write, and when Puttenham published, to be infinite as to the refinement of manners. Yet even in this last period, and later, the commentators of Shakspeare are glad to shelter his ribaldry and puns under the manners of his age.—ASHBY.]

^l Lib. ii. ch. ix. p. 69. [Bishop Hall characterized both the temper and metre of this lampooner with forcible brevity, when he spoke of "*angry SKELTON's breathlesse rhymes*." *Virgidemiarum lib. iv.*—PARK.]

^k "Being the second part of *WIT'S COMMONWEALTH*. By Francis Meres, maister of artes of both universities. London, printed by P. Short, &c. 1598." 12mo. fol. 279 b. The first part is, "*PO-LITEUPHONIA, Wit's Commonwealth*, for Nicholas Ling, 1598," 12mo.

† [Caxton speaks of Skelton's translations from the Greek and Latin, as not rendered in rude and old language, but in polished and ornate terms craftily. He adds, "And also he hath redde the ix muses, and understande their musicalle scyences, and to whom of them eche scyence is appropred. I suppose he hath dronken of Elycon's well." Preface to *Æneid*.—PARK.]

That Churchyard indulged the same strange notion appears from the following curious encomium, in which he tells us that the conversation of Skelton resembled the taunting personality of his writings:—

— divers men of late
Have helpt our Englishe tounge,
That first was baes and brute:
Oh! shall I leave out SKELTON's name?
The blossome of my frute:

affects obscurity, and sometimes adopts the most familiar phraseology of the common people.

He thus describes, in the BOKE OF COLIN CLOUTE, the pompous houses of the clergy.

Building royally
 Their mancyons, curiously
 With turrettes, and with toures,
 With halles, and with boures,
 Streching to the starres;
 With glasse windowes and barres:
 Hangyng about the walles
 Clothes of golde and palles;
 Arras of ryche arraye,
 Freshe as floures in Maye:
 With dame Dyana naked;
 Howe lystye Venus quaked,
 And howe Cupide shaken
 His darte, and bente his bowe,
 For to shote a crowe
 At her tyrly tyrlowe:
 And how Paris of Troye
 Daunced a *lege de moy*,
 Made lustye sporte and toye
 With dame Helyn the queene:
 With suche storyes by deen^r,
 Their chambres wel be seene.
 With triumphes of Cesar, &c.—
 Now^a all the world stares
 How they ryde in goodly chares,
 Conveyed by olyphantes
 With lauriat garlantes;
 And by unycornes
 With their semely hornes;
 Upon these beastes riding
 Naked boyes striding,
 With wanton wenches winkyng.—

The tree wheron in deed
 My branches all might gro:
 Nay, Skelton wore the laurell wreath,
 And past in schools, ye knoe,
 A poet for his arte,
 Whose judgment suer was hie,
 And had great practics of the pen,
 His works they will not lie.
 His termes to taunts did lean,
 His talke was as he wrate,
 Full quick of witte, right sharp of words,
 And skilful of the state.
 Of reason ripe and good,

And to the hatefull mynd,
 That did disdain his doings still,
 A skornor of his kynd.
 Most pleasant every way,
 As poets ought to be;
 And seldom out of princes grace,
 And greate with eche degre.
 On the English Poets, Muses,
 p. 137.

^r by the dozen. [By dene, seems to signify, *besides, moreover*. Dr. Jamieson.]
^a This is still a description of tapestry.

For prelates of estate
 Their courage to abate;
 From wordly wantonnes,
 Their chambers thus to dres
 With such parfyttness,
 And all such holynes,
 How beit they lett down fall
 Their churches cathedrall.¹

These lines are in the best manner of his petty measure, which is made still more disgusting by the repetition of the rhymes. We should observe, that the satire is here pointed at the subject of these tapestries. The graver ecclesiastics, who did not follow the levities of the world, were contented with religious subjects, or such as were merely historical. Rosse of Warwick, who wrote about the year 1460, relates that he saw in the abbot's hall at Saint Alban's abbey a suite of arras, containing a long train of incidents belonging to a most romantic and pathetic story in the life of the Saxon king Offa, which that historian recites at large².

¹ *The Boke of Colin Cloute*, p. 205, seq.

² J. Ross. Warwic. Hist. Reg. Angl. edit. Hearne, p. 64. Hugh de Foliot, a canon regular of Picardy, so early as the year 1140, censures the magnificent houses of the bishops, with the sumptuous paintings, or tapestry, of their chambers, chiefly on the Trojan story. "Episcopi domos non impares ecclesiis magnitudine construunt. Pictos delectantur habere thalamos: vestiuntur ibi imagines pretiosis colorum indumentis.—Trojanorum gestis paries, purpura atque auro vestitur.—Græcorum exercitui dantur arma.—Hectori clypeus datur auro splendens," &c. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. James, ii. p. 203. But I believe the tract is published in the Works of a cotemporary writer, Hugo de Sancto-Victore. Among the manuscript Epistles of Gilbert de Stone, a canon of Wells, and who flourished about the year 1360, there is a curious passage concerning the spirit for fox-hunting which anxiously prevailed among our bishops. Reginald Bryan, bishop of Worcester, in 1352, thus writes to the bishop of Saint David's:—"Reverende in Christo pater et domine, premissa recommendatione debita tanto patri. Illos optimos canes venaticos, duodecim ad minus, quibus non vidimus meliores, quos nuper, scitis, vestra REVERENDA PATERNITAS repromisit, quotidie expectamus. *Languet namque cor nostrum, donec realiter ad manus nostras venerit repromissum.*" He then owns his eagerness of expectation on this occasion to be sinful; but observes, that it is

the fatal consequence of that deplorable frailty which we all inherit from our mother Eve. He adds, that the foxes, in his manor of Alnechurch, and elsewhere, had killed most of his rabbits, many of his capons, and had destroyed six of his swans in one night. "Veniant ergo, PATER REVERENDE, illæ *sex Caniculorum copule*, et non tardent," &c. He then describes the very exquisite pleasure he shall receive, in hearing his woods echo with the cry of the hounds, and the music of the horns; and in seeing the trophies of the chase affixed to the walls of his palace. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Super. D. 1 Art. 123. —MSS. Cotton. Vitell. E. x. 17. [See MSS. James, xix. p. 139.]

From a want of the notions of common propriety and decorum, it is amazing to see the strange absurdities committed by the clergy of the middle ages, in adopting the laical character. Du Cange says, that the deans of many cathedrals in France entered on the dignities habited in a surplice, girt with a sword, in boots and gilt spurs, and a hawk on the fist. Latin. Gloss. V. DECANUS, tom. i. p. 1326. See also *ibid.* p. 79. and tom. ii. p. 179 seq. Carpentier adds, that the treasurers of some churches, particularly that of Nivernois, claimed the privilege of assisting at mass, on whatever festival they pleased, without the canonical vestments, and carrying a hawk; and the lord of Sassay held some of his lands, by placing a hawk on the high altar of the church of Evreux, while his parish priest celebrated the scr-

In the poem, WHY COME YE NOT TO THE COURT, he thus satirises cardinal Wolsey, not without some tincture of humour.

He is set so hye
In his ierarchye*,
Of frantike frenesy,
And folish fantasy,
That in chambre of stars^x
Al maters ther he mars,
Clapping his rod on the borde,
No man dare speake a worde;
For he hath al the saying
Without any renaying,
He rolleth in his Recordes:
He saith, "How say ye my lordes?
Is not my reason good?
Good!—even good—*Robin-hood!*"
Borne up on every syde
With pompe and with pryde,
With trump up alleluya^y,
For dame Philargyria^z
Hath so his hart in hold, &c.—
Adew Philosophia!
Adew Theologia!
Welcome dame Simonia^a,
With dame Castimergia^b,
To drynke and for to eate
Swete ipocras, and swete meate^c;

vice, booted and spurred, to the beat of drum, instead of the organ. Suppl. tom. i. p. 32. Although their ideas of the dignity of the church were so high, yet we find them sometimes conferring the rank and title of secular nobility even on the Saints. Saint James was actually created a Baron at Paris. Thus Froissart, tom. iii. c. 30. "Or eurent ils affection et devotion d'aller en pelerinage au BARON Saint Jaques." And in Fabl. (tom. ii. p. 182.) cited by Carpentier, ubi supr. p. 469.

Dame, dist il, et je me veu,
A dieu, et au BARON Saint Leu,
Et s'irai au BARON Saint Jaques.

Among the many contradictions of this kind, which entered into the system of these ages, the institution of the Knights templars is not the least extraordinary. It was an establishment of armed monks, who made a vow of living at the same time both as anchorets and soldiers.

* hierarchy.

^x the star-chamber. So below, p. 151.

In the *ster-chamber* he nods and becks.

^y The pomp in which he celebrates divine service.

^z love of money.

^a simony.

^b The true reading is *CASTRIMARGIA*, or *Gula concupiscentia*, Gluttony. From the Greek, *Γαστριμαργία*, Ingluvies, heluatio. Not an uncommon word in the monkish latinity. Du Cange cites an old Litany of the tenth century, "A Spiritu *CASTRIMARGIÆ Libera nos domine!*" Lat. Gloss. i. p. 398. Carpentier adds, among other examples, from the statutes of the Cistercian order, 1375, "Item, cum propter detestabile *CASTRIMARGIÆ* vitium in labyrinthum vitiorum descendatur," &c. Suppl. tom. i. p. 862.

^c I have before spoken of Hypocras, or spiced wine. I add here, that the spice for this mixture was served, often separately, in what they called a spice-plate.

To kepe his fleshe chaste,
 In Lente, for his repaste
 He eateth capons stewed,
 Fesaunt and partriche mewed :—
 Spareth neyther mayd ne wife,
 This is a postel's life⁴!

The poem called the *BOUKE OF COURT*, or the *Rewards of a Court*, is in the manner of a pageant, consisting of seven personifications. Here our author, in adopting the more grave and stately movement of the seven-lined stanza^c, has shown himself not always incapable of ex-

So Froissart, describing a dinner in the castle of Thoulouse, at which the king of France was present :—"After dyner, they toke other pastymes in a great chambre, and hereyng of instruments, wherein the erle of Foiz greatly delyted. Than WINE and SPYCES was brought. The erle of Harcourt served the kyng of his SPYCE-PLATE. And sir Gerard de la Pyen served the duke of Burbone. And sir Monaunt of Noailles served the erle of Foiz," &c. This was about the year 1360. Chron. tom. ii. cap. 164. f. 184 a. Again, *ibid.* cap. 100. f. 114 a. "The kynge alyghted at his palis [of Westminster] whiche was redie apparelled for him. There the kynge DRANKE and TOKE SPYCES, and his uncles also; and other prelates, lordes, and knyghtes." Lord Berners's Transl. In the Computus of Maxtoke priory [MS. *supr. citat.*], an. 1447, we have this entry : "Item pro vino cretico cum speciebus et confectis datis diversis generosis in die sancti Dionysii quando *Le fole* domini Monfordes erat hic, et faceret jocositates suas in camera orioli." Here, I believe, *vinum creticum* is raisin-wine, or wine made of dried grapes; and the meaning of the whole seems to be this : "Paid for raisin wine with comfits and spices, when sir S. Montford's FOOL was here, and exhibited his merriments in the oriel-chamber." With regard to one part of the entry, we have again, "Item, extra cameram vocatam *le gestis chamber*, erat una lintheamina furata in die sancti Georgii Martiris quando *le fole* de MONFORDES erat hic."

^d an apostle's. p. 147. He afterwards insinuates, that the Cardinal had lost an eye by the French disease; and that *Balthasar*, who had cured of the same disorder *Domingo Lomelyn*, one who had won much money of the king at cards and *hazarding*, was employed to recover the cardinal's eye. p. 175. In the *Boke of Colin Cloute*, he mentions the cardinal's mule, "wyth golde all be trapped." p. 188. [See *supr.* p. 485.]

[Dr. Lort suggested to Mr. Ashby, that the above loss was the reason why the cardinal is always represented in profile, to hide his blemish. But how comes it, says Mr. Ashby, that we have no pictures of him prior to the accident, *i. e.* before he was a cardinal? for as such he is always dressed; yet he was as great a man before.—PARK.]

* But in this stanza he sometimes relapses into the absurdities of his favorite style of composition. For instance, in *Speake Parrot*, p. 97.

Albertus de modo significandi,
 And Donatus, be dryven out of schole;
 Prisiens hed broken now handy dandy,
 And *Interdidascalos* is returned for a fole:
 Alexander a gander of Menander's pole,
 With *da Cansales* is cast out of the gate,
 And *da Racionales* dare not shew his pate.

Here, by *da Cansales*, he perhaps means *Concilia*, or the canon law. By *da Racionales* he seems to intend *Logic*. Albertus is the author of the *Margarita Poetica*, a collection of Flores from the classics and other writers, printed at Nuremberg, 1472. fol. For Donatus, see *supr.* p. 56. note ¹. To which add, that Ingulphus says, in Croyland abbey library, there were many Catones and DONATI, in the year 1091. (Hist. Croyl. Ingulph. Script. Vet. i. p. 104.) and that no person was admitted into the college of Boissy at Paris, founded in 1358, "nisi DONATUM aut Catonem didicerit." Bul. Hist. Univ. Paris. tom. iv. p. 355. INTERDIDASCALOS is the name of an old grammar. Alexander was a schoolmaster at Paris about the year 1290, author of the *Doctrinale Puerorum*, which for some centuries continued to be the most favorite manual of grammar used in schools, and was first printed at Venice in the year 1473. It is compiled from Priscian and in Leonine verse. See Henr. Gandav. *Scriptor. Eccles.* cap. lix. This admired system has been loaded with glosses and lucubrations: but, on the authority of an ecclesiastical synod, it was superseded by the *Commen-*

hibiting allegorical imagery with spirit and dignity. But his comic vein predominates.

RYOTT is thus forcibly and humorously pictured:—

With that came RYOTTE rushing al at ones,
A rustie galande^f, to ragged and to rente^g;
And on the borde he whirled a paire of bones^h;
Quater treye dewes he clattered as he went:
Nowe have at all by saint Thomas of Kenteⁱ,
And ever he threwe, and kyst^k I wote nere what:
His here was growen thorowe out of his hat.

Than I behylde how he dysgysed was;
His hedd was heavy for watchinge over night,
His eyen blered, his face shone like a glas;
His gowne so shorte, that it ne cover myght
His rompe, he went so all for somer light;
His hose was gardyd with a lyste of grene^l,
Yet at the knee they broken were I ween.

His cote was checkerd with patches rede and blewē,
Of Kyrkbye Kendall^m was his short demyeⁿ;
And aye he sange in *fayth decon thou crewe*:
His elbowe bare, he ware his gere so nye^o:
His nose droppinge, his lippēs were full drye:
And by his syde his whynarde, and his pouche,
The devyll myght dance therin for any crouche^p.

tarii Grammatici of Despauterius, in 1512. It was printed in England as early as the year 1503, by W. de Worde. [See *supr.* p. 363. note ¹.] Barklay, in the *Ship of Fooles*, mentions Alexander's book, which he calls "The *olde DOCTRINALL* with his diffuse and unperfitte brevitie." fol. 53 b.

^f gallant.

^g all over tatters and rags.

^h dice.

ⁱ Saint Thomas Becket.

^k cast; he threw I know not what.

^l There was an affectation of smartness in the trimming of his hose, Yet, &c.

^m See KENDALL-GREEN, in the *Glossary* to Shakspeare, edit. 1771.

ⁿ doublet, jacket.

^o his coat-sleeve was so short.

^p Pag. 70. The devil might dance in his purse without meeting with a single sixpence. CROUCHE is *Cross*, a piece of money so called, from being marked with the cross. Hence the old phrase, *to cross the hand*, for, *to give money*. In Chaucer's *Marchaunt's Tale*, when January and May are married, it is said the priest "*Crouchid*

them, and bad god should them bless." v. 1223. Urr. That is, "He *crossed* the new-married couple," &c. In the poem before us, RYOTTE says, "I have no coyne nor *crosse*." p. 72. Carpentier mentions a coin, called in Latin *CROSATUS*, and in old French *CROSAT*, from being marked with the *Cross*. Hence *CROISAGE*, Fr. for Tribute. V. *CROSATUS*. Suppl. Du Cange, Lat. Gloss. tom. i. p. 1208. In Shakspeare's *Timon of Athens*, Flavius says,

More jewels yet! There is no *CROSSING* him in's humour,
Else I should tell him—well—if aith I should,
When all's spent he'd be *cross'd* then if he could.—

act i. sc. 4. That is, not *thwarting* him in his humour, but giving him money. Yet a jingle is intended. So in *As You Like It*, act ii. sc. 4. "Yet I should bear no *cross* if I did bear you; for I think you have no *money* in your purse." A *Crusadoe*, a Portuguese coin, occurs in Shakspeare.

There is also merit in the delineation of DISSIMULATION, in the same poem^a; and it is not unlike Ariosto's manner in imagining these allegorical personages.

Than in his hode I sawe there faces tweyne ;
That one was lene and lyke a pyned ghost,
That other loked as he wolde me have slayne :
And to me ward as he gan for to coost,
Whan that he was even at me almoost,
I sawe a knyfe hid in his one sleve,
Whereon was wryten this worde MISCHEVE.

And in his other sleve methought I sawe
A spone of goldè, full of hony swete,
To feed a fole, and for to prey a dawer, &c.

The same may be observed of the figure of DISDAYNE.

He looked hawtie, he sette eche man at nought ;
His gawdy garment with scornes was al wrought,
With indignacyon lyned was his hode ;
He frowned as he wolde swere by cockes blode^a.

He bote^t the lyppe, he loked passynge coye ;
His face was belymmed, as bees had hym stounge :
It was no tyme with hym to jape nor toye,
Envye hath wasted his lyver and his lounge ;
Hatred by the herte so had hym wrounge,
That he loked pale as ashes to my syghte :
DISDAYNE, I wene, this comberous crab is hyghte.—

Forthwith he made on me a proude assawte,
With scornfull lokè movyd all in mode^u ;
He wente about to take me in a fawte,
He fround, he stared, he stamped where he stode :
I loked on hym, I wende^w he had be woode^x :
He set the arme proudly under the syde,
And in this wyse he gan with me chyde.^y

In the CROWNE OF LAWRELL our author attempts the higher poetry, but he cannot long support the tone of solemn description. These are some of the most ornamented and poetical stanzas. He is describing a garden belonging to the superb palace of FAME.

In an herber^z I sawe brought where I was ;
The byrdes on the brere sange on every syde,

^a P. 73. ^r to catch a silly bird.
^z The Host's oath in Lydgate. See
supr. p. 286.

^t bit. ^u in anger.
^w weened, thought. ^x mad.
^y P. 69. ^z See supr. p. 413. note ^a.

With aleys ensandyd about in compas^a,
The bankes enturfed with singular solas,
Enrailed with rosers^b, and vines engraped;
It was a new comfort of sorowes escaped.

In the middes a cundite, that curiously was cast
With pypes of golde, engushing out streames
Of cristall, the clerenes these waters far past,
Euswimminge with roches, barbilles, and breames,
Whose skales ensilvered again the son beames
Englisterd

Where I sawe growyng a goodly laurell tre,
Enverdured with leave, continually grene;
Above in the top a byrde of Araby,
Men call a Phenix: her wynges bytwene
She bet up a fyre with the sparkes full kene,
With braunches and bowes of the swete olyve,
Whose fragraunt flower was chefe preservative

Ageynst all infections with rancour enflamed:
* * * * *
It passed all baumes that ever were named,
Or gummes of Saby, so derely that be solde:
There blewe in that garden a soft piplynge colde,
Enbrething of Zephirus, with his pleasaunt wynde;
Al frutes and flowers grew there in their kynde.

Dryades there daunsed upon that goodly soile,
With the nyne Muses, Pierides by name;
Phillis and Testelis, there tresses with oyle
Were newly enbibed: and, round about the same
Grene tre of laurell, moche solacious game
They made, with chaplettes and garlandes grene;
And formost of al dame Flora the quene;

Of somer so formally she foted the daunce:
There Cinthius sat, twinklyng upon his harpestringes:
And Jopas his instrument dyd avaunce,
The poemes and stories auneynt in bringes
Of Atlas astrology, &c.^c—

Our author supposes, that in the wall surrounding the palace of FAME were a thousand gates, new and old, for the entrance and egress

^a It was surrounded with sand-walks.
^b rose-trees. See Chaucer's Rom. R.
v. 1651 seq. and our author, *infr.* p. 40.

The ruddy *rosary*,
The pretty *rosemary*, &c.
^c P. 30 seq.

of all nations. One of the gates is called ANGLIA, on which stood a leopard.^d There is some boldness and animation in the figure and attitude of this ferocious animal.

The buyldyng thereof was passing commendable ;
 Wheron stode a lybbard crowned with gold and stones,
 Terrible of countinaunce and passing formidable,
 As quickly^e touched as it were fleashe and bones,
 As gastly that glaris', as grimly that grones,
 As fiersly frownyng as he had ben fyghtyng,
 And with firme fote he shoke forthe his writyng.

Skelton, in the course of his allegory, supposes that the *poets laureate*, or learned men, of all nations, were assembled before Pallas. This group shows the authors, both ancient and modern, then in vogue. Some of them are quaintly characterised. They are, first,—*Olde Quintilian*, not with his Institutes of eloquence, but with his Declamations: Theocritus, with his *bucolicall relations*: Hesiod, the *Icononucar*^g: Homer, the *freshe historiar*: *The prince of eloquence*, Cicero: Sallust, who wrote both the *history* of Catiline and Jugurth: Ovid, *enshrined with the Musys nine*: Lucan^h: Statius, writer of *Achilleidos*: Persius, with *problems diffuse*: Virgil, Juvenal, Livy: Ennius, *who wrote of marciall warre*: Aulus Gellius, that *noble historiar*: Horace, with his *New Poetry*ⁱ: *Maister Terence, the famous comicar*, with Plautus: Seneca, the tragedian: Boethius: Maximian, *with his madde ditties how dotyng age wolde jape with young folly*^k: Boccacio, *with his volumes grete*: Quintus Curtius: Macrobius, who treated of *Scipion's dreame*: Poggius Florentinus, with many a *mad*

^d P. 28.

^e with as much life.

^f glares.

^g I cannot decipher this appellation.

^h Of the popularity of Lucan in the dark ages, I have given proofs in the Second Dissertation, vol. i. To which I will here add others. The following passage occurs in Lydgate's PROLOGUE to the *LYFF AND PASSIOUN of the blessed Martyr seynt Alboon* [Alban] and *seynt Amphiballus*, written in 1439. MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. Num. xxxviii. fol. 1. a. [Never printed.]

I not acqueyntyd with Muses of Mars,
 Nor with metris of LUCAN nor Virgile;
 Nor with sugred dityes of Cichero,
 Nor of Omere to folowe the freshe style.

And again, speaking of Julius Cæsar, Lydgate refers to Lucan's *Pharsalia*, which he calls the "Records of *Lucan*." *ibid.* fol. 2 b. Peter de Blois, in writing to a professor at Paris, about the year 1170, says, "Priscianus, et Tullius, *Lucanus*, et Persius, isti sunt dii vestri." *Epistol.*

iv. fol. 3. edit. 1517. fol. Eberhardus Bethuniensis, called *Græcista*, a philologist who wrote about the year 1130, in a poem on Versification, says of Philip Gualtier, author of a popular epic poem called *Alexandreis*, that he *shines with the light of LUCAN*. "Lucet Alexander Lucani luce." And of Lucan he observes, "*Metro lucidiore canit*." [See *supr.* pp. 362. et seq.] It is easy to conceive why Lucan should have been a favorite in the dark ages.

ⁱ That is, Horace's Art of Poetry. Vinesauf wrote *De Nova Poetria*. Horace's Art is frequently mentioned under this title.

^k His six *Elegies De incommodis senectutis*. [See *supr.* p. 363. note ^l.] Reinesius thinks that Maximian was the bishop of Syracuse, in the seventh century; a most intimate friend, and the secretary, of pope Gregory the Great. *Epist. ad Daum.* p. 207. These *Elegies* contain many things superior to the taste of that period.

*tale*¹: a friar of France *syr* Gaguine, who frowned on me *full angrily*²: Plutarch and Petrarch, two *famous clarkes*: Lucilius, Valerius Maximus, Propertius, Pisander³, and Vincentius Bellovacensis, who wrote the *SPECULUM HISTORIALE*. The catalogue is closed by Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate, who first adorned the English language⁴: in allusion to which part of their characters, their apparel is said to shine beyond the power of description, and their tabards to be studded with diamonds and rubies⁵. That only these three English poets are here mentioned, may be considered as a proof, that only these three were yet thought to deserve the name.

No writer is more unequal than Skelton. In the midst of a page of the most wretched ribaldry, we sometimes are surprised with three or four nervous and manly lines, like these.

Ryot and Revell be in your court roules,
Mayntenaunce and Mischeffe these be men of myght,
Extoreyon is counted with you for a knyght.⁶

Skelton's modulation in the octave stanza is rough and inharmonious. The following are the smoothest lines in the poem before us; which yet do not equal the liquid melody of Lydgate, whom he here manifestly attempts to imitate⁷.

Lyke as the larke upon the somers daye,
When Titan radiant burnisheth his bemes bright,
Mounteth on hye, with her melodious laye,
Of the son shyne engladed with the light.

The following little ode deserves notice; at least as a specimen of

¹ Poggius flourished about the year 1450. By his *mad tales*, Skelton means his *Facetie*, a set of comic stories, very licentious and very popular. See Poggius's Works by Thomas Aucuparius, fol. Argentorat. 1513. f. 157—184. The obscenity contained in these compositions gave great offence, and fell under the particular censure of the learned Laurentius Valla. The objections of Valla Poggius attempts to obviate, by saying, that Valla was a clown, a cynic, and a pedant, without any ideas of wit or elegance; and that the *Facetie* were universally esteemed in Italy, France, Spain, Germany, England, and all countries that cultivated pure Latinity. Poggius's *Invectiva*. Invect. in Laurent. Vallam, f. 82 b. edit. ut supr.

² Robert, or Rupert, Gaguin, a German, minister general of the Maturines, who died at Paris 1502. His most famous work is *Compendium super Francorum Gestis*, from Pharamond to the author's age. He has written, among many other

pieces, Latin orations and poems, printed at Paris in 1498. The history of Skelton's quarrel with him is not known: but he was in England, as ambassador from the king of France, in 1490. He was a particular friend of dean Colet.

³ Our author got the name of Pisander, a Greek poet, from Macrobius, who cites a few of his verses.

⁴ In the *books of Philip Sparow*, he says, *Gower's Englyshe is old*, but that Chaucer's *Englyshe is wel allowed*: he adds, that Lydgate writes *after an hyer rate*, and that he has been censured for his elevation of phrase; but acknowledges, "No man can amend those matters that he hath pend." p. 237. In Rastall's *TERRENS*, in English, printed in the reign of Henry the Eighth, these three are mentioned in the Prologue, which is in stanzas, as the only English poets. Without date. 4to.

⁵ P. 19. seq.

⁶ Ibid. p. 15.

⁷ P. 26.

the structure and phraseology of a love sonnet about the close of the fifteenth century.

TO MAISTRESS MARGARY WENTWORTH,

With margerain^a gentill,
 The flowre of goodly hede^t,
 Embrawdred the mantill
 Is of your maydenhede^u.
 Plainly I can not glose^w; .
 Yet be, as I devine^x,
 The praty primèrose.
 The goodly columbyne.
With margerain gentill, &c.
 Benyne, courteis, and meke,
 With wordès well devised;
 In you, who lyst to seke,
 Be^y vertues well comprysed.^a
With margerain gentill,
The flowre of goodly hede,
Embrawdred the mantill
Is of your maydenhede.

For the same reason this stanza in a sonnet to *Maistress Margaret Hussey* deserves notice.

Mirry Margaret
 As Midsomer flowre,
 Gentyll as faucon,
 Or hawke of the towre.^a

As do the following flowery lyrics, in a sonnet addressed to *Maistress Isabell Pennel*.

— — Your colowre
 Is lyke the daisy flowre,
 After the April showre,
 Sterre of the morowe graye!
 The blossome on the spraye,
 The freshest flowre of Maye!
 Madenly demure,
 Of womanhede the lure! &c.^b

But Skelton most commonly appears to have mistaken his genius,

^a *Margelain*, the herb Marjoram. Chaucer. Ass. Lad. 56.

And upon that a potte of MARGELAIN.

^t goodlihed, goodness.

^u virginity.

^w In truth, I cannot flatter or deceive. Or, *glose* may be, simply to *write*.

^x as I imagine. So Chaucer, Non. Pr. T. 1381.

I can noon harme of no woman *divine*.

^y are.

^a c. 39.

^a c. 41. In the king's mews in the tower. ^b p. 41.

and to write in a forced character, except when he is indulging his native vein of satire and jocularity, in the short minstrel-metre above mentioned, which he mars by a multiplied repetition of rhymes, arbitrary abbreviations of the verse, cant expressions, hard and sounding words newly coined, and patches of Latin and French. This anomalous and motley mode of versification is, I believe, supposed to be peculiar to our author^c. I am not, however, quite certain that it originated with Skelton.

About the year 1512, Martin Coccaie of Mantua, whose true name was Theophilo Folengo, a Benedictine monk of Casino in Italy, wrote a poem entitled *PHANTASIE MACARONICÆ*, divided into twenty-five parts. This is a burlesque Latin poem, in heroic metre, chequered with Italian and Tuscan [Mantuan] words, and those of the plebeian character, yet not destitute of prosodical harmony. It is totally satirical, and has some degree of drollery; but the ridicule is too frequently founded on obscene or vulgar ideas. Prefixed is a similar burlesque poem called *ZANITONELLA*, or the Amours of Tonellus and Zanina^d; and a piece is subjoined, with the title of *MOSCHEA*, or the War with the Flies and the Ants. The author died in 1544^e; but these poems, with the addition of some epistles and epigrams, in the same style, did not, I believe, appear in print before the year 1554^f. Coccaie is often cited by Rabelais, a writer of a congenial cast^g. The three last books, containing a description of hell, are a parody on part of Dante's *INFERNO*. In the preface, or *APOLOGETICA*, our author gives an account of this new species of poetry, since called the *MACARONIC*, which I must give in his own words. "*Ars ista poetica nuncupatur Ars MACARONICA, a Macaronibus derivata: qui Macarones sunt quoddam pulmentum, farina, caseo, butyro compaginaturn, grossum, rude, et rusticum. Ideo MACARONICA nil nisi grossedinem, rudiatem, et VOCABULAZZOS debet in se continere*." Vavassor observes, that Coccaie in Italy, and Antonius de Arena in France, were the

^c I have given specimens. But the following passage in the *Boke of Colin Clout* affords an apposite example at one view. p. 186.

Of suche vagabundus
Speaketh *totus mundus*.
How some syng let abundus, &c.
Cum ipsis et illis
Qui manent in villis,
Est uxor vel ancilla,
Welcome Jacke and Gilla,
My pretty Petronilla,
And you wil be stilla
You shall have your willa:
Of such pater noster pekes
All the worlde spekes.

^d Perhaps formed from Zanni, or Gio-

vanni, a foolish character on the Italian stage. See Riccoboni, *Theatr. Ital.* ch. ii. p. 14. seq.

^e See his Life, Jac. Phil. Thomasin's *Elog.* Patav. 1644. 4to. p. 71.

^f At Venice, 8vo. Again, 1564. And, 1613, 8vo. [These are the only editions I have seen of Coccaie's work. De Bure says, the first edition was in 1517. See his curious catalogue of *Poetes Latini modernes facietieux, vulgairement appellés Macaroniques*. *Bibl. Instruct.* Bel. Lett. tom. i. § 6. p. 445. seq.—ADDITIONS.]

^g See Liv. iv. c. 13. ii. l. xi. 3.

^h See Menag. *Diction. Etymol. Orig.* Lang. Franc. edit. 1694. p. 462. V. *MACARONS*. And Oct. Ferrarius, *Orig. Italic.*

two first, at least, the chief, authors of the semi-latin burlesque poetry¹. As to Antonius de Arena, he was a civilian of Avignon; and wrote, in the year 1519, a Latin poem in elegiac verses, ridiculously interlarded with French words and phrases. It is addressed to his fellow-students, or, in his own words, "*Ad suos compagones studentes, qui sunt de persona friantes, bassas dansas, in galanti stilo bisognatas, cum guerra Romana, totum ad longum sine require, et cum guerra Neapolitana, et cum revoluta Genuensi, et guerra Avenionensi, et epistola ad salutissimam garsam pro passando lo tempos*!" I have gone out of my way, to mention these two obscure writers^k with so much particularity, in order to observe, that Skelton, their cotemporary, probably copied their manner; at least to show, that this singular mode of versification was at this time fashionable, not only in England, but also in France and Italy. Nor did it cease to be remembered in England, and as a species of poetry thought to be founded by Skelton, till even so late as the close of queen Elizabeth's reign; as appears from the following poem on the SPANISH ARMADA, which is filled with Latin words.

A SKELTONICALL salutation,
Or condigne gratulation,
And just vexation,
Of the Spanish nation;
That in a bravado
Spent many a crusado,
In setting forth the armado
England to envado, &c.¹

¹ Dict. Ludr. p. 453.

^j I believe one of the most popular of Arena's Macaronic poems, is his *MEIGRA Enterpria Catiloqui Imperatoris*, printed at Avignon in 1537. It is an ingenious pasquinade on Charles the Fifth's expedition into France. The date of the Macaronic Miscellany, in various languages, entitled *MACHARONEA VARIA*, and printed in the Gothic character, without place, is not known. The authors are anonymous; and some of the pieces are little comedies intended for representation. There is a Macaronic poem in hexameters, called *POLEMO-MIDDINIA* by Drummond of Hawthornden, printed with Notes, and a preface on this species of poetry, by Gibson at Oxford, 1691. 4to. —ADDITIONS.]

^k Erythræus mentions Bernardinus Stephonius as writing in this way. Pinacoth. i. p. 160. See also some poems in Baudius, which have a mixture of the Greek and Latin languages; and which others have imitated, in German and Latin.

¹ Printed at Oxford by Joseph Barnes, 1589. 4to. See also a doggerel piece of this kind, in imitation of Skelton, introduced into Browne's *Shepherd's Pipe*, Lond. 1614. 8vo. Perhaps this way of writing is ridiculed by Shakspeare, *Merry Wives of Windsor*. a. ii. sc. 1. where Falstaff says, "I will not say, Pity me, 'tis not a soldier's phrase, but I say love me: by me

Thine own true knight, by day or night,
Or any kind of light, with all his might
With thee to fight."—

See also the Interlude of *Pyramus and Thisbe*, in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, often printed separately in quarto, as a droll for Bartholomew fair, under the title of *Bottom the Weaver*. Skelton, however, seems to have retained his popularity till late; for the first part of T. Heywood's two-fold play on the earl of Huntingdon, entitled, "Robert earl of Huntingdon's downfall, afterwards called Robin Hood of merry Sherwoode, with his love to chaste Matilda the lord Fitz-

But I must not here forget, that Dunbar, a Scotch poet of Skelton's own age, already mentioned, wrote in this way. His *TESTAMENT OF MAISTER ANDRO KENNEDY*, which represents the character of an idle dissolute scholar, and ridicules the funeral ceremonies of the Romish communion, has almost every alternate line composed of the formula-ries of a Latin Will, and shreds of the breviary, mixed with what the French call *Latin de cuisine*^m. There is some humour, arising from these burlesque applications, in the following stanzas.ⁿ

In die meæ sepultura,
I will have nane but our awin gang^o,
Et duos rusticos de rure,
Berand ane barrell on a stang^p;
Drinkand and playand cap out, even
Sicut egomet solebam ;
Singand and greitand with the stevin^q,
Potum meum cum fletu miscebam.

I will no priestis for me sing,
Dies ille, dies iræ^r;
Nar yet no bellis for me ring
Sicut semper solet fieri ;
But a bag-pyp to play a spring,
Et unum ale-wisp ante me,
Instead of torchis, for to bring,
Quatuor lagenas cervisiæ,
Within the graif to sett, fit thing,
In modum crucis juxta me,
To fle the feyndis^s, then hardly sing
De terra plasmasti me.^t

water's daughter, afterwards his fair maid Marian," acted by lord Nottingham's players, and printed in quarto, at London, in 1601, is introduced by John Skelton, *poet laureat to king Henry the Eighth*. The second part, printed with the former, is introduced by Friar Tuck, with whom I am less acquainted. [Friar Tuck is, however, mentioned in Skelton's play of Magnificence, f. 5 b.

Another bade shave halfe my berde,
And boyes to the pylery gan me plucke,
And wolde have made me *FREER TUCKE*
To preche oute of the pylery hole.

ADDITIONS.]

[For an account of Friar Tuck, see Mr. Douce's *Illustrations of Shakspeare*, and Mr. Brand's *Popular Antiquities*.—PRICE.]

[It is much that Warton did not know Friar Tuck was Robin Hood's confessor or chaplain, and perhaps the original of

all the parsons that are brought on the stage to be laughed at. But how comes Matilda, the chaste daughter of Lord Fitzwater, to be the fair maid Marian?—ASHBY.]

^m See *Ant. Scottish Poems*, Edinb. 1770. p. 35. and the *Notes* of the learned and ingenious editor, who says, that Dunbar's *Derge* is a most profane parody on the popish litanies. p. 243.

ⁿ St. xiii. xiv.

^o My own merry companions.

^p a stake.

^q With that verse, or stanza, in the Psalms, "I have mingled my drink with weeping."

^r A hymn on the resurrection in the missal, sung at funerals.

^s Instead of a cross on my grave to keep off the devil.

^t A verse in the Psalms. See other instances in Dunbar, *ibid.* p. 73. In George Bannatyne's manuscript collection

We must, however, acknowledge, that Skelton, notwithstanding his scurrility, was a classical scholar; and in that capacity he was tutor to prince Henry*, afterwards king Henry the Eighth; at whose accession to the throne he was appointed the royal orator. He is styled by Erasmus, "Britannicarum literarum decus et lumen^u." His Latin elegiacs are pure, and often unmixed with the monastic phraseology; and they prove, that if his natural propensity to the ridiculous had not more frequently seduced him to follow the whimsies of Walter Mapes and Goliass^w, than to copy the elegancies of Ovid, he would have appeared among the first writers of Latin poetry in England at the general restoration of literature. Skelton could not avoid acting as a buffoon in any language, or any character.

I cannot quit Skelton, of whom I yet fear too much has been already said, without restoring to the public notice a play, or MORALITY, written by him, not recited in any catalogue of his works, or annals of English typography; and, I believe, at present totally unknown to the antiquarians in this sort of literature. It is, *The NIGRAMANSIR, a morall ENTERLUDE and a pithie written by Maister SKELTON laureate, and plaid before the king and other estatys at Woodstoke on Palme Sunday*. It was printed by Wynkin de Worde in a thin quarto, in the year 1504^x. It must have been presented before king Henry the

of old Scotch poetry are many examples of this mixture, the impropriety of which was not perhaps perceived by our ancestors. Ibid. p. 268. See a very ludicrous specimen in Harsenet's Detection, page 156. where he mentions a witch who has learned "of an old wife in a chimney's end *Pax, max, fax*, for a spell; or can say sir John of Grantam's curse for the miller's celes that were stolue.

All you that stolen the miller's celes,
Laudate dominum de cœlis,
 And all they that have consented thereto,
Benedicamus domino."

See a poem on Becket's martyrdom, in Wasse's Bibl. Liter. Num. i. p. 39. Lond. 1722. 4to. Hither we must refer the old Caroll on the Boar's Head, Hearne's Spicileg. ad Gul. Neubrig. Hist. vol. iii. p. 740. Some of the metrical hymns in the French Fete de Ane are in Latin and French. See *Mercur de France*, Avril, 1725. p. 724. suiv.

* [Mr. Ashby expresses his surprise that such a man should be chosen; and he adds, with appearance of probability, that Skelton's having conceived his disappointment of preferment to be owing to Wolsey, may have been the cause of his extreme irritation against that prelate.—PARK.]

^u See Op. p. 1019. 1021.

^w These two writers are often con-

founded. See the Second Dissertation. James says, that Goliass was not a name adopted by Mapes; but that there was a real writer of that name, a collection of whose works he had seen. See MSS. [Bibl. Bodl.] James, i. p. 320. Goliass and Mapes appear to have been cotemporaries, and of a similar genius. The curious reader will find many extracts from their poetry, which has very great merit in its way, among James's manuscript collections. The facility of these old Latin rhymers is amazing; and they have a degree of humour and elegance far exceeding their age.

^x My lamented friend Mr. William Collins, whose Odes will be remembered while any taste for true poetry remains, showed me this piece at Chichester, not many months before his death; and he pointed it out as a very rare and valuable curiosity. He intended to write the HISTORY OF THE RESTORATION OF LEARNING UNDER LEO THE TENTH, and with a view to that design, had collected many scarce books. Some few of these fell into my hands at his death. The rest, among which, I suppose, was this Interlude, were dispersed.

In the Mystery of Marie Magdalene, written in 1512, a *Heathen* is introduced celebrating the service of *Mahound*, who is called *Saracenorum fortissimus*; in the midst of which he reads a Lesson from

Seventh, at the royal manor or palace, at Woodstock in Oxfordshire, now destroyed. The characters are a Necromancer, or conjurer, the devil, a notary public, Simonie^y, and Philargyria^z, or Avarice. It is partly a satire on some abuses in the church; yet not without a due regard to decency, and an apparent respect for the dignity of the audience. The story, or plot, is the trial of SIMONY and AVARICE: the devil is the judge, and the notary public acts as an assessor or scribe. The prisoners, as we may suppose, are found guilty, and ordered into hell immediately. There is no sort of propriety in calling this play the Necromancer; for the only business and use of this character is to open the subject in a long prologue, to evoke the devil, and summon the court. The devil kicks the necromancer, for waking him so soon in the morning: a proof, that this drama was performed in the morn-

the Alcoran, consisting of gibberish, much in the metre and manner of Skelton. MSS. Digb. 133.

[In the same ancient MS. are contained the following mysteries.

"Saulus, or Saint Paul." Superscribed *Myles Blomefylde y^e Possessor.*

Pr. "Rex glorio[sus] kyng omnipotent,
Redeemer of y^e world by the pouer
divine,
And Maria, y^t pure vyrgyn quene
most excellent,

Wyche bare y^t blyssyd babe Jhu
y^t for us sufferd payne," &c.

At the end, "Finis • • • • Sancti
Pauli."

"Candlemas-day and The Kylling
of the Children of Israell," (by John
Parfre), 1512.

Pr. This solemne fest to be had in remembrance
Of blissed Seynt Anne, moder to
our Lady,
Whos right discent was hys kyns
alyaunce

Of Davyd and Salamon—witnesseth
the story, &c.

End. Also ye menstralles, doth yō diligens,

A fore our departyng gees be a
daunce.

Finis.

"Wisdom, spirit, wille, wit, minde
and understanding, and Lucifer." *Impft.*
12 leaves. 4to.

Pr. Fyrst entreth *Wyssdom* in a ryche
purpyll cloth of gold, with a mantyll of
the same ermyued within, havyng a
bought his nek a ryall hood furred with
ermyn. Upon his hed a cheveler with
browes, a berd of gold of sypres curled,
a ryche imperiall gowne therupon, set
with riche stonys and perlys. In his left
hand a ball of gold with a crosse therupon;

and in his right hand a regall sceptre,
thus seying:—

If ye wyll wote the propyrtie,
And the resoun of my name imperiall,
I am clepyd of him that in erthe be,
Everlastyng Wyssdom to my nobleyegall.
PARK.]

^y Simonie is introduced as a person in
Sir Penny, an old Scotch poem, written
in 1527, by Stewart of Lorne. See An-
cient Scottish Poems. Edinb. 1770. 8vo.
p. 154.

So wily can syr Peter wink,
And als sir SYMONY his servand,
That now is *gydar of the kyrk.*

And again, in an ancient anonymous
Scotch poem, *ibid.* p. 253. At a feast, to
which many disorderly persons are in-
vited, among the rest are,

And twa lerit men thairby,
Schir Ochir and schir SIMONY;

That is, sir Usury and sir Simonie. SI-
MONY is also a character in Pierce
Plowman's Visions. Pass. sec. fol. viii. b.
edit. 1550. Wicliffe, who flourished
about the year 1350, thus describes the
state of Simonie in his time:—"Some
lords, to colouren their Symony, wole
not take for themselves but keverchiefs
for the lady, or a palfrey, or a tun of
wine: and when some lordis wolden
present a good man and able, for love of
god and cristen souls, then some ladies
been means to have a dancier, a tripper
on tapits, or hunter or hawker, or a wild
player of summers gamenes," &c. MSS.
C.C.C. Cant. O. 161. 148. There is an
old poem on this subject, MSS. Bodl. 48.

^z Robert Crowley, a great reformer,
of whom more hereafter, wrote "The
Fable of PHILARGYRIA, the great gigant
of Great Britain, what houses were build-
ed, and lands appointed, for his provision,"
&c. 1551. 4to.

ing, perhaps in the chapel of the palace. A variety of measures, with shreds of Latin and French, is used; but the devil speaks in the octave stanza. One of the stage-directions is, *Enter Balsebub with a Berde*. To make him both frightful and ridiculous, the devil was most commonly introduced on the stage, wearing a visard with an immense beard*. Philargyria quotes Seneca and saint Austin; and Simony offers the devil a bribe. The devil rejects her offer with much indignation, and swears by the *foule Eumenides*, and the hoary beard of Charon, that she shall be well fried and roasted in the unfathomable sulphur of Cocytus, together with Mahomet, Pontius Pilate, the traitor Judas, and king Herod. The last scene is closed with a view of hell, and a dance between the devil and the necromancer. The dance end-

* Thus in Turpin's History of Charlemagne, the Saracens appear, "Habentes LARVAS BARBATAS, cornutas, DÆMONI-BUS consimiles." c. xviii. And in Lewis the Eighth, an old French romance of Philip Moukaes,

J ot apries lui une barboire,
Com diable cornu et noire.

There was a species of masquerade celebrated by the ecclesiastics in France, called the *SHEW OF BEARDS*, entirely consisting of an exhibition of the most formidable beards. Gregory of Tours says, that the abbess of Poitou was accused for suffering one of these shows, called a *BAR-BATORIA*, to be performed in her monastery. Hist. lib. x. c. vi. In the Epistles of Peter de Blois we have the following passage:—"Regis curiam sequuntur assidue histriones, candidatrices, aleatores, dulcorarii, caupones, nebulatores, mimi, BARBATORES, balatriones, et hoc genus omne." Epist. xiv. where, by *Barbatores*, we are not to understand *Barbers*, but mimics, or buffoons, disguised in huge bearded masks. In Don Quixote, the barber who personates the squire of the princess Micomicon, wears one of these masks, "una gran barba," &c. Part. prim. c. xxvi. l. 3. And the countess of Trifaldi's squire has "la mas larga, la mas horrida," &c. Part. sec. c. xxxvi. l. 8. See Observat. on Spenser, vol. i. Section ii.

About the eleventh century, and long before, beards were looked upon by the clergy as a secular vanity; and accordingly were worn by the laity only. Yet in England this distinction seems to have been more rigidly observed than in France. Malinesbury says, that king Harold, at the Norman invasion, sent spies into Duke William's camp, who reported, that most of the French army were priests, because their faces were

shaved. Hist. lib. iii. p. 56 b. edit. Savil. 1596. The regulation remained among the English clergy at least till the reign of Henry the Eighth; for Longland bishop of Lincoln, at a Visitation of Oriel college, Oxford, in 1531, orders one of the fellows, a priest, to abstain, under pain of expulsion, from wearing a beard, and pinked shoes, like a laic; and not to take the liberty, for the future, of insulting and ridiculing the governor and fellows of the society. Ordinat. Coll. Oriel. Oxon. Append. ad Joh. Trokelowe, p. 339. See Edicts of king John, in Prynne, Libertat. Eccles. Angl. tom. iii. p. 23. But among the religious, the Templars were permitted to wear long beards. In the year 1311, king Edward the Second granted letters of safe conduct to his valet Peter Auger, who had made a vow not to shave his beard; and who having resolved to visit some of the holy places abroad as a pilgrim, feared, on account of the length of his beard, that he might be mistaken for a knight-templar, and insulted. Pat. iv. Edw. II. in Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 704. Many orders about Beards occur in the registers of Lincoln's-inn, cited by Dugdale. In the year 1542, it was ordered, that no member, *wearing a BEARD*, should presume to dine in the hall. In 1553, says Dugdale, "such as had beards should pay twelve-pence for every meal they continued them; and every man to be shaven, upon pain of being put out of commons." Orig. Jurid. c. 64. p. 244. In 1559, no member is permitted to wear any beard above a fortnight's growth, under pain of expulsion for the third transgression. But the fashion of wearing beards beginning to spread, in 1560 it was agreed at a council, that "all orders before that time made, *touching BEARDS*, should be void and repealed." Dugd. ibid. p. 245.

ed, the devil trips up the necromancer's heels, and disappears in fire and smoke^b. Great must have been the edification and entertainment which king Henry the Seventh and his court derived from the exhibition of so elegant and rational a drama! The royal taste for dramatic representation seems to have suffered a very rapid transition; for in the year 1520, a *goodlie comedie of Plautus* was played before king Henry the Eighth at Greenwich^c. I have before mentioned Skelton's play of *MAGNIFICENCE*^d. [The only copy of Skelton's moral comedy of *MAGNIFICENCE* now remaining, printed by Rastall, without date in a thin folio, has been most obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Garrick, whose valuable collection of old Plays is alone a complete history of our stage. The first leaf and the title are wanting. It contains sixty folio pages in the black letter, and must have taken up a very considerable time in the representation. [See p. 489. *supr.*] The substance of the allegory is briefly this. *MAGNIFICENCE* becomes a dupe to his servants and favorites, *Fansy*, *Counterfet Countenance*, *Crafty Conveyance*, *Clokyd Colusion*, *Courtly Abusion*, and *Foly*. At length he is seized and robbed by *Adversyte*, by whom he is given up as a prisoner to *Poverté*. He is next delivered to *Despère* and *Mischeffe*, who offer him a knife and a halter. He snatches the knife, to end his miseries by stabbing himself; when *Good Hope* and *Redresse* appear, and persuade him to take the *rubarbe of repentance* with some *gostly gummies*, and a few *drammes of devocyon*. He becomes acquainted with *Circumspeccyon* and *Perseverance*, follows their directions, and seeks for happiness in a state of penitence and contrition. There is some humour here and there in the dialogue, but the allusions are commonly low. The poet hardly ever aims at allegorical painting, but the figure of *POVERTY* is thus drawn, fol. xxiii. a.

^b In the *Mystery of Mary Magdalene*, just mentioned, one of the stage directions is, "Here enters the prynse of the devylls in a stage, with hell onderneath the stage." MSS. Digb. 133. [Another direction is, "With this word vii dyvyls sall de woyde from the woman, and the bad angyl enter into hell with thondyr."—PARK.]

^c Hollinsh. iii. 850.

^d It is in Mr. Garrick's valuable collection. No date. 4to. Hawkins, in the *History of Music*, has first printed a Song written by Skelton, alluded to in the *Crowne of Lawrell*, and set to music by William Cornishe, a musician of the chapel royal under Henry the Seventh. B. i. ch. i. vol. iii. p. 3. Lond. 1776. It begins,

Ah, beshrew you, by my fay,
These wanton clarkes are nice alway,
&c.

The same diligent and ingenious inquirer has happily illustrated a passage in Skel-

ton's description of Riot. *Ibid.* B. iii. ch. ix. vol. ii. p. 354.

Counter he coulede O Lux upon a pottle.

That is, this drunken disorderly fellow could play the beginning of the hymn, O Lux beata Trinitas, a very popular melody, and on which many fugues and canons were anciently composed, on a quart-pot at the tavern. See also, *ibid.* B. i. ch. vii. p. 90. ii. 1. p. 130.

By the way, the above-mentioned William Cornish has a poem printed at the end of Skelton's Works, called a *Treatise between Trouthe and Information*, containing some anecdotes of the state of ancient music, written while the author was in the Fleet, in the year 1504. MSS. Reg. 18 D. ii. 4. See Thoresby's *LEEDES*, for *Old musical compositions by several masters, among them by WILLIAM CORNISH*. p. 517. Morley has assigned Cornish a place in his Catalogue of English Musicians.

A, my bonys ake, my lymmys be sore,
 A lasse I haue the cyatyca full euyll in my hypppe,
 A lasse where is youth that was wont for to skyppe !
 I am lowsy, and vnlykynge, and full of scurffe,
 My coloure is tawny-coloured as a turffe :
 I am POVERTIE that all men doth hate,
 I am baytyd with doggys at euery mannys gate :
 I am raggyd and rent, as ye may se,
 Full few but they have envy at me.
 Nowe must I this carcase lyft up,
 He dynd with DELYTE, with POVERTE he must sup.

The stage-direction then is, "Hic accedat ad levandum MAGNIFICENCE." It is not impossible, that DESPARE offering the knife and the halter, might give a distant hint to Spenser. The whole piece is strongly marked with Skelton's manner, and contains every species of his capricious versification*. I have been prolix in describing these two dramas, because they place Skelton in a class in which he never has yet been viewed, that of a dramatic poet; and although many MORALITIES were now written, yet these are the first that bear the name of their author. There is often much real comedy in these ethic interludes; and their exemplifications of Virtue and Vice in the abstract, convey strokes of character and pictures of life and manners. I take this opportunity of remarking, that a MORALITY-MAKER was a professed occupation at Paris. Pierre Gringoire is called, according to the style of his age, *Compositeur, Historien et Facteur de Mysteres, ou Comedies*, in which he was also a performer. His principal piece, written at the command of Louis the Twelfth, in consequence of a quarrel with the pope and the states of Venice, is entitled, *Le JEU du Prince de Sots et Mere Sotte, joue aux Halles de Paris*. It was printed at Paris in 1511†.—ADDITIONS.]

MORALITIES seem to have arrived at their height about the close of the Seventh Henry's reign*. This sort of spectacle was now so fashionable, that John Rastall, a learned typographer, brother-in-law to sir Thomas More, extended its province, which had hitherto been confined, either to moral allegory, or to religion blended with buffoonery, and conceived a design of making it the vehicle of science and philosophy. With this view he published, *A new INTERLUDE and a mery, of the nature of the iiij Elements, declarynge many proper points of philosophy naturall and dyvers straunge landys, &c.*† In the cosmogra-

* [Counterfet Countenance says, f. vi. a.
 But nowe wyll I — — —
 In bastarde ryme of doggrell gyse
 Tell you where of my name doth ryse.]

† [See Mons. l'Abbé Goujet, Bibl. Franc. tom. xi. p. 212.]

* See *supr.* p. 394.

† Among Mr. Garrick's Old Plays. [Imperf.] i. vol. 3. It was written about 1510, or rather later. One of the characters is NATURE *naturate*: under which title Bale inaccurately mentions this piece. viii. 75. See Percy, *Ess. Eng. Stage*, p. 8. edit. 1767, who supposes this play to have been written about 1510, from the following lines,

phical part of the play, in which the poet professes to treat of *dyvers straunge regyons, and of the new founde landys*, the tracts of America recently discovered, and the manners of the natives, are described. The characters are, a Messenger who speaks the prologue, Nature, Humanity, Studious Desire, Sensual Appetite, a Taverner, Experience, and Ignorance.

I have before observed, that the frequent and public exhibition of personifications in the PAGEAUNTS, which anciently accompanied every high festivity, greatly contributed to cherish the spirit of allegorical poetry, and even to enrich the imagination of Spenser^b. The MORALITIES, which now began to acquire new celebrity, and in which the same groups of the impersonated vices and virtues appeared, must have concurred in producing this effect. And hence, at the same time,

— Within this xx yere
Westwarde be founde new landes,
That we never harde tell of before this.

The West-Indies were discovered by Columbus in 1492.

^a For the sake of connection I will here mention some more of Rastall's pieces. He was a great writer of Interludes. He has written, "Of GENTLYNESS AND NOBYLYTE. A dyaloge between the marchaunt, the knyght, and the plowman, disputynge who is a veray gentylman, and how men shuld come to auctoryte, compiled in maner of an INTERLUDE. With dyvers TOYES and GESTIS addyd therto, to make mery pastyme and disport. *J. Rastall me fieri fecit.*" Printed by himself in quarto, without date. PR. "O what a gret welth and." Also, "A new Commoditye in Englysh in maner of an ENTERLUDE ryght elygant and full of craft of rhetoryck: wherein is shewed and dyscrybyd, as well the beute of good properties of women, as theyr vyces and evyll condicions, with a morall conclusion and exhortation to vertew. *J. Rastall me imprimi fecit.*" In folio, without date. This is in English verse, and contains twelve leaves. PR. "*Melebea*," &c. He reduced a dialogue of Lucian into English verse, much after the manner of an interlude, viz. "NECROMANTIA. A Dialogue of Lucyan for his fantasy fayned for a *mery pastyme*, &c.—*J. Rastall me fieri fecit.*" It is translated from the Latin, and has Latin notes in the margin. It may be doubted, whether Rastall was not the printer only of these pieces. If the printer only, they might come from the festive genius of his brother sir Thomas More. But Rastall appears to have been a scholar. He was educated at Oxford; and took up the employment of printing as a profession at that time esteemed liberal, and not unsuitable to the character of a learned and

ingenious man. An English translation of Terence, called *TERENS IN ENGLISH*, with a prologue in stanzas, beginning "The famous renown through the worlde is spronge," is believed, at least from similarity of type, to be by Rastall. In quarto, without date. He published, in 1525, *THE MERY GESTYS of one callyd EDYTH the lyeng wydow*. This is a description, in English rhymes, of the frauds practised by a female sharper in the neighbourhood of London: the scene of one of her impostures is laid in sir Thomas More's house at Chelsea. The author, one of her dupes, is Walter Smyth. *Emprynted at London at the sygne of the Meremayde at Pollis gate next to Chepesyde by J. Rastall.* fol. It will be sufficient to have given this short incidental notice of a piece which hardly deserves to be named. Rastall wrote and printed many other pieces, which I do not mention, as unconnected with the history of our poetry. I shall only observe further, in general, that he was eminently skilled in mathematics, cosmography, history, our municipal law, and theology. He died 1536.

^b And of Shakespeare. There is a passage in Antony and Cleopatra, where the metaphor is exceedingly beautiful; but where the beauty both of the expression and the allusion is lost, unless we recollect the frequency and the nature of these shows in Shakespeare's age. Act iv. sc. 11. I must cite the whole of the context, for the sake of the last hemistich:—

Sometime we see a cloud that's dragonish,
A vapour sometime, like a bear or lion;
A towred citadel, a pendant rock,
A forked mountain, or blue promontory
With trees upon't, that nod unto the world
And mock our eyes with air. Thou'st seen
these signs,
They are BLACK VESPER'S PAGEANTS.—

we are led to account for the national relish for allegorical poetry, which so long prevailed among our ancestors. By means of these spectacles, ideal beings became common and popular objects; and emblematic imagery, which at present is only contemplated by a few retired readers in the obsolete pages of our elder poets, grew familiar to the general eye.

SECTION XXXIV.

A Digression on the Origin of Mysteries. Various Origins assigned. Religious Dramas at Constantinople. Plays first acted in the Monasteries. This Ecclesiastical Origin of the Drama gives rise to the practice of performing Plays in Universities, Colleges, and Schools. Influence of this practice on the vernacular Drama. On the same principle, Plays acted by Singing-boys in Choirs. Boy-bishop. Fête de Foux. On the same principle, Plays acted by the Company of Parish Clerks. By the Law Societies in London. Temple Masques.

IN a work of this general and comprehensive nature, in which the fluctuations of genius are surveyed, and the dawnings or declensions of taste must alike be noticed, it is impossible that every part of the subject can prove equally splendid and interesting. We have, I fear, been toiling for some time through materials, not perhaps of the most agreeable and edifying nature. But as the mention of that very rude species of our drama, called the MORALITY, has incidentally diverted our attention to the early state of the English stage, I cannot omit so fortunate and seasonable an opportunity of endeavouring to relieve the weariness of my reader, by introducing an obvious digression on the probable causes of the rise of the MYSTERIES, which, as I have before remarked, preceded, and at length produced, these allegorical fables. In this respect I shall imitate those map-makers mentioned by Swift, who

— — O'er inhospitable downs,
Place elephants for want of towns.

Nor shall I perhaps fail of being pardoned by my reader, if, on the same principle, I should attempt to throw new light on the history of our theatre, by pursuing this inquiry through those deductions which it will naturally and more immediately suggest^s.

About the eighth century, trade was principally carried on by means of fairs, which lasted several days. Charlemagne established many great marts of this sort in France; as did William the Conqueror, and

^s Compare p. 17. of this volume.

his Norman successors, in England^h. The merchants, who frequented these fairs in numerous caravans or companies, employed every art to draw the people together: they were therefore accompanied by jugglers, minstrels, and buffoons; who were no less interested in giving their attendance, and exerting all their skill, on these occasions. As now but few large towns existed, no public spectacles or popular amusements were established; and as the sedentary pleasures of domestic life and private society were yet unknown, the fair-time was the season for diversion. In proportion as these shows were attended and encouraged, they began to be set off with new decorations and improvements; and the arts of buffoonery, being rendered still more attractive by extending their circle of exhibition, acquired an importance in the eyes of the people. By degrees, the clergy, observing that the entertainments of dancing, music, and mimicry, exhibited at these protracted annual celebrations, made the people less religious, by promoting idleness and a love of festivity, proscribed these sports, and excommunicated the performers. But finding that no regard was paid to their censures, they changed their plan, and determined to take these recreations into their own hands. They turned actors; and instead of profane mummeries, presented stories taken from legends or the Bible. This was the origin of sacred comedy. The death of saint Catherine, acted by the monks of saint Dennis, rivalled the popularity of the professed players. Music was admitted into the churches, which served as theatres for the representation of holy farces. The festivals among the French, called *LA FETE DE FOUX, DE L'ANE*ⁱ, and *DES INNOCENS*, at length became greater favorites, as they certainly were more capricious and absurd, than the interludes of the buffoons at the fairs. These are the ideas of a judicious French writer, now living, who has investigated the history of human manners with great comprehension and sagacity*.

^h See *supr.* p. 55. note ^h.

ⁱ For a most full and comprehensive account of these feasts, see "*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la FETE DE FOUX, qui se faisoit autrefois dans plusieurs églises. Par M. du Tilliot, gentil-homme ordinaire de son Altesse royale Monseigneur le duc de Berry; à Lausanne et à Genève, 1741.*" 4to. Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln in the eleventh century, orders his dean and chapter to abolish the "*FESTUM ASINORUM, cum sit vanitate plenum, et voluptatibus spurcum,*" which used to be annually celebrated in Lincoln cathedral on the feast of the Circumcision. *Grossetesti Epistol. xxxii.* apud Browne's *Fascicul.* p. 331. edit. Lond. 1690, tom. ii. Append.; and p. 412. Also he forbids the archdeacons of his diocese to permit *SCOT-ALES* in their chapters and synods (*Spelm.* Gl. p. 506.), and other *LUDI* on holidays. *Ibid.* *Epistol. xxii.* p. 314. [*See supr.* p. 29.] See in the Mer-

cure Francois for September, 1742, an account of a mummary celebrated in the city of Besançon in France, by the canons of the cathedral, consisting of dancing, singing, eating and drinking, in the cloisters and church, on Easter-day, called *BERGERETTA*, or the *SONG OF THE SHEPHERDS*; which remained unabolished till the year 1738. From the *Ritual* of the church, pag. 1930, ad ann. 1582. See Carpentier, *Suppl. Du Can. Lat. Gloss. tom. i.* p. 523. in V.; and *ibid.* V. *BUCLAKE*, p. 570.

[Bergerette was the title also of a species of pastoral poetry. See *supr.* p. 223. note ⁱ.—PARK.]

* ["The reign of Charles the Fifth (says Anderson, from Pasquier and Brantôme) gave rise to the French drama and theatre. The actors being erected into a company by letters patent, represented the *MYSTERIES OF CHRIST'S PASSION*; which, with some additional pieces called

Voltaire's theory on this subject is also very ingenious, and quite new. Religious plays, he supposes, came originally from Constantinople, where the old Grecian stage continued to flourish in some degree, and the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides were represented, till the fourth century*. About that period, Gregory Nazianzen, an archbishop, a poet, and one of the fathers of the church, banished pagan

Moralities, continued to be the theatrical entertainment for more than 130 years. Though in the time of Lewis the Twelfth some farces or comedies were written, the French drama received no sort of improvement, but continued in the reign of Francis the First under the direction of the *fraternité of the passion*, who only added some burlesque pieces to their Moralities. Under Henry the Second, Francis the Second, and Charles the Ninth, Jodelle was the dramatic poet, and produced two tragedies and two comedies. His 'Cleopatra,' together with a comedy, being acted at Paris, he is said to have been rewarded for this new entertainment, by his monarch, with 500 crowns. But the genius and the relish for such compositions remained suspended for a considerable time after this exhibition of them." Hist. of France, temp. Francis I. and Charles IX. vol. ii. p. 427.—PARK.]

* [The profane drama, however degenerated, maintained its footing both in the East and West, much later than the æra assumed in the text. It may be worth while to offer a few illustrations of this position. The Imperial edict of 399, which abolished the feast of Majuma, gave free permission for the continuance of all other public entertainments; and among these the theatre was of course included. The petition of the African bishops, drawn up in the same year according to Godefroy, or in 401 according to Baronius, merely solicits the suppression of plays upon Sundays, and other days observed as festivals in the Christian church; and begs an exemption for all Christians from being *compelled* to attend them. Nor was it till the year 425, that the prayer of this petition was confirmed by Theodosius the younger, and then restricted to the most important feasts in the calendar. Four years after the same emperor found it necessary to rescind the law, which prohibited female Christian proselytes from appearing upon the stage; who were thus allowed to resume their profession, without the fear of spiritual censure. (*Mimas diversis adnotationibus liberatas ad proprium officium summâ instantiâ revocari decernimus. L. xv. Cod. Th. Tit. 7. l. 13.*) The capture of Carthage (439) was effected by Genseric, whilst the inhabitants were engaged

at the theatre; and the language of Theodoret upon this occasion, unless we are to accept it as a mere rhetorical flourish, might be strained to imply, that the dramas of Æschylus and Sophocles were still exhibited in the Empire, or at least that they were generally known. An edict of Justinian only forbids deacons, priests, and bishops from attending any species of scenic representation; and under the same emperor (588), Gregory bishop of Antioch was publicly defamed by the spectators at the theatre, and ridiculed by the actors on the stage. In the year 692 the council of Trullo prohibited all christians, both clergy and laity, under pain of suspension or excommunication, from following the occupation of a player, and from frequenting the games of the circus and the theatre; (Can. 51.) and lastly, the canons of Nicephorus, and of Photius, both framed in the ninth century, only re-echo the edict of Theodosius, that the theatre ought to be closed upon Sundays and days of solemn festival.—The history of the West will afford us nearly similar notices. The theatres of France and Italy, especially those of Rome and Marseilles, continued in high celebrity long after the first incursions of the barbarians; and the policy of Theodoric found it expedient to tolerate a pastime which he secretly condemned, and to encourage an abuse he could neither chasten nor correct. (*Hæc nos fovemus necessitate populorum. Expedit interdum desipere, ut possumus populi desiderata gaudia continere.*) For a period indeed these amusements appear to have been suspended, by the ravages of Totila in Italy, and of the Franks in France; but in the time of Charlemagne, the Mimi and Histiones are spoken of in much the same terms of invective, cast upon their profession by the early Christian teachers; nor does the language of Agobard warrant a belief, that he was characterizing a different order of men from those who fell under the denunciations of his predecessors. (*Satiat præterea et inebriat Histiones, Satiat præterea et vanissimos Jocularum, cum pauperes Ecclesiæ fame discruciatu intereant. Agobard, de Dispens. p. 299.*) See Discours sur la Comédie par Pierre le Brun, Paris, 1731.—PRICE.]

plays from the stage at Constantinople, and introduced select stories from the Old and New Testament. As the ancient Greek tragedy was a religious spectacle, a transition was made on the same plan; and the choruses were turned into Christian hymns¹. Gregory wrote many sacred dramas for this purpose, which have not survived those inimitable compositions over which they triumphed for a time: one, however, his tragedy called *Χριστος πασχων*, or CHRIST'S PASSION, is still extant^m. In the prologue it is said to be in imitation of Euripides*, and that this is the first time the Virgin Mary has been produced on the stage. The fashion of acting spiritual dramas, in which at first a due degree of method and decorum was preserved, was at length adopted from Constantinople by the Italians; who framed, in the depth of the dark ages, on this foundation, that barbarous species of theatrical representation called MYSTERIES, or sacred comedies, and which were soon afterwards received in Franceⁿ. This opinion will acquire probability, if we consider the early commercial intercourse between Italy and Constantinople; and although the Italians, at the time when they may be supposed to have imported plays of this nature, did not understand the Greek language, yet they could understand, and consequently could imitate, what they saw.

In defence of Voltaire's hypothesis it may be further observed, that the FEAST OF FOOLS and of the ASS, with other religious farces of that sort, so common in Europe, originated at Constantinople. They were instituted, although perhaps under other names, in the Greek church, about the year 990, by Theophylact, patriarch of Constantinople, probably with a better design than is imagined by the ecclesiastical annalists; that of weaning the minds of the people from the pagan ceremonies, particularly the Bacchanalian and calendary solemnities, by the substitution of christian spectacles, partaking of the same spirit of licentiousness. The fact is, however, recorded by Cedrenus, one of the Byzantine historians, who flourished about the year 1050, in the following words:—*Εργον εκεινου, και το νυν κρατουν εθος, εν ταις λαμπραις και δημοτελεσιν εορταις υβριζεσθαι τον Θεον, και τας των αγιων μνημας, δια λογισματων απρεπων και γελωτων, και παραφορων κραυγων, τελουμενων των θειων υμνων' ους εδει, μετα καταλυξεως και συντριμμου καρδιας, υπερ της ημων σωτηριας, προσφερειν τψ Θεψ. Πληθος γαρ συστημαενος επιβόρητων ανδρων, και εξαρχον αυτοις επιστησας Ευθυμιον τια Κασιην λεγουμενον, ον αυτος Δομεστικον της εκκλησιας προυβαλλετο' και τας σατανικας ορχησεις, και τας ασημους κραυγας, και τα εκ τριοδων και χαμαιτυπειων ηρανισμενα ασματα τελεισθαι επιδεδωκεν.* That is, "Theophylact introduced the practice, which prevails even to this day, of scan-

¹ See *supr.* p. 26.

^m *Op. Greg. Nazianz.* tom. ii. p. 253. In a manuscript cited by Lambecius, it is called *Δραμα κατ' Ευριπιδην*, iv. 22. It seems to have been falsely attributed to Apollinarius, an Alexandrian, bishop of Laodicea. It is, however, written with

less elegance and judgement than most of Gregory's poetical pieces. Apollinarius, lived about the year 370.

* [Such an imitation Mr. Ashby thinks as probable as *Otway* and *Dryden's* imitations of *Shakspeare*.—*PARK.*]

ⁿ *Hist. Gen. Addit.* p. 138.

dalising God and the memory of his saints, on the most splendid and popular festivals, by indecent and ridiculous songs, and enormous shoutings, even in the midst of those sacred hymns, which we ought to offer to the divine grace with compunction of heart, for the salvation of our souls. But he, having collected a company of base fellows, and placing over them one Euthymius, surnamed Casnes, whom he also appointed the superintendent of his church, admitted into the sacred service, diabolical dances, exclamations of ribaldry, and ballads borrowed from the streets and brothels^o. This practice was subsisting in the Greek church two hundred years afterwards; for Balsamon, patriarch of Antioch, complains of the gross abominations committed by the priests at Christmas and other festivals, even in the great church at Constantinople; and that the clergy, on certain holidays, personated a variety of feigned characters, and even entered the choir in a military habit, and other enormous disguises^p.

I must however observe here, what perhaps did not immediately occur to our lively philosopher on this occasion, that in the fourth century it was customary to make christian parodies and imitations in Greek, of the best Greek classics, for the use of the christian schools. This practice prevailed much under the emperor Julian, who forbade the pagan poets, orators, and philosophers, to be taught in the christian seminaries. Apollinaris bishop of Laodicea, above mentioned, wrote Greek tragedies adapted to the stage, on most of the grand events recorded in the Old Testament, after the manner of Euripides. On some of the familiar and domestic stories of scripture, he composed comedies in imitation of Menander. He wrote christian odes on the plan of Pindar. In imitation of Homer, he wrote an heroic poem on the history of the Bible, as far as the reign of Saul, in twenty-four books^q. Sozomen says, that these compositions, now lost, rivalled their great originals in genius, expression, and conduct. His son, a bishop also of

^o Cedren. Compend. Hist. p. 639 B. edit. Paris. 1647. Compare Baron. Annal, sub annum 956. tom. x. p. 752 C. edit. Plantin. Antw. 1603. fol. [Perhaps Theophylact was only the first who admitted these buffooneries within the walls of a church; and thus prepared the way for their reception among the Christians of the West. Their origin may with more probability be referred to an earlier period, when the Iconoclast Emperors sought to degrade the Roman Pontiffs, by an absurd mockery of the papal election, the ceremonies of the Western church, and all its observances both civil and spiritual. Gibbon has detailed in part the conduct taken by the Emperor Michael III. in such a scene; and has noticed the sources whence the curious reader may derive a confirmation, or rather a strong corroboration, of this opinion. Decl. and Fall of the Rom. Emp. cap. 49. n. 18.—PRICE.]

^p Comment. ad Canon. lixii. Synod. vi.

in Trullo. Apud Bevergii Synodic. tom. i. Oxon. fol. 1672. p. 230. 231. In return, he forbids the professed players to appear on the stage in the habit of monks. Saint Austin, who lived in the sixth century, reproves the paganising christians of his age for their indecent sports on holidays; but it does not appear that these sports were celebrated within the churches. "In sanctis festivitibus choro ducendo, cantica luxuriosa et turpia, &c. Isti enim infelices ac miseri homines, qui balationes ac saltationes ANTE IPSAS BASILICAS sanctorum exercere nec metuunt nec erubescunt." Serm. ccxv. tom. x. opp. S. Augustin. edit. Froben. 1529, fol. 763 B. See also Serm. cxcvii. cxcviii. opp. edit. Benedictin. tom. v. Paris. 1683. p. 904. et seq.

^q Sozomen (ubi infra) says, that he compiled a system of grammar, *Χριστιανικὴ τυπὴ*, on the christian model.

Laodicea, reduced the four gospels and all the apostolical books into Greek dialogues, resembling those of Plato^r.

But I must not omit a much earlier and more singular specimen of a theatrical representation of sacred history than this mentioned by Voltaire. Some fragments of an ancient Jewish play on the Exodus, or the Departure of the Israelites from Egypt under their leader and prophet Moses, are yet preserved in Greek iambics^s. The principal characters of this drama are Moses, Sapphira, and God from the Bush, or God speaking from the burning bush. Moses delivers the prologue, or introduction, in a speech of sixty lines, and his rod is turned into a serpent on the stage. The author of this piece is Ezekiel a Jew, who is called 'Ο των Ιουδαϊκων τραγωδιων ποιητης, or the tragic poet of the Jews^t. The learned Huetius endeavours to prove, that Ezekiel wrote at least before the Christian era^u. Some suppose that he was one of the seventy, or septuagint, interpreters of the Bible under the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. I am of opinion, that Ezekiel composed this play after the destruction of Jerusalem, and even in the time of Barocbas, as a political spectacle, with a view to animate his dejected countrymen with the hopes of a future deliverance from their captivity under the conduct of a new Moses, like that from the Egyptian servitude^w. Whether a theatre subsisted among the Jews, who by their peculiar situation and circumstances were prevented from keeping pace with their neighbours in the culture of the social and elegant arts, is a curious speculation. It seems most probable, on the whole, that this drama was composed in imitation of the Grecian stage, at the close of the second century, after the Jews had been dispersed, and intermixed with other nations.

Boileau seems to think, that the ancient PILGRIMAGES introduced these sacred exhibitions into France.

Chez nos dévots ayeux le théâtre abhorré
Fut long-tems dans la France une plaisir ignoré.
De PELERINS, dit on, une troupe grossière
En public à Paris y monta la première;
Et sotement zélée en sa simplicité,
Iôua les SAINTS, la VIERGE, et DIEU, par piété.

^r Socrates, iii. 16. ii. 46. Sozomen, v. 18. vi. 26. Niceph. x. 25.

^s In Clemens Alexandrin. lib. i. Strom. p. 344. seq. Eusebius, Præparat. Evang. c. xxviii. xxix. Eustathius ad Hex. p. 25. They are collected, and translated into Latin, with emendations, by Fr. Morellus. Paris. 1580. See also Corpus Poetar. Gr. Tragicor. et Comicor. Genev. 1614. fol. And Poetæ Christian. Græci, Paris. 1609. 8vo.

^t See Scaliger, ad Euseb. p. 401.

^u Demonstrat. Evangelic. p. 99.

^w See Le Moyne, Obs. ad Var. Sacr. tom. i. pag. 336. [The author of this Jewish tragedy seems to have belonged to that class of Hellenistico-Judaic writers of Alexandria, of which was the author of the apocryphal Book of Wisdom; a work originally written in Greek, perhaps in metre, full of allusions to the Greek poets and customs, and containing many lessons of instruction and consolation peculiarly applicable to the distresses and situation of the Jews after their dispersion.—ADDITIONS.]

Le Savoir, à la fin, dissipant l'Ignorance,
 Fit voir de ce projet la dévote imprudence :
 On chassa ces docteurs prêchant sans mission,
 On vit renaître Hector, Andromaque, Iliou².

The authority to which Boileau alludes in these nervous and elegant verses is Menestrier, an intelligent French antiquary¹. The pilgrims who returned from Jerusalem, saint James of Compostella, saint Baume of Provence, saint Reine, Mount saint Michael, Notre dame du Puy, and other places esteemed holy, composed songs on their adventures; intermixing recitals of passages in the life of Christ, descriptions of his crucifixion, of the day of judgement, of miracles, and martyrdoms. To these tales, which were recommended by a pathetic chant and a variety of gesticulations, the credulity of the multitude gave the name of Visions. These pious itinerants travelled in companies; and taking their stations in the most public streets, and singing with their staves in their hands, and their hats and mantles fantastically adorned with shells and emblems painted in various colours, formed a sort of theatrical spectacle. At length their performances excited the charity and compassion of some citizens of Paris; who erected a theatre, in which they might exhibit their religious stories in a more commodious and advantageous manner, with the addition of scenery and other decorations. At length professed practitioners in the histrionic art were hired to perform these solemn mockeries of religion, which soon became the principal public amusement of a devout but undiscerning people.

To those who are accustomed to contemplate the great picture of human follies, which the unpolished ages of Europe hold up to our view, it will not appear surprising, that the people, who were forbidden to read the events of the sacred history in the Bible, in which they were faithfully and beautifully related, should at the same time be permitted to see them represented on the stage, disgraced with the grossest improprieties, corrupted with inventions and additions of the most ridiculous kind, sullied with impurities, and expressed in the language and gesticulations of the lowest farce.

On the whole, the MYSTERIES appear to have originated among the ecclesiastics; and were most probably first acted, at least with any degree of form, by the monks. This was certainly the case in the English monasteries². I have already mentioned the play of saint Catharine, performed at Dunstable abbey by the novices in the eleventh cen-

¹ Art. Poet. cant. iii. 81.

² Des Représent. en Musique, p. 153, seq.

³ In some regulations given by cardinal Wolsey to the monasteries of the canons regular of St. Austin, in the year 1519, the brothers are forbidden to be *LUSORES aut MIMICI*, players or mimics. Dugd. Monast. ii. 568. But the prohibition means, that the monks should not go abroad to

exercise these arts in a secular and mercenary capacity. See Annal. Burtonenses, p. 437. *supra* citat. p. 40, 41. By the way, *MIMICUS* might also literally be construed a player, according to Jonson, Epig. 195.

— But the *Vice*
 Acts old *iniquity*, and in the fit
 Of *MIMICRY* gets th' opinion of a wit.

ture, under the superintendence of Geoffry a Parisian ecclesiastic; and the exhibition of the PASSION, by the mendicant friars of Coventry and other places. Instances have been given of the like practice among the French^a. The only persons who could read were in the religious societies; and various other circumstances, peculiarly arising from their situation, profession, and institution, enabled the monks to be the sole performers of these representations.

As learning increased, and was more widely disseminated from the monasteries, by a natural and easy transition the practice migrated to schools and universities, which were formed on the monastic plan, and in many respects resembled the ecclesiastical bodies. Hence a passage in Shakspeare's HAMLET is to be explained; where Hamlet says to Polonius, "My lord, you played once in the UNIVERSITY, you say." Polonius answers, "That I did, my lord, and was accounted a good actor.—I did enact Julius Cesar; I was killed i' th' capitol^b." Boulay observes, that it was a custom, not only still subsisting, but of very high antiquity, *vetustissima consuetudo*, to act tragedies and comedies in the university of Paris^c. He cites a statute of the college of Navarre at Paris, dated in the year 1315, prohibiting the scholars to perform any immodest play on the festivals of saint Nicholas and saint Catharine. "*In festis sancti Nicolai et beate Catharinæ nullum ludum inhonestum faciant*^d." [The tragedy called JULIUS CESAR, and two comedies, of Jaques Grevin, a learned physician and an elegant poet of France, were first acted in the college of Beauvais at Paris, in the years 1558 and 1560*.—ADDITIONS.] Reuchlin, one of the German classics at the restoration of ancient literature, was the first writer and actor of Latin plays in the academies of Germany. He is said to have opened a theatre at Heidelberg; in which he brought ingenuous youths or boys on the stage, in the year 1498^e. In the prologue to one of his comedies, written in trimeter iambics, and printed in 1516, are the following lines:—

*Optans poeta placere paucis versibus,
Sat esse adeptum gloriæ arbitratus est,
Si autore se Germaniæ SCHOLA luserit
Græcanicis et Romuleis LUSIBUS.*

^a See supra, p. 28.

^b Act iii. sc. 5.

^c Hist. Univ. Paris. tom. ii. p. 226. See also his History *De Patronis quatuor Nationum*, edit. 1662.

^d Hist. Univ. Paris. tom. iv. p. 93. St. Nicholas was the patron of scholars. Hence at Eton college St. Nicholas has a double feast. The celebrity of the Boy-bishop began on St. Nicholas's day. In a fragment of the cellarer's Computus of Hyde abbey near Winchester, A.D. 1397. "Pro epulis PUERI CELEBRANTIS in festo S. Nicolai;"

that is, the Chorister celebrating mass. MSS. Wulves. Winton. Carpentier mentions an indecent sport, called le VIRELI, celebrated in the streets on the feast of St. Nicholas, by the vicar and other choral officers of a collegiate church. Suppl. Du Cang. Lat. Gloss. in V. tom. iii. p. 1178.

* [Bibl. Verdier, ut supra, tom. ii. p. 284. La Croix du Maine, i. p. 415 seq.]

^e "Nunquam ante ipsius ætatem Comœdia in Germanorum scholis acta fuit," &c. G. Lizellii Histor. Poetar. German. Francof. et Leips. 1730. 12mo. p. 11.

The first of Reuchlin's Latin plays seems to be one entitled *SERGIUS, SEU CAPITIS CAPUT, COMOEDIA*, a satire on bad kings or bad ministers, and printed in 1508^f. He calls it his *primicia*. It consists of three acts, and is professedly written in imitation of Terence. But the author promises, if this attempt should please, that he will write *INTERGRAS COMEDIAS*, that is, comedies of five acts^g. I give a few lines from the Prologue^h.

*Si unquam tulistis ad jocum vestros pedes,
Aut si rei aures præbuitis ludicræ,
In hac nova, obsecro, poetæ fabula,
Dignemini attentiores esse quam antea;
Non hic erit lasciviæ aut libidini
Meretriciæ, aut tristi senum curæ locus,
Sed histriionum exercitus et scommata.*

For Reuchlin's other pieces of a like nature, the curious reader is referred to a very rare volume in quarto, *PROGYMNASMATA SCENICA, seu LUDICRA PRÆEXERCITAMENTA varii generis. Per Joannem Bergman de Olpe*, 1498. An old biographer affirms, that Conradus Celtes was the first who introduced into Germany the fashion of acting tragedies and comedies in public halls, after the manner of the ancients. "*Primus comédias et tragédias in publicis aulis veterum more egit*!" Not to enter into a controversy concerning the priority of these two obscure theatrical authors, which may be sufficiently decided for our present satisfaction by observing, that they were certainly cotemporaries; about the year 1500, Celtes wrote a play, or masque, called the *PLAY OF DIANA*, presented by a literary society, or seminary of scholars, before the emperor Maximilian and his court. It was printed in 1502, at Nuremberg, with this title, "*Incipit LUDUS DYANÆ, coram Maximiliano rege, per Sodalitatem Litterariam Damulianam in Linzio*!" It consists of the iambic, hexameter, and elegiac measures; and has five acts, but is contained in eight quarto pages. The plot, if any, is entirely a compliment to the emperor; and the personages, twenty-four in number, among which was the poet, are Mercury, Diana, Bacchus, Silenus drunk on his ass, Satyrs, Nymphs, and Bacchanalians. Mer-

^f Phorcæ. 4to. It is published with a gloss by Simlerus his scholar.

^g Fol. x.

^h Fol. iv.

ⁱ Viror. illustr. Vitæ, &c. published by Fischardus, Francof. 1536. 4to. p. 8 b. Celtes himself says, in his Descriptio Urbis Norinbergæ, written about 1500, that in the city there was an "AULA prætoria, ubi PUBLICA NUPTIARUM ET CHOREARUM SPECTACULA celebrantur, hystoriis et ymaginibus imperatorum et regum nostrorum depicta." Cap. x.

^k See Conradi Celtis Amores, Norinbg. 1502. 4to. ad calc. Signat. q.

[There is also a work attributed to Conradus Celtes, containing six Latin plays in imitation of Terence, under this title, "HROSIVTE, illustris virginis et Monialis Germanæ, Opera: nempe, COMEDIÆ SEX IN ÆMULATIONEM TERENTII, Octo Sacræ Historiæ veribus compositæ, necnon Panegyricus, &c. Norinbergæ, sub privilegio Sodalitatis Socraticæ, anno 1501. fol."—ADDITIONS.] [Celtes was only the editor of this work. Vide supra, pp. 18, 19. note ^x.—PRICE.]

cury, sent by Diana, speaks the Prologue. In the middle of the third act, the emperor places a crown of laurel on the poet's head; at the conclusion of which ceremony, the chorus sings a panegyric in verse to the emperor. At the close of the fourth act, in the true spirit of a German show, the imperial butlers refresh the performers with wine out of golden goblets, with a symphony of horns and drums; and at the end of the play, they are invited by his majesty to a sumptuous banquet¹.

It is more generally known, that the practice of acting Latin plays in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge continued to Cromwell's usurpation. The oldest notice I can recover of this sort of spectacle in an English university, is in the fragment of an ancient accompt-roll of the dissolved college of Michael-house in Cambridge; in which, under the year 1386, the following expense is entered:—"Pro ly pallio brusdato et pro sex larvis et barbis in comedia;" that is, for an embroidered pall, or cloak, and six visors and six beards, for the comedy^m. In the year 1544, a Latin comedy, called PAMMACHIUS, was acted at Christ's college in Cambridge; which was laid before the privy council by bishop Gardiner, chancellor of the university, as a dangerous libel, containing many offensive reflections on the papistic ceremonies yet unabolishedⁿ. The comedy of GAMMAR GURTON'S NEEDLE was acted in the same society about the year 1552. In an original draught of the statutes of Trinity college at Cambridge, founded in 1546, one of the chapters is entitled, *De Præfecto Ludorum qui IMPERATOR dicitur*, under whose direction and authority, Latin comedies and tragedies are to be exhibited in the hall at Christmas; as also *Sex SPECTACULA*, or as many DIALOGUES. Another title to this statute, which seems to be substituted by another and a more modern hand, is, *De Comediis ludisque in natali Christi exhibendis*. With regard to the peculiar business and office of IMPERATOR, it is ordered, that one of

¹ In the colleges of the Jesuits in Italy this was a constant practice in modern times. Denina says, that father Granelli's three best tragedies were written, for this purpose, between 1729 and 1731. ch. v. § 9. The tragedies of Petavius, Bernardinus and Stephonius, all Jesuits, seem intended for this use. See Morhoff, Polyhist. Literar. lib. vii. cap. iii. tom. i. 15. pag. 1069. edit. Fabric. Lubec. 1747. 4to. Riccoboni relates, that he saw, in the Jesuits' college at Prague, a Latin play acted by the students, on the subject of Luther's heresy; and the ridicule consisted in bringing Luther on the stage, with a Bible in his hand, quoting chapter and verse in defence of the reformation.

^m Inter MSS. Rawlins. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

ⁿ MSS. Coll. C. C. Cant. Catal. Nasmieth. p. 92. This mode of attack was seldom returned by the opposite party: the

catholic worship, founded on sensible representations, afforded a much better hold for ridicule, than the religion of some of the sects of the reformers, which was of a more simple and spiritual nature. But I say this of the infancy of our stage. In the next century, fanaticism was brought upon the English stage with great success, when polished manners had introduced humour into comedy, and character had taken place of spectacle. There are, however, two English interludes, one of the reign of Henry the Eighth, called Every Man, the other of that of Edward the Sixth, called Lusty Juventus, written by R. Weever: the former defends, and the latter attacks, the church of Rome. [Both these pieces will be found in Mr. Hawkins's Origin of the English Drama, vol. i. —PRICE.]

the masters of arts shall be placed over the juniors, every Christmas, for the regulation of their games and diversions at that season of festivity. At the same time, he is to govern the whole society in the hall and chapel, as a republic committed to his special charge, by a set of laws, which he is to frame in Latin or Greek verse. His sovereignty is to last during the twelve days of Christmas, and he is to exercise the same power on Candlemas-day. During this period, he is to see that six SPECTACLES or DIALOGUES be presented. His fee is forty shillings^o. Probably the constitution of this officer, in other words, a *Master of the Revels*, gave a latitude to some licentious enormities, incompatible with the decorum of a house of learning and religion; and it was found necessary to restrain these Christmas celebrities to a more rational and sober plan. The SPECTACULA also, and DIALOGUES, originally appointed, were growing obsolete when the substitution was made, and were giving way to more regular representations. I believe these statutes were reformed by queen Elizabeth's visitors of the university of Cambridge, under the conduct of archbishop Parker, in the year 1573. John Dee, the famous occult philosopher, one of the first fellows of this noble society, acquaints us, that by his advice and endeavours, both here, and in other colleges at Cambridge, this master of the Christmas plays was first *named* and *confirmed* EMPEROR. "The first was Mr. John Dun, a very goodly man of person, habit, and complexion, and well learned also^p." He also further informs us, little thinking how important his *boyish attempts and exploits scholastical* would appear to future ages, that in the refectory of the college, in the character of Greek lecturer, he exhibited, before the whole university, the *Ειρηνη*, or PAX, of Aristophanes, accompanied with a piece of machinery, for which he was taken for a conjuror: "with the performance of the scarabeus his flying up to Jupiter's palace, with a man, and his basket of victuals, on her back: whereat was great *wondering*, and many *vain reports* spread abroad, of the means how that was effected^q." The Tragedy of Jephthah, from the eleventh chapter of the book of JUDGES, written both in Latin and Greek, and dedicated to king Henry the Eighth, about the year 1546, by a very grave and learned divine, John Christopherson, another of the first fellows of Trinity college in Cambridge, afterwards master, dean of Norwich, and bishop of Chichester, was most probably composed as a Christmas-play for the same society. It is to be noted, that this play is on a religious subject^r.

^o This article is struck out from cap. xiv. p. 85. MSS. Rawlins. Num. 233. Only that part of the statute is retained in which *Comedies* and *Tragedies* are ordered to be acted. These are to be written, or rather exhibited, by the nine lecturers. The senior lecturer is to produce one: the eight others are charged with four more. A fine of ten shillings is imposed for the omission of each interlude. Another clause

is then struck out, which limits the number of the plays to THREE, if FIVE *commode exponi non queant*.

^p Compendious Rehearsall of John Dee, &c. written by himself, A.D. 1592. ch. i. p. 501. 502. Append. J. Glastoniensis Chron. edit. Hearne, Oxon. 1726.

^q Ibid. p. 502.

^r Buchanan has a tragedy on this subject, written in 1554. Hamlet seems to

Roger Ascham, while on his travels in Flanders, says in one of his Epistles, written about 1550, that the city of Antwerp as much exceeds all other cities, as the refectory of saint John's college in Cambridge exceeds itself, when furnished at Christmas with its theatrical apparatus for acting plays"; or, in his own words, "*Quemadmodum aula Johannis, theatralli more ornata, seipsam post Natalem superat*." In an audit-book of Trinity college in Oxford, I think for the year 1559, I find the following disbursements relating to this subject:—"Pro apparatu in comoedia Andriæ, vii. l. ix. s. iv. d. Pro prandio Principis NATALICI eodem tempore, xiii. s. ix. d. Pro refectioe præfectorum et doctorum magis illustrium cum Bursariis prandentium tempore comoediæ, iv. l. vii. d." That is, For dresses and scenes in acting Terence's ANDRIA, for the dinner of the CHRISTMAS PRINCE, and for the entertainment of the heads of the colleges and the most eminent doctors dining with the bursars or treasurers, at the time of acting the comedy, twelve pounds, three shillings, and eight pence. A CHRISTMAS PRINCE, or LORD OF MISRULE, corresponding to the IMPERATOR at Cambridge just mentioned, was a common temporary magistrate in the colleges at Oxford; but at Cambridge, they were censured in the sermons of the puritans, in the reign of James the First, as a relic of the pagan ritual^o.

be quoting an old play, at least an old song, on Jephthah's story, Haml. act ii. sc. 7. There is an Italian tragedy on this subject by Benedict Capuano, a monk of Casino. Florent. 1587. 4to.

[The song quoted by Hamlet was pointed out by Ritson as printed in Percy's Reliques. A more complete copy is presented in the late edition of Evans's Old Ballads from the Roxburghe Collection.—PARK.]

* There is a Latin tragedy, ARCHIPROPHETA, sive Johannes Baptista, written in 1547, by Nicolas Grimald, one of the first Students of Christ-church, Oxford, which probably was acted in the refectory there. It is dedicated to the dean, doctor Richard Cox, and was printed, Colon. 1548. 8vo. This play coincided with his plan of a rhetoric lecture, which he had set up in the college.

† Aschami Epistol. p. 126 b. Lond. 1581.

‡ Fuller, Ch. Hist. of Cambridge, p. 159. edit. 1655. See Observat. on Spenser, ii. 211. In the court of king Edward the Sixth, George Ferrers, a lawyer, poet, and historian, bore this office at Greenwich, all the twelve days of Christmas, in 1552. "Who so pleasantly and wisely behaved himself, that the king had great delight in his PASTIMES." Stowe's Chron. p. 632. Hollingshead says, "being of better credit and estimation than commonlie his predecessors had

beene before, he received all his commissions and warrants by the name of the MAISTER OF THE KING'S PASTIMES. Which gentleman so well supplied his office, both in shew of sundrie sights and devices of rare inventions, and in act of divers INTERLUDES, and matters of pastime played by persons, as not onlie satisfied the common sort, but also were verie well liked and allowed by the COUNCELL, and others of skill in the like PASTIMES," &c. Chron. iii. p. 1067. col. 2. 10. The appointment of so dextrous and respectable an officer to this department, was a stroke of policy; and done with a design to give the court popularity, and to divert the mind of the young king, on the condemnation of Somerset.

In some great families this officer was called the ABBOT OF MISRULE. In Scotland, where the reformation took a more severe and gloomy turn, these and other festive characters were thought worthy to be suppressed by the legislature. See Parl. vi. of queen Mary of Scotland, 1555. "It is statute and ordained, that in all times cumming, na maner of person be chosen ROBERT HUDE nor LITTLE JOHN, ABBOT OF UN-REASON, QUEENIS OF MAY, nor uthewise, nother in burgh, nor to landwart, [in the country,] in onlie time to cum." [See Dr. Jamieson's Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language, in voc. ABBOT OF UN-RESSOUN.—PRICE.] And this under very severe

The last article of this disbursement shows, that the most respectable company in the university were invited on these occasions. At length our universities adopted the representation of plays, in which the scholars by frequent exercise had undoubtedly attained a considerable degree of skill and address, as a part of the entertainment at the reception of princes and other eminent personages. In the year 1566, queen Elizabeth visited the university of Oxford. In the magnificent hall of the college of Christ-Church, she was entertained with a Latin comedy called *MARCUS GEMINUS*, the Latin tragedy of *PROGNE*, and an English comedy on the story of Chaucer's *PALAMON AND ARCITE*, all acted by the students of the university. The queen's observations on the persons of the last-mentioned piece deserve notice; as they are at once a curious picture of the romantic pedantry of the times, and of the characteristic turn and predominant propensities of the queen's mind. When the play was over, she summoned the poet into her presence, whom she loaded with thanks and compliments; and at the same time turning to her levee, remarked, that Palamon was so justly drawn as a lover, that he certainly must have been in love indeed: that Arcite was a *right martial knight, having a swart and manly countenance*, yet with the aspect of a Venus clad in armour: that the lovely Emilia was a virgin of uncorrupted purity and unblemished simplicity; and that although she sung so sweetly, and gathered flowers alone in the garden, she preserved her chastity undeflowered. The part of Emilia, the only female part in the play, was acted by a boy of fourteen years of age, a son of the dean of Christ-Church, habited like a young princess; whose performance so captivated her majesty, that she gave him a present of eight guineas^w. During the exhibition, a cry of hounds, belonging to Theseus, was counterfeited without, in the great

penalties, viz. in burghs, to the choosers' of such characters, loss of freedom, with other punishments at the queen's pleasure: and those who accepted such offices were to be banished the realm. In the country, the choosers forfeited ten pounds, with an arbitrary imprisonment. "And gif onie women or uthor about summer hees [hies, goes,] singand [singing] . . . thorow Burrowes and uthers Landward townes, the women . . . sall be taken, handled, and put upon the cuck-stules," &c. See Notes to the Percy Household-Book. p. 441. Voltaire says, that since the Reformation, for two hundred years there has not been a fiddle heard in some of the cantons of Switzerland.

In the French towns there was L'Abbé de Liesse, who in many towns was elected from the burghesses by the magistrates, and was the director of all their public shows. Among his numerous mock-officers were a herald, and a *Maitre d'Hotel*. In the city of Auxerre he was

especially concerned to superintend the play which was annually acted on Quinquagesima Sunday. Carpentier, Suppl. Gloss. Lat. Du Cange, tom. i. pag. 7. V. ABBAS LETITIE. See also, ibid. V. CHARAVARITUM. p. 923.

^w This youth had before been introduced to the queen's notice, in her privy chamber at her lodgings at Christ-Church; where he saluted her in a short Latin oration with some Greek verses, with which she was so pleased, that she called in secretary Cecil, and encouraging the boy's modesty with many compliments and kind speeches, begged him to repeat his elegant performance. By Wood he is called *summæ spei puer*. Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 287. col. 2. See also Athen. Oxon. i. 152. and Peck's Desid. Curios. vol. ii. lib. vii. Num. xviii. p. 46. seq. [For a detailed account of this, and subsequent exhibitions of the same kind, see Nicholls's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.—PRICE.]

square of the college: the young students thought it a real chase, and were seized with a sudden transport to join the hunters: at which the queen cried out from her box, "O excellent! These boys, in very troth, are ready to leap out of the windows to follow the hounds*!" In the year 1564, queen Elizabeth honoured the university of Cambridge with a royal visit[†]. Here she was present at the exhibition of the *AULULARIA* of Plautus, and the tragedies of *DIDO*, and of *HEZEKIAH*, in English; which were played in the body, or nave, of the chapel of King's college[‡], on a stage extended from side to side, by a select company of scholars, chosen from different colleges at the discretion of five doctors, "especially appointed to set forth such plays as should be exhibited before her grace[§]." The chapel, on this occasion, was lighted by the royal guards, each of whom bore a staff-torch in his hand[¶]. Her majesty's patience was so fatigued by the sumptuous parade of shows and speeches, with which every moment was occupied, that she could not stay to see the *AJAX* of Sophocles, in Latin, which was prepared. Having been praised both in Latin and Greek, and in prose and verse, for her learning and her chastity, and having received more compliments than are paid to any of the pastoral princesses in Sydney's *ARCADIA*, she was happy to return to the houses of some of her nobility in the neighbourhood. In the year 1583, Albertus de Alasco, a Polish prince Palatine, arrived at Oxford[‡]. In the midst of a medley of pithy orations, tedious sermons, degrees, dinners, disputations, philosophy, and fire-works, he was invited to the comedy of the *RIVALES*[¶], and the tragedy of *DIDO*, which were presented in Christ-Church hall by some of the scholars of that society, and of saint John's college. In the latter play, *Dido's* supper, and the destruction of Troy, were represented in a marchpane, or rich cake; and the tempest which

* Wood, Athen. Oxon. ubi supr.

† For a minute account of which, see Peck's *Desid. Curios.* ut supr. p. 25. Num. xv. [MSS. Baker. vol. x. 7037. p. 109. Brit. Mus.] The writer was probably N. Robinson, domestic chaplain to archbishop Parker, afterwards bishop of Bangor. See Wood, Athen. Oxon. i. col. 696. MSS. Baker, ut supr. p. 181. And Parker's *Ant. Brit. Eccles.* p. 14. Math. *Vir fuit prudens*, &c. edit. 1572-3.

‡ [Mr. Ashby conceived that the ante-chapel must be here meant; though the whole, he adds, is one plain room, of uniform dimensions, and no separation of any kind except the organ: but the ante-chapel is more superbly fitted up than the chapel, i. e. with roses and shields of arms in alto-relievo.—PARK.]

§ Peck, ut supr. p. 36. 39.

¶ Peck, *ibid.* p. 36.

‡ Supposed to be the person whom Shakespeare, in the *Merchant of Venice*, called the *Count Palatine*, act i. sc. 1.

¶ This was in Latin, and written by William Gager, admitted a student of Christ-Church in 1572. By the way, he is styled by Wood, the best *comedian* of his time, that is dramatic poet. But he wrote only Latin plays. His Latin *MELEAGER* was acted at Christ-Church before lord Leicester, sir Philip Sydney, and other distinguished persons, in 1581. Ath. Oxon. i. p. 366. This Gager had a controversy with doctor John Rainolds, president of Corpus, at Oxford, concerning the lawfulness of plays; which produced from the latter a pamphlet, called *THE OVERTHROW OF STAGE-PLAYS*, &c. Printed 1599. Gager's letter, in defence of his plays, and of the students who acted in them, is in Bibl. Coll. Univ. MSS. J. 18. It appears by a pamphlet written by one W. Heale, and printed at Oxford in 1609, that Gager held it lawful, in a public Act of the university, for husbands to beat their wives.

drove Dido and Eneas to the same cave, was counterfeited by a snow of sugar, a hailstorm of comfits, and a shower of rose-water^d. In the year 1605, king James the First gratified his pedantry by a visit to the same university^e. He was present at three plays in Christ-Church hall, which he seems to have regarded as childish amusements, in comparison of the more solid delights of scholastic argumentation. Indeed, if we consider this monarch's insatiable thirst of profound erudition, we shall not be surprised to find, that he slept at these theatrical performances, and that he sate four hours every morning and afternoon with infinite satisfaction, to hear syllogisms in jurisprudence and theology. The first play, during this solemnity, was a pastoral comedy called ALBA; in which five men, almost naked, appearing on the stage as part of the representation, gave great offence to the queen and the maids of honour; while the king, whose delicacy was not easily shocked at other times, concurred with the ladies; and availing himself of this lucky circumstance, peevishly expressed his wishes to depart, before the piece was half finished^f. The second play was VERTUMNUS, which although *learnedly penned* in Latin, and by a doctor in divinity, could not keep the king awake, who was wearied in consequence of having executed the office of moderator all that day at the disputations in saint Mary's church^g. The third drama was the AJAX of Sophocles, in Latin, at which the stage was varied three times^h. "The king was very wearie before he came thither, but much more wearied by it, and spoke many words of dislikeⁱ." But I must not omit, that as the king entered the city from Woodstock, he was saluted at the gate of saint

^d Hollinsh. Chron. iii. 1355.

[Here is certainly an attempt to represent objects to the eyes, which may be called scenery; and one may wonder, after this, that even in Shakespeare's time the introduction of scenes should be questioned.—ASHBY.]

^e See Preparations at Oxford, &c. Append. Lelandi Coll. vol. ii. p. 626. seq. edit. Lond. 1774. [MSS. Baker, ut supr. Brit. Mus.] They were written by one present.

^f Ibid. p. 637.

^g The queen was not present; but next morning, with her ladies, the young prince, and *gallants attending the court*, she saw an English pastoral, by Daniel, called ARCADIA REFORMED. Ibid. p. 642. Although the anecdote is foreign to our purpose, I cannot help mentioning the reason, why the queen, during this visit to Oxford, was more pleased to hear the oration of the professor of Greek, than the king. "The king heard him willingly, and the queen much more; because, she sayd, she never had heard Greek." Ibid. 636.

^h Towards the end of the hall, was a

scene like a wall, "painted and adorned with stately pillars, which pillars would turn about, by reason whereof, with the help of other painted clothes, their stage did vary three times in the acting of one tragedy." Lel. Append. ut supr. p. 631. The machinery of these plays, and the temporary stages in St. Mary's church, were chiefly conducted by one Mr. Jones, a *great traveller*, who undertooke to furnish them with rare devices, but performed very little to that which was expected." Ibid. p. 646. Notwithstanding these slighting expressions, it is highly probable that this was Inigo Jones, afterwards the famous architect. He was now but thirty-three years of age, and just returned into England. He was the principal contriver for the masques at Whitehall. Gerrard, in Strafforde's Letters, describing queen Henrietta's popish chapel, says, "Such a glorious scene built over the altar! Inigo Jones never presented a more curious piece in any of the masks at Whitehall." [dat. 1635.] vol. i. pag. 505.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 639.

John's college with a short interlude, which probably suggested a hint to Shakspeare to write a tragedy on the subject of Macbeth. Three youths of the college, habited like witches, advancing towards the king, declared they were the same who once met the two chiefs of Scotland, Macbeth and Banquo; prophesying a kingdom to the one, and to the other a generation of monarchs: that they now appeared, a second time, to his majesty, who was descended from the stock of Banquo, to show the confirmation of that prediction^k. Immediately afterwards, "Three young youths, in habit and attire like Nymphs, confronted him, representing England, Scotland, and Ireland; and talking dialogue wise, each to the other, of their state, at last concluded, yielding themselves up to his gracious government^l."

It would be unnecessary to trace this practice in our universities to later periods. The position advanced is best illustrated by proofs most remote in point of time; which, on that account, are also less obvious, and more curious. I could have added other ancient proofs; but I chose to select those which seemed, from concomitant circumstances, most likely to amuse.

Many instances of this practice in schools, or in seminaries of an inferior nature, may be enumerated. I have before mentioned the play of ROBIN and MARIAN, performed, according to an annual custom, by the school-boys of Angiers in France, in the year 1392^m. But I do not mean to go abroad for illustrations of this part of our present inquiry. Among the writings of Udal, a celebrated master of Eton, about the year 1540, are recited *Plures Comedie*, and a tragedy *de Papatu*, on the papacy; written probably to be acted by his scholars. An extract from one of his comedies may be seen in Wilson's LOGIKEⁿ. In the ancient CONSUETUDINARY, as it is called, of Eton-School, the following passage occurs. "Circa festum divi Andree, ludimagister eligere solet, pro suo arbitrio, SCENICAS FABULAS optimas et accommodatissimas, quas Pueri feriis Natalitiis subsequentibus, non sine LUDORUM ELEGANTIA, populo spectante, publice aliquando peragant.—Interdum etiam exhibet Anglico sermone contextas fabulas, siquæ habeant acumen et leporem^o." That is, about the feast of saint Andrew, the thirtieth day of November, the master is accustomed to choose, according to his own discretion, such Latin stage-plays as are most excellent and convenient; which the boys are to act in the following Christmas holidays, before a public audience, and with all the elegance of scenery and ornaments usual at the performance of a play. Yet he may sometimes order English plays; such, at least, as are smart and witty. In the year 1538, Ralph Radcliffe, a polite scholar, and a lover of graceful

^k *Rex Platonicus, sive Musæ Regnantes*, Oxon. 1607. 4to. p. 18.

^l *Lel. Append. ut supr.* p. 636.

^m *Supr.* p. 27. See more instances, *ibid.*

ⁿ Written in 1553, p. 69.

^o Supposed to have been drawn up about the year 1560, but containing all the ancient and original customs of the school. MSS. Rawlins. Bibl. Bodl.

elocution, opening a school at Hitchin in Hertfordshire, obtained a grant of the dissolved friery of the Carmelites in that town; and converting the refectory into a theatre, wrote several plays, both in Latin and English, which were exhibited by his pupils. Among his comedies were *Dives and Lazarus*, Boccaccio's *Patient Grisilde*, *Titus and Gessippus*^p, and Chaucer's *Melibeus*: his tragedies were, the *Delivery of Susannah*, the *Burning of John Huss*, *Job's Sufferings*, the *Burning of Sodom*, *Jonas*, and the *Fortitude of Judith*. These pieces were seen by the biographer Bale in the author's library, but are now lost^q. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that this very liberal exercise is yet preserved, and in the spirit of true classical purity, at the college of Westminster^r. I believe, the frequency of these school-plays suggested to Shakspeare the names of Seneca and Plautus as dramatic authors; where Hamlet, speaking of a variety of theatrical performances, says, "Seneca cannot be too heavy, nor Plautus too light^s." Jonson, in his comedy of *THE STAPLE OF NEWES*, has a satirical allusion to this practice, yet ironically applied: where CENSURE says, "For my part, I beleeeve it, and there were no wiser than I, I would have neer a cunning schoole-master in England: I mean a Cunning-man a schoole-master; that is, a conjurour, or a poet, or that had any acquaintance with a poet. They make all their schollers Play-boyes! Is't not a fine sight to see all our children made Enterluders? Doe we pay our money for this? Wee send them to learne their grammar and their Terence, and they learne their play-booke. Well, they talk we shall have no more parliaments, god blesse us! But an wee have, I hope *Zeale of the Land Buzzy*, and my gossip *Rabby Trouble-truth*, will start up, and see we have painfull good ministers to keepe schoole, and catechise our

^p See *supr.* p. 493. note ^p.

^q Bale, viii. 98. Ath. Oxon. i. 73. I have seen an anonymous comedy, *APOLLO SHROVING*, composed by the Master of Hadleigh-school, in Suffolk, and acted by his scholars, on Shrove-tuesday, Feb. 7, 1626. printed 1627. 8vo. Published, as it seems, by E. W. Shrove-tuesday, as the day immediately preceding Lent, was always a day of extraordinary sport and feasting. So in the song of Justice Silence in Shakspeare. See Henry IV. Part II. a. v. s. 4.

Tis merry in hall when beards wag all,
And welcome MERRY SHROVETIDE.

In the Romish church there was anciently a feast immediately preceding Lent, which lasted many days, called *CARNISCAPIUM*. See Carpentier, in V. Suppl. Lat. Gl. Du Cang. tom. i. p. 831. In some cities of France an officer was annually chosen, called *Le Prince d'Amoureux*, who presided over the sports of the youth for six days before Ash-wednesday. Ibid. V. AMORA-

TUS, p. 195; and V. CARDINALIS. p. 818; also V. SPINETUM, tom. iiii. p. 848. Some traces of these festivities still remain in our universities. In the Percy Household-book, 1512, it appears that the clergy and officers of lord Percy's chapel performed a play "before his lordship upon Shrowftewesday at night." pag. 345.

^r It appears anciently to have been an exercise for youth, not only to act but to write interludes. Erasmus says, that sir Thomas More, "adolescens COMODIOLAS et scripsit et egit." Epistol. 447. But see what I have said of More's Pageants, Observat. on Spens. ii. 47. And we are told, that More, while he lived a page with archbishop Moreton, as the plays were going on in the palace during the christmas holidays, would often step upon the stage without previous notice, and exhibit a part of his own, which gave much more satisfaction than the whole performance besides. Roper's Life and Death of More, p. 27. edit. 1731. 8vo.

^s Act ii. sc. 7.

youth; and not teach em to speake Playes, and act fables of false newes," &c.¹

In tracing the history of our stage, this early practice of performing plays in schools and universities has never been considered as a circumstance instrumental to the growth and improvement of the drama. While the people were amused with Skelton's TRIAL OF SIMONY, Bale's GOD'S PROMISES, and CHRIST'S DESCENT INTO HELL, the scholars of the times were composing and acting plays on historical subjects, and in imitation of Plautus and Terence. Hence ideas of a legitimate fable must have been imperceptibly derived to the popular and vernacular drama. And we may add, while no settled or public theatres were known, and plays were chiefly acted by itinerant minstrels in the halls of the nobility at Christmas, these literary societies supported some idea of a stage: they afforded the best accommodations for theatrical exhibition, and were almost the only, certainly the most rational, companies of players that existed.

But I mean yet to trespass on my reader's patience, by pursuing this inquiry still further; which, for the sake of comprehension and connection, has already exceeded the limits of a digression.

It is perhaps on this principle, that we are to account for plays being acted by singing-boys: although they perhaps acquired a turn for theatrical representation and the spectacular arts, from their annual exhibition of the ceremonies of the boy-bishop; which seem to have been common in almost every religious community that was capable of supporting a choir². I have before given an instance of the singing-boys

¹ Act iii. p. 50. edit. fol. 1631. This play was first acted in the year 1625.

² In a small college, for only one provost, five fellows, and six choristers, founded by archbishop Rotheram in 1481, in the obscure village of Rotheram in Yorkshire, this piece of mummery was not omitted. The founder leaves by will, among other bequests to the college, "A Myter for the *barne-bishop* of cloth of gold, with two knoppes of silver, gilt and enamelled." Hearne's Lib. Nig. Scacc. Append. p. 674. 686. This establishment, but with a far greater degree of buffoonery, was common in the collegiate churches of France. See Dom. Marlot, *Histoire de la Metropole de Rheims*, tom. ii. p. 769. A part of the ceremony in the church of Noyon was, that the children of the choir should celebrate the whole service on Innocents' day. Brillou, *Dictionnaire des Arrets*, Artic. NOYON. edit. de 1727. This privilege, as I have before observed, is permitted to the children of the choir of Winchester college, on that festival, by the founder's statutes, given in 1380. [See supr. p. 30.] Yet in the statutes of Eton college, given in 1441, and altogether

transcribed from those of Winchester, the chorister-bishop of the chapel is permitted to celebrate the holy offices on the feast of saint Nicholas, but *by no means* on that of the INNOCENTS.—"In festo sancti Nicolai, in quo et NULLATENUS in festo sanctorum INNOCENTIIUM, divina officia (præter Missam Secreta) exequi et dici permitimus per Episcopum Puerorum, ad hoc, de eisdem [pueris choristis] annis singulis eligendum." Statut. Coll. Etonens. Cap. xxxi. The same clause is in the statutes of King's college at Cambridge. Cap. xlii. The parade of the mock-bishop is evidently akin to the *Fête des Foux*, in which they had a bishop, an abbot, and a precentor, of the fools. One of the pieces of humour in this last-mentioned show, was to shave the precentor in public, on a stage erected at the west door of the church. M. Tilliot, *Mém. de la Fête des Foux*, ut supr. p. 13. In the Council of Sens, A.D. 1485, we have this prohibition:—"Turpem etiam illum abusum in quibusdam frequentatum ecclesiis, quo, certis annis, nonnulli cum mitra, baculo, ac vestibus pontificalibus, more episcoporum benedicunt, alii ut reges

of Hyde abbey and saint Swithin's priory at Winchester, performing a MORALITY before King Henry the Seventh at Winchester castle, on a Sunday, in the year 1487. In the accompts of Maxtoke priory near Coventry, in the year 1480, it appears, that the eleemosynary boys, or choristers, of that monastery, acted a play, perhaps every year, on the feast of the Purification, in the hall of the neighbouring castle belonging to lord Clinton : and it is specified, that the cellarer took no money for their attendance, because his lordship's minstrels had often assisted this year at several festivals in the refectory of the convent, and in the hall of the prior, without fee or gratuity. I will give the article, which is very circumstantial, at length : "*Pro jentaculis puerorum eleemosyne exeuntium ad aulam in castro ut ibi LUDUM peragerent in die Purificationis, xiv d. Unde nihil a domini [Clinton] thesaurario, quia sæpius hoc anno ministralli castri fecerunt ministralsiam in aula conventus et Prioris ad festa plurima sine ullo riguardo*". That is, For the extraordinary breakfast of the children of the almonry, or singing-boys of the convent, when they went to the hall in the castle, to perform the PLAY on the feast of the Purification, fourteen-pence. In consideration of which performance, we received nothing in return from the treasurer

et duces induti, quod Festum FATUORUM, vel INNOCENTIIUM, seu PUERORUM, in quibusdam regionibus nuncupatur," &c. Concil. Senon. cap. iii. Harduin. Act. Concil. Paris. 1714. tom. ix. p. 1525. E. See also ibid. Concil. Basil. Sess. xxi. p. 1122. E. And 1296. D. p. 1344. A. It is surprising that Colet, dean of St. Paul's, a friend to the purity of religion, and who had the good sense and resolution to censure the superstitions and fopperies of popery in his public sermons, should countenance this idle farce of the boy-bishop, in the statutes of his school at St. Paul's; which he founded with a view of establishing the education of youth on a more rational and liberal plan than had yet been known, in the year 1512. He expressly orders that his scholars "shall every Childermas [Innocents] daye come to Paulis church, and hear the CHILDE-BYSHOP's [of St. Paul's cathedral] sermon; and after, be at the hygh masse; and each of them offer a penny to the CHILDE-BYSHOP, and with them the maisters and surveyors of the scole." Knight's Life of Colet, (Miscell. Num. V. Append.) p. 362. [See also Mr. Strutt's Sports and Pastimes of the People of England.—PRICE.] I take this opportunity of observing, that the anniversary custom at Eton of going *ad Montem*, originated from the antient and popular practice of these theatrical processions in collegiate bodies.

In the statutes of New college in Oxford, founded about the year 1380, there

is the following remarkable passage. "Ac etiam illum LUDUM vilissimum et horribilem RADENDI BARBAS, qui fieri solet in nocte præcedente Inceptionis Magistradorum in Artibus, infra collegium nostrum prædictum, vel alibi in Universitate prædicta, ubicunque, ipsis [sociis et scholaribus] penitus interdicimus, ac etiam prohibemus expresse." Rubr. xxv. Hearne endeavours to explain this injunction, by supposing that it was made in opposition to the Wickliffites, who disregarded the laws of Scripture; and, in this particular instance, violated the following text in Leviticus, where this custom is expressly forbidden. xix. 27. "Neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard." Not. ad Joh. Trokelowe, p. 393. Nothing can be more unfortunate than this elucidation of our antiquary. The direct contrary was the case: for the Wickliffites entirely grounded their ideas of reformation both in morals and doctrine on scriptural proofs, and often committed absurdities in too precise and literal an acceptance of texts. And, to say no more, the custom, from the words of the statute, seems to have been long preserved in the university, as a mock-ceremony on the night preceding the solemn Act of Magistratation. It is styled LUDUS, a Play: and I am of opinion, that it is to be ranked among the other ecclesiastic mummeries of that age; and that it has some connection with the exhibition mentioned above of shaving the Precentor in public.

* Penes me, supr. citat.

of the lord Clinton, because the minstrels of the castle had often this year played at many festivals, both in the hall of the convent and in the prior's hall, without reward. So early as the year 1378, the scholars, or choristers, of saint Paul's cathedral in London, presented a petition to king Richard the Second, that his majesty would prohibit some ignorant and unexperienced persons from acting the HISTORY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, to the great prejudice of the clergy of the church, who had expended considerable sums for preparing a public presentation of that play at the ensuing Christmas². From MYSTERIES this young fraternity proceeded to more regular dramas; and at the commencement of a theatre, were the best and almost only comedians. They became at length so favorite a set of players, as often to act at court; and, on particular occasions of festivity, were frequently removed from London, for this purpose only, to the royal houses at some distance from town. This is a circumstance in their dramatic history, not commonly known. In the year 1554, while the princess Elizabeth resided at Hatfield-house in Hertfordshire, under the custody of sir Thomas Pope, she was visited by queen Mary. The next morning, after mass, they were entertained with a grand exhibition of bear-baiting, *with which their highnesses were right well content*. In the evening, the great chamber was adorned with a sumptuous suit of tapestry, called *The Hanging of Antioch*; and after supper, a play was presented by the *children of Paul's*¹. After the play, and the next morning, one of the children, named Maximilian Poinet, sung to the princess, while she *plaid at the virginalls*³. Strype, perhaps from the same manuscript chronicle, thus describes a magnificent entertainment given to queen Elizabeth, in the year 1559, at Nonsuch in Surrey, by lord Arundel, her majesty's housekeeper, or superintendent, at that palace, now destroyed. I choose to give the description in the words of this simple but picturesque compiler. "There the queen had great entertainment, with banquets, especially on Sunday night, made by the said earl; together with a Mask, and the warlike sounds of drums and flutes, and all kinds of musick, till midnight. On Monday, was a great supper made for her: but before night, she stood at her standing in the further park, and there she saw a Course. At night was a Play by the *Children of Paul's*, and

¹ See Rise and Progress, &c. Cibb. L. vol. ii. p. 118.

² Who perhaps performed the play of HOLOPHERNES, the same year, after a *greale and rich maskinge and banquet*, given by Sir Thomas Pope to the prince, in the *grete hall at Hatfelde*. Life of Sir Tho. Pope, Sect. iii. p. 85.

³ MS. Annales of Q. Marie's Reigne. MSS. Cotton. Vitell. F. 5. There is a curious anecdote in Melville's Memoirs, concerning Elizabeth, when queen, being surprised from behind the tapestry by lord Hunsdon, while she was playing on her

virginalls. Her majesty, I know not whether in a fit of royal prudery, or of royal coquetry, suddenly rose from the instrument and offered to *strike* his lordship; declaring, "that she was not used to play before men, but when she was solitary to shun melancholy." Mem. Lond. 1752. pag. 99. Leland applauds the skill of Elizabeth, both in playing and singing. Encom. fol. 59. [p. 125. edit. Hearn.]

Aut quid commemorem quos tu testudine sumpta
Concentus referas mellifluosque modos?

their [music] master Sebastian. After that, a costly banquet, accompanied with drums and flutes. This entertainment lasted till three in the morning. And the earl presented her majesty a cupboard of plate^a. In the year 1562, when the society of parish clerks in London celebrated one of their annual feasts, after morning service in Guildhall chapel, they retired to their hall; where, after dinner, a *goodly play* was performed by the choristers of Westminster abbey, with *waits, and regals, and singing*^b. The children of the chapel-royal were also famous actors; and were formed into a company of players by queen Elizabeth, under the conduct of Richard Edwards, a musician, and a writer of Interludes, already mentioned, and of whom more will be said hereafter. All Lilly's plays, and many of Shakspeare's and Jonson's, were originally performed by these boys^c: and it seems probable, that the title given by Jonson to one of his comedies, called CYNTHIA'S REVELS, first acted in 1605 "by the children of her majesties chapel, with the allowance of the Master of the Revels," was an allusion to this establishment of queen Elizabeth, one of whose romantic names was CYNTHIA^d. The general reputation which they gained, and the particular encouragement and countenance which they received from the queen, excited the jealousy of the grown actors at the theatres; and Shakspeare, in HAMLET, endeavours to extenuate the applause which was idly indulged to their performance, perhaps not always very just, in the following speeches of Rosencrantz and Hamlet:—"There is an aerie of little children, little eyases^e, that cry out on the top of the question, and are most tyrannically clapped for't: these are now the fashion, and so berattle the *common* stages, so they call them, that many wearing rapiers

^a Ann. Ref. vol. i. ch. xv. p. 194. edit. 1725. fol.

^b Strype's edit. of Stowe's Surv. Lond. B. v. p. 231.

^c Six of Lilly's nine comedies are entitled COURT-COMEDIES; which, I believe, were written professedly for this purpose. These were reprinted together, London, 1632. 12mo. His last play is dated 1597.

^d They very frequently were joined by the choristers of saint Paul's. It is a mistake that these were rival companies; and that because Jonson's Poetaster was acted, in the year 1601, by the boys of the chapel, his antagonist Decker got his Satiromastix, an answer to Jonson's play, to be performed, out of opposition, by those of saint Paul's. Lilly's court-comedies, and many others, were acted by the children of both choirs in conjunction. It is certain that Deckers sneers at Jonson's interest with the Master of the Revels, in procuring his plays to be acted so often at court. "*Sir Vaughan*. I have some cossen-germans at court shall beget you the reversion of the

master of the king's revels, or else to be his lord of misrule nowe at Christmas." Signat. G. 3. Decker's Satiromastix, or the Untrussing of the Humorous Poet. Lond. for E. White, 1602. 4to. Again, Signat. M. "When your playes are misseliked at court, you shall not crie mew like a pussecat, and say you are glad you write out of the courtier's element." On the same idea the satire is founded of sending Horace, or Jonson, to court, to be dubbed a poet; and of bringing "the quivering bride to court in a maske," &c. Ibid. Signat. I. 3.

[Cynthia and Diana appear to have been the poetical titles under which this queen was habitually adulated. The Countess of Pembroke employed the former pastorally to Elizabeth, in Davison's poetical Rapsodie, first printed in 1602. This most estimable of our early metrical miscellanies has been re-produced by sir Egerton Brydges, with a splendour and typographical elegance peculiar to the Lee Press. A critical appreciation of the work is prefixed.—PARK.]

^e nest of young hawks.

are afraid of goose quills, and dare scarce come thither.—*Ham.* What, are they children? Who maintains them? How are they escoted? Will they pursue the Quality no longer than they can sing^f, &c. This was about the year 1599. The latter clause means, "Will they follow the *profession* of players no longer than they keep the voices of boys, and sing in the choir?" So Hamlet afterwards says to the player, "Come, give us a taste of your *quality*: come, a passionate speech^h." Some of these, however, were distinguished for their propriety of action, and became admirable comedians at the theatre of Black-friersⁱ. Among the children of queen Elizabeth's chapel, was one Salvadore Pavy, who acted in Jonson's *POETASTER* and *CYNTHIA'S REVELS*, and was imitable in his representation of the character of an old man. He died about thirteen years of age, and is thus elegantly celebrated in one of Jonson's epigrams.

An Epitaph on S. P. a child of queene Elizabeth's chapel.

Weep with me, all you that read
This little story!
And know, for whom a teare you shed
DEATH's selfe is sorry.
'Twas a child, that so did thrive
In grace and feature,
As HEAVEN and NATURE seem'd to strive
Which own'd the creature.
Yeares he numbred scarce thirteene,
When Fates turn'd cruell;
Yet three fill'd zodiackes had he beene
The Stage's Jewell:

^f paid.

^g Act ii. sc. 6. And perhaps he glances at the same set of actors in *Romeo and Juliet*, when a play, or masque, is proposed; Act i. sc. 5.

We 'll have no Cupid, hood-wink'd with a scarf,
Bearing a Tartar's painted bow of lath;
Nor a *without-book* prologue faintly spoke
After the prompter. — — —

^h Ibid. Sc. 3.

ⁱ There is a passage in Strafforde's Letters, which seems to show, that the dispositions and accommodations at the theatre of Black-friers, were much better than we now suppose. "A little pique happened betwixt the duke of Lenox and the lord chamberlain, about a box at a new play in the Black-friers, of which the duke had got the key." The dispute was settled by the king. G. Garrard to the Lord Deputy, Jan. 25, 1635. vol. i. p. 511. edit. 1739. fol. See

a curious account of an order of the privy council, in 1633, "hung up in a table near Paules and Black-fryars, to command all that resort to the play-house there, to send away their coaches, and to disperse abroad in Paules church-yard, carter-lane, the conduit in fleet-street," &c. &c. Ibid. p. 175. Another of Garrard's letters mentions a play at this theatre, which "cost three or four hundred pounds setting out; eight or ten suits of new cloaths he [the author] gave the players, an unheard-of prodigality!" Dat. 1637. Ibid. vol. ii. 150.

It appears by the Prologue of Chapman's *All Fools*, a comedy presented at Black-friers, and printed 1605, that only the spectators of rank and quality sate on the stage.

— — — To fair attire the stage
Helps much; for if our other audience see
You on the stage depart before we end,
Our wits go with you all, &c. —

And did acte, what now we moane,
 Old men so duely ;
 As, sooth, the PARCE thought him one,
 He plaid so trueely.
 So, by errour, to his fate
 They all consented ;
 But viewing him since, alas ! too late,
 They have repented :
 And have sought, to give new birthe,
 In bathes to steep him :
 But, being so much too good for earthe,
 HEAVEN vowes to keep him^k.

To this ecclesiastical origin of the drama, we must refer the plays acted by the society of the parish-clerks of London, for eight days successively, at Clerkenwell, which thence took its name, in the presence of most of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, in the years 1390 and 1409. In the ignorant ages, the parish-clerks of London might justly be considered as a literary society. It was an essential part of their profession, not only to sing but to read; an accomplishment almost solely confined to the clergy: and, on the whole, they seem to come under the character of a religious fraternity. They were incorporated into a guild, or fellowship, by king Henry the Third about the year 1240, under the patronage of saint Nicholas. It was anciently customary for men and women of the first quality, ecclesiastics, and others, who were lovers of church-music, to be admitted into this corporation; and they gave large gratuities for the support, or education, of many persons in the practice of that science. Their public feasts, which I have already mentioned, were frequent, and celebrated with singing and music; most commonly at Guildhall chapel or college^l. Before the reformation, this society was constantly hired to assist as a choir, at the magnificent funerals of the nobility, or other distinguished personages, which were celebrated within the city of London, or in its neighbourhood. The splendid ceremonies of their anniversary procession and mass, in the year 1554, are thus related by Strype, from an old chronicle: " May the sixth, was a goodly evensong at Guildhall college, by the Masters of the CLARKS and their Fellowship, with singing and playing; and the morrow after, was a great mass, at the same place, and by the same fraternity; when every clark offered an halfpenny. The mass was sung by diverse of the queen's [Mary's] chapel and children. And after mass done, every clark went their procession, two and two together; each having on a surplice and a rich cope, and a garland. And then, fourscore standards, streamers, and banners; and each one that bare them had an albe or a surplice. Then came in order the waits

^k Epigrammes, Epig. cxx.^l Stowe's Surv. Lond. ut supr. lib. v. p. 231.

playing; and then, thirty clarkes, singing *FESTA DIES*. There were four of these choirs. Then came a canopy, borne over the Sacrament by four of the masters of the clarkes, with staffe torches burning^m, &c. Their profession, employment, and character, naturally dictated to this spiritual brotherhood the representation of plays, especially those of the scriptural kind; and their constant practice in shows, processions, and vocal music, easily accounts for their address in detaining the best company which England afforded in the fourteenth century, at a religious farce, for more than a week.

Before I conclude this inquiry, a great part of which has been taken up in endeavouring to show the connection between places of education and the stage, it ought to be remarked, that the ancient fashion of acting plays in the inns of court, which may be ranked among seminaries of instruction, although for a separate profession, is deducible from this source. The first representation of this sort which occurs on record, and is mentioned with any particular circumstances, was at Gray's-inn. John Roos, or Roo, student at Gray's-inn, and created a serjeant at law in the year 1511, wrote a comedy which was acted at Christmas in the hall of that society, in the year 1527. This piece, which probably contained some free reflections on the pomp of the clergy, gave such offence to cardinal Wolsey, that the author was degraded and imprisonedⁿ. In the year 1550, under the reign of Edward the Sixth, an order was made in the same society, that no comedies, commonly called Interludes, should be acted in the refectory in the intervals of vacation, except at the celebration of Christmas; and that then, the whole body of students should jointly contribute towards the dresses, scenes, and decorations^o. In the year 1561, Sackville's and Norton's tragedy of *FERREX AND PORREX* was presented before queen Elizabeth at Whitehall by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple^p. In the year 1566, the *SUPPOSES*, a comedy, was acted at Gray's-inn, written by Gascoigne, one of the students. Decker, in his satire against Jonson above cited, accuses Jonson for having stolen some jokes from the Christmas plays of the lawyers: "You shall sweare not to bumbast out a new play with the old lynyng of jestes stolne from the Temple-revells^q." In the year 1632 it was ordered, in the Inner Temple, that no play should be continued after twelve at night, not even on Christmas-eve^r.

But these societies seem to have shone most in the representation of Masques, a branch of the old drama. So early as the year 1431, it was

^m Eccles. Mem. vol. iii. ch. xiii. p. 121.

ⁿ Hollinsh. Chron. iii. 894.

^o Dugdale, Orig. Jurid. cap. 67. p. 285.

^p Printed at London, 1565. 12mo. In one of the old editions of this play, I think a quarto, of 1590, it is said to be "set forth as the same was shewed before the queen's most excellent majestie, in her highness's court of the inner-temple." It is to be observed, that Norton, one of the authors, was

connected with the law: for the "Approbation of Mr. T. Norton, counsellor and solicitor of London, appointed by the bishop of London," is prefixed to Ch. Marbury's Collection of Italian Proverbs, Lond. 1581. 4to.

^q Satiromastix, edit. 1602. ut supr. Signat. M.

^r Dugd. ut supr. cap. 57. p. 140 seq. also c. 61. 205.

ordered, that the society of Lincoln's inn should celebrate four revels, on four grand festivals, every year, which I conceive to have consisted in great measure of this species of impersonation. In the year 1613, they presented at Whitehall a masque before king James the First, in honour of the marriage of his daughter the princess Elizabeth with the prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine, at the cost of more than one thousand and eighty pounds¹. The poetry was by Chapman, and the machinery by Jones². But the most splendid and sumptuous performance of this kind, played by these societies, was the masque which they exhibited at Candlemas-day, in the year 1633, at the expence of two thousand pounds, before king Charles the First; which so pleased the king, and probably the queen, that he invited one hundred and twenty gentlemen of the law to a similar entertainment at Whitehall on Shrove Tuesday following³. It was called the TRIUMPH OF PEACE, and written by Shirley, then a student of Gray's-inn. The scenery was the invention of Jones, and the music was composed by William Lawes and Simon Ives⁴. Some curious anecdotes of this exhibition are pre-

¹ It is not, however, exactly known whether these revels were not simply Dances; for Dugdale says, that the students of this inn "anciently had DANCINGS for their recreation and delight." Ibid. And he adds, that in the year 1610, the under barristers, for example's sake, were put out of commons by decimation, because they offended in not DANCING on Candlemas-day, when the JUDGES were present, according to an ancient order of the society. Ibid. col. 2. In an old comedy, called Cupid's Whirligig, acted in the year 1616, by the children of his majesty's revels, a law-student is one of the persons of the drama, who says to a lady, "Faith, lady, I remember the first time I saw you was in quadragesimo-sexto of the queene, in a michaelmas tearme, and I think it was the morrow upon mense Michaelis, or crastino Animarum, I cannot tell which. And the next time I saw you was at our REVELLS, where it pleased your ladyship to grace me with a galliard; and I shall never forget it, for my velvet pantables [pantofles] were stolne away the whilst." But this may also allude to their masks and plays. Signat. H. 2. edit. Lond. 1616. 4to.

² Dugdale, *ibid.* p. 246. The other societies seem to have joined. Ibid. cap. 67. p. 286. See also Finett's Philoxenia, p. 8. 11. edit. 1656. and Ibid. p. 73.

³ Printed Lond. 1614. 4to. "With a description of the whole shew, in the manner of their march on horseback to the court from the Master of the Rolls his house," &c. It is dedicated to sir E. Philipps, Master of the Rolls. But we find a masque on the very same occasion, and at White-

hall, before the king and queen, called *The masque of Grays inn gentlemen and the inner temple*, by Beaumont, in the works of Beaumont and Fletcher.

⁴ Dugd. *ibid.* p. 346.

⁵ It was printed, Lond. 1633. 4to. The author says, that it exceeded in variety and richness of decoration, any thing ever exhibited at Whitehall. There is a little piece called THE INNS OF COURT ANAGRAMMATIST, or *The Masquers Masqued in Anagrams*, written by Francis Lenton, the queen's poet. Lond. 1634. 4to. In this piece, the names, and respective houses, of each masquer are specified; and in commendation of each there is an epigram. The masque with which his majesty returned this compliment on the Shrove-Tuesday following at Whitehall, was, I think, Carew's *Colum Britannicum*, written by the king's command, and played by his majesty, with many of the nobility and their sons who were boys. The machinery by Jones, and the music by H. Lawes. It has been given to Davenant, but improperly.

There is a play written by Middleton about the year 1623, called INNER TEMPLE MASQUE, or the MASQUE OF HEROES, presented as an *entertainment for many worthy ladies*, by the members of that society. Printed, Lond. 1640. 4to. I believe it is the foundation of Mrs. Behn's City Heiress.

I have also seen the MASQUE OF FLOWERS, acted by the students of Gray's-inn, in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, on Twelfth Night in 1613. It is dedicated to sir F. Bacon, and was printed, Lond.

served by a cotemporary, a diligent and critical observer of those seemingly insignificant occurrences, which acquire importance in the eyes of posterity, and are often of more value than events of greater dignity. "On Monday after Candlemas-day, the gentlemen of the inns of court performed their MASQUE at Court. They were sixteen in number, who rode through the streets⁷, in four chariots, and two others to carry their pages and musicians; attended by an hundred gentlemen on great horses, as well clad as ever I saw any. They far exceeded in bravery [splendor] any Masque that had formerly been presented by those societies, and performed the dancing part with much applause." In their company was one Mr. Read of Gray's-inn; whom all the women, and some men, cried up for as handsome a man as the duke of Buckingham. They were well used at court by the king and queen. No disgust given them, only this one accident fell: Mr. May, of Gray's-inn, a fine poet, he who translated Lucan, came athwart my lord chamberlain in the banquetting-house⁸, and he broke his staff over his shoulders, not knowing who he was; the king was present, who knew him, for he calls him HIS POET, and told the chamberlain of it, who sent for him the next morning, and fairly excused himself to him, and gave him fifty pounds in pieces.—This riding-show took so well, that both king and queen desired to see it again, so that they invited themselves to supper to my lord mayor's within a week after; and the Masquers came in a more glorious show with all the riders, which were increased twenty, to Merchant-taylors' Hall, and there performed again⁹." But it was not only by the parade of processions, and the

1614. 4to. It was the last of the court-solemnities exhibited in honour of Carr, earl of Somerset.

[In the library of the Music School at Oxford, are two large volumes in the hand-writing of W. Lawes, one of which contains some fragments of the music which he wrote for this celebrated masque (*The Triumph of Peace*). W. Lawes, as well as his brother Henry, whose character and attainments procured him the proud distinction of Milton's friendship, was rather distinguished as a composer by the simplicity and easy flow of his melodies, than by any display of those masterly combinations of harmony which adorn the church and chamber music of the preceding age.—E. T.]

⁷ They went from Ely house.

⁸ At Whitehall.

⁹ Strafforde's Letters, Garrard to the Lord Deputy, dat. Feb. 27, 1633. vol. i. p. 207. It is added, "On Shrove-Tuesday at night, the king and the lords performed their Masque. The templars were all invited, and well pleased," &c. See also p. 177. And Fr. Osborn's Tradit. Mem. vol. ii. p. 134. Works, edit. 1772. 8vo.

It seems the queen and her ladies were experienced actresses; for the same writer says, Jan. 9, 1633. "I never knew a duller Christmas than we had at Court this year; but one play all the time at Whitehall!—The queen had some little infirmity, which made her keep in: only on Twelfth-night, she feasted the king at Somerset-house, and presented him with a play, newly studied, long since printed, the *Faithful Shepherdess* [of Fletcher] which the king's players acted in the robes *she and her ladies acted their PASTORAL in the last year*." Ibid. p. 177. Again, Jan. 11, 1634. "There is some resolution for a Maske at Shrovetide: the queen, and fifteen ladies, are to perform," &c. Ibid. p. 360. And, Nov. 9, 1637. "Here are to be two masks this winter; one at Christmass, which the king and the young noblesse do make; the other at Shrovetide, which the queen and her ladies do present to the king. A great room is now building only for this use betwixt the guard chamber and the banquetting-house, and of fir," &c. Ibid. vol. ii. p. 130. See also p. 140. And Finett's Philoxenis, "There being

decorations of scenery, that these spectacles were recommended. Some of them, in point of poetical composition, were eminently beautiful and elegant. Among these may be mentioned a masque on the story of Circe and Ulysses, called the **INNER TEMPLE MASQUE**, written by William Brown, a student of that society, about the year 1620^b. From

a maske in practice of the queen in person, with other great ladies," &c. p. 198. See Whitelock, sub an. 1632. She was [also] an actress in Davenant's masque of the Temple of Love, with many of the nobility of both sexes. In Jonson's *Cloridia* at Shrovetide, 1630.—In Jonson's Masque called *Love freed from Ignorance and Folly*, printed in 1640.—In W. Montagu's *Shepherd's Oracle*, a Pastoral, printed in 1649.—In the masque of *Albion's Triumph*, the Sunday after Twelfth-night, 1631. Printed 1631.—In *Luminalia*, or *The Festival of Light*, a masque, on Shrove-Tuesday in 1637. Printed Lond. 1637. 4to.—In *Salmacida Spolia* at Whitehall, 1639. Printed Lond. 1639. 4to. The words, I believe, by Davenant; and the music by Lewis Richard, master of her majesty's music.—In *Tempe Restored*, with fourteen other ladies, on Shrove-Tuesday at Whitehall, 1631. Printed Lond. 1631. 4to. The words by Aurelian Townsend. The king acted in some of these pieces. In the preceding reign, queen Anne had given countenance to this practice; and, I believe, she is the first of our queens that appeared personally in this most elegant and rational amusement of a court. She acted in Daniel's Masque of *The Vision of the Four Goddesses*, with eleven other ladies, at Hampton-court, in 1604. Lond. 1624. 4to.—In Jonson's Masque of *Queens*, at Whitehall, in 1609.—In Daniel's *Tethys's Festival*, a Masque, at the creation of prince Henry, Jun. 5, 1610. This was called the **QUEEN'S WAKE**. See Winwood, iii. 180. Daniel dedicates to this queen a pastoral tragi-comedy, in which she perhaps performed, called *Hymen's Triumph*. It was presented at Somerset-house, where she magnificently entertained the king on occasion of the marriage of lord Roxburgh. Many others, I presume, might be added. Among the Entertainments at Rutland-house, composed by Davenant in the reign of Charles the First, there is a **DECLAMATION**, or rather Disputation, with music, concerning *Public Entertainments by Moral Representation*. The disputants are Diogenes and Aristophanes. I am informed, that among the manuscript papers of the late Mr. Thomas Coxeter, of Trinity college in Oxford, an ingenious and inquisitive

gleaner of anecdotes for a biography of English poets, there was a correspondence between sir Fulke Greville and Daniel the poet, concerning improvements and reformations proposed to be made in these court-interludes. But this subject will be more fully examined, and further pursued, in its proper place.

After the Restoration, when the dignity of the old monarchical manners had suffered a long eclipse from a Calvinistic usurpation, a feeble effort was made to revive these liberal and elegant amusements at Whitehall. For about the year 1675, queen Catharine ordered Crowne to write a Pastoral called *Calisto*, which was acted at court by the ladies Mary and Anne daughters of the duke of York, and the young nobility. About the same time lady Anne, afterwards queen, played the part of *Semandra*, in Lee's *Mithridates*. The young noblemen were instructed by Betterton, and the princesses by his wife, who perhaps conceived Shakspeare more fully than any female that ever appeared on the stage. In remembrance of her theatrical instructions, Anne, when queen, assigned Mrs Betterton an annual pension of one hundred pounds. Langb. *Dram. P.* p. 92. edit. 1691. Cibber's *Apol.* p. 134.

This was an early practice in France. In 1540, Margaret de Valois, queen of Navarre, wrote *Moralities*, which she called *Pastorals*, to be acted by the ladies of her court.

^b Printed from a manuscript in Emanuel-college at Cambridge, by Tho. Davies. Works of W. Browne, Lond. 1772. vol. iii. p. 121. In the dedication to the Society the author says, "If it degenerate in kinde from those other the society hath produced, blame yourselves for not keeping a happier muse." Wood says that Browne "retiring to the inner temple, became famed there for his poetry." Ath. Oxon. i. p. 492. [From the additional specimens of his talent, retrieved by Sir Egerton Brydges, and elegantly set forth by the Lee press, it appears that Browne is deserving of a more extended reputation than had before been his allotment. There is a peaceful delicacy and pure morality in these recovered strains, which surpass those previously collected in his works.—PARK.]

this piece, as a specimen of the temple-masques in this view, I make no apology for my anticipation in transcribing the following ode, which Circe sings as a charm to drive away sleep from Ulysses, who is discovered reposing under a large tree. It is addressed to Sleep.

THE CHARME.

Sonne of Erebus and Nighte!
 Hye away, and aime thy flighte,
 Where consort none other fowle
 Than the batte and sullen owle:
 Where, upon the lymber gras,
 Poppy and mandragoras,
 With like simples not a fewe,
 Hange for ever droppes of dewe:
 Where flowes Lethe, without coyle,
 Softly like a streame of oyle.
 Hye thee thither, gentle Sleepe!
 With this Greeke no longer keepe.
 Thrice I charge thee by my wand,
 Thrice with moly from my hand
 Doe I touch Ulysses' eyes,
 And with th' iaspis. Then arise,
 Sagest Greeke^c!

In praise of this song it will be sufficient to say, that it reminds us of some favourite touches in Milton's *Comus*, to which it perhaps gave birth. Indeed one cannot help observing here in general, although the observation more properly belongs to another place, that a masque thus recently exhibited on the story of Circe, which there is reason to think had acquired some popularity, suggested to Milton the hint of a masque on the story of *Comus*. It would be superfluous to point out minutely the absolute similarity of the two characters: they both deal in incantations conducted by the same mode of operation, and producing effects exactly parallel.

From this practice of performing interludes in the inns of court, we may explain a passage in Shakspeare: but the present establishment of the context embarrasses that explanation, as it perplexes the sentence in other respects. In the *SECOND PART OF HENRY THE FOURTH*, Shallow is boasting to his cousin Silence of his heroic exploits when he studied the law at Clement's-inn. "I was once of Clement's-inn, where I think they will talk of mad Shallow yet. *Sil.* You were called *lusty Shallow* then, cousin. *Shal.* I was called any thing; and I would have done any thing, indeed, and roundly too. There was I, and little John Doit of Staffordshire, &c. You had not four such swinge-bucklers in

all the inns of court again. We knew where the Bona Robas were, &c.—Oh, the mad days that I have spent^d! Falstaffe then enters, and is recognised by Shallow, as his brother-student at Clement's-inn; on which, he takes occasion to resume the topic of his juvenile frolics exhibited in London fifty years ago. "She's old, and had Robin Night-work, before I came to Clement's-inn.—Ha, cousin Silence, that thou hadst seen, that that this knight and I have seen! Hah, Sir John," &c. Falstaffe's recruits are next brought forward to be inrolled. One of them is ordered to handle his arms; when Shallow says, still dwelling on the old favorite theme of Clement's-inn, "He is not his craft-master, he doth not do it right. I remember at Mile-End Green, when I lay at Clement's-inn, I was then Sir Dagonet in ARTHUR'S SHOW, there was a little quiver fellow, and he would manage you his piece thus," &c. Does he mean that he acted Sir Dagonet at Mile-end Green, or at Clement's-inn? By the application of a parenthesis only, the passage will be cleared from ambiguity, and the sense I would assign will appear to be just. "I remember at Mile-end Green, (when I lay at Clement's-inn, I was then Sir Dagonet in ARTHUR'S SHOW,) there was a little quiver fellow," &c. That is, "I remember, when I was a very young man at Clement's-inn, and not fit to act any higher part than Sir Dagonet in the interludes which we used to play in the society, that among the soldiers who were exercised in Mile-end Green, there was one remarkable fellow," &c.* The performance of this part of Sir Dagonet was another of Shallow's feats at Clement's-inn, on which he delights to expatiate: a circumstance, in the mean time, quite foreign to the purpose of what he is saying, but introduced, on that account, to heighten the ridicule of his character. Just as he had told Silence, a little before, that he saw "Scoggan's head broke by Falstaffe at the court-gate, and the *very same day*, I did fight with one Sampson Stockfish, a fruiterer, behind Gray's-inn." Not to mention the satire implied in making Shallow act Sir Dagonet, who was King Arthur's Fool. ARTHUR'S SHOW, here supposed to have been presented at Clement's-inn, was probably an interlude*, or masque, which actually existed, and was very popular, in Shakspeare's age; and seems to have been compiled from Mallory's MORTE ARTHUR, or the history of king Arthur, then recently published, and the favorite and most fashionable romance†.

^d Act iii. sc. 3.

* In the text, "When I laid at Clement's-inn," is *lodged*, or *lived*. So Leland. "An old manor-place, where in tymes paste sum of the Moulbrays LAY for a starte." That is, *LIVED for a time*, or *sometimes*. Itin. vol. i. fol. 119. Again, "Maister Page hath translated the House, and now much LYTH there." Ibid. fol. 121. And in many other places.

* [From a citation afforded by Mr.

Bowle, and taken from Mulcaster's Pontius, &c. in 1581, Mr. Malone satisfied himself that "Arthur's Show" was not an interlude, but an "Exhibition of Archery." See Reed's Shakspeare, vol. xii. p. 146. edit. 1803.—PARK.]

† That Mile-end green was the place for public sports and exercises, we learn from Froissart. In the affair of Tyler and Straw he says, "Then the kynge sende to them that they shulde all drawe to a

When the societies of the law performed these shows within their own respective refectories, at Christmas, or any other festival, a Christmas-prince, or revel-master, was constantly appointed. At a Christmas celebrated in the hall of the Middle-temple, in the year 1635, the jurisdiction, privileges, and parade, of this mock-monarch, are thus circumstantially described^a. He was attended by his lord keeper, lord treasurer, with eight white staves, a captain of his band of pensioners and of his guard; and with two chaplains, who were so seriously impressed with an idea of his regal dignity, that when they preached before him on the preceding Sunday in the Temple church, on ascending the pulpit, they saluted him with three low bows*. He dined, both in the hall, and in his privy-chamber, under a cloth of estate. The pole-axes for his gentlemen pensioners were borrowed of lord Salisbury. Lord Holland, his temporary Justice in Eyre, supplied him with venison, on demand; and the lord mayor and sheriffs of London, with wine. On Twelfth-day, at going to church, he received many petitions, which he gave to his master of requests: and, like other kings, he had a favorite, whom, with others, gentlemen of high quality, he knighted at returning from church. His expences, all from his own purse, amounted to two thousand pounds^b. We are also told, that in the year 1635, "On Shrovetide at night, the lady Hatton feasted the king, queen, and princes, at her house in Holborn. The Wednesday before, the PRINCE OF THE TEMPLE invited the prince Elector and his brother to a Masque at the Temple¹, which was very completely fitted for the variety of the scenes, and excellently well performed. Thither came the queen with three of her ladies disguised, all clad in the attire of citizens.—This done, the PRINCE was deposed, but since the king knighted him at Whitehall²."

But these spectacles and entertainments in our law-societies, not so much because they were romantic and ridiculous in their mode of exhibition, as that they were institutions celebrated for the purposes of merriment and festivity, were suppressed or suspended under the false and illiberal ideas of reformation and religion, which prevailed in the

fayre playne place, called Myle-end, where the people of the cytie did sport themselves in the former season," &c. Berner's Transl. t. i. c. 383. f. 262 a.

^a See also Dugd. Orig. Jurid. p. 151. where many of the circumstances of this officer are described at large: who also mentions, at Lincoln's-inn, a KING OF THE COCKNEYS on childermas-day, cap. 64. p. 247.

^{*} [This ceremonial, to the honour and pious memory of George the Third, was laid aside in his reign.—ASHBY.]

^b Strafforde's Letters, ut supra, vol. i. p. 507. The writer adds, "All this is done, to make them fit to give the prince

elector a royal entertainment, with masks, dancings, and some other exercises of wit in orations or arraignments, that day they invite him."

¹ This, I think, was Davenant's Triumphs of Prince d'Amour, written at their request, for the purpose, in three days. The music by H. and W. Lawes. The names of the performers are at the end.

² Ibid. p. 525. The writer adds, "Mrs. Basset, the great lace-woman of Cheapside, went foremost, and led the queen by the hand," &c. See *ibid.* p. 506.

fanatical court of Cromwell. The countenance afforded by a polite court to such entertainments became the leading topic of animadversion and abuse in the miserable declamations of the puritan theologists; who attempted the business of national reformation without any knowledge of the nature of society, and whose censures proceeded not so much from principles of a purer morality, as from a narrowness of mind, and from that ignorance of human affairs which necessarily accompanies the operations of enthusiasm*.

SECTION XXXV.

Causes of the increase of Vernacular Composition in the fifteenth century. View of the Revival of Classical Learning. In Italy. In France. In Germany. In Spain. In England.

WE are now arrived at the commencement of the sixteenth century. But before I proceed to a formal and particular examination of the poetry of that century, and of those that follow, some preliminary considerations of a more general nature, and which will have a reference to all the remaining part of our history, for the purpose of preparing the reader, and facilitating our future inquiries, appear to be necessary.

On a retrospect of the fifteenth century, we find much poetry written during the latter part of that period. It is certain, that the recent introduction into England of the art of typography, to which our coun-

* [If James I. and his successors patronized the poets of their time, it is quite certain that they did nothing for the encouragement of the sister art. The decline of musical taste and knowledge in England dates from the commencement of the Stuart dynasty; and it was so rapid, that within ten years after the first of its members succeeded to the English throne, the fine school of counterpoint, which had been reared under Elizabeth, was broken up, and its brightest ornaments, Wilbye, Weelkes, Morley, Bateson and Bennett, were silent.

"False and illiberal ideas of reformation and religion" were not universal. Cromwell's foreign secretary, so far from condemning all theatrical entertainments, thought them deserving the attention and direction of any enlightened government. "Whether," says he, "eloquent and graceful incitements to the love and practice of

justice, temperance and fortitude, instructing and bettering the nation at all opportunities,—not only in pulpits, but after another persuasive method, in theatres, porches, or whatever place or way, may not win upon the people to receive both recreation and instruction, let them in authority consult."

Perhaps Warton regarded such a passage as this as the "miserable declamation of puritan theologists:"—"A king must be adored as a demigod, with a dissolute and haughty court about him, of vast expense and luxury, masks and revels, to the debauching of our prime gentry, both male and female;"—but he might have remembered, that he who wrote it, wrote also *Comus*, in order to show us that "sanctity and virtue, and truth herself," might be "elegantly drest," and thus exemplify the true use and end of theatrical entertainments.—E. T.]

trymen afforded the most liberal encouragement, and which for many years was almost solely confined to the impression of English books, the fashion of translating the classics from French versions, the growing improvements of the English language, and the diffusion of learning among the laity, greatly contributed to multiply English composition, both in prose and verse. These causes, however, were yet immature; nor had they gathered a sufficient degree of power and stability to operate on our literature with any vigorous effects.

But there is a circumstance, which, among some others already suggested, impeded that progression in our poetry, which might yet have been expected under all these advantages. A revolution, the most fortunate and important in most other respects, and the most interesting that occurs in the history of the migration of letters, now began to take place; which, by diverting the attention of ingenious men to new modes of thinking, and the culture of new languages, introduced a new course of study, and gave a temporary check to vernacular composition. This was the revival of classical learning.

In the course of these annals we must have frequently remarked, from time to time, striking symptoms of a restless disposition in the human mind to rouse from its lethargic state, and to break the bonds of barbarism. After many imperfect and interrupted efforts, this mighty deliverance, in which the mouldering Gothic fabrics of false religion and false philosophy fell together, was not effectually completed till the close of the fifteenth century. An event, almost fortuitous and unexpected, gave a direction to that spirit of curiosity and discovery, which had not yet appeared in its full force and extent, for want of an object. About the year 1453, the dispersion of the Greeks, after Constantinople had been occupied by the Turks, became the means of gratifying that natural love of novelty, which has so frequently led the way to the noblest improvements, by the introduction of a new language and new books; and totally changed the state of letters in Europe¹.

This great change commenced in Italy; a country, from many circumstances, above all others peculiarly qualified and prepared to adopt such a deviation. Italy, during the darkest periods of monastic ignorance, had always maintained a greater degree of refinement and knowledge than any other European country. In the thirteenth century, when the manners of Europe appear to have been overwhelmed with every species of absurdity, its luxuries were less savage, and its public spectacles more rational, than those of France, England, and Germany.

¹ But it should be remembered, that some learned Grecians, foreseeing the persecutions impending over their country, frequented Italy, and taught their language there, before the taking of Constantinople. Some Greeks who attended the Florentine council, and never returned for fear of the Turks, founded the present royal library in the city of Turenne. In the year 1401, the Greek emperor, unable

to resist the frequent insults of these barbarians, came into England to seek redress or protection from Henry the Fourth. He landed at Dover, attended by many learned Greeks; and the next day was honourably received at Christ-church priory at Canterbury, by the prior, Thomas Chyllenden. In a manuscript called *Speculum Parvulorum*, lib. 5. c. 30. MSS. Bibl. Lambeth.

Its inhabitants were not only enriched, but enlightened, by that flourishing state of commerce, which its commodious situation, aided by the combination of other concomitant advantages, contributed to support. Even from the time of the irruptions of the northern barbarians, some glimmerings of the ancient erudition still remained in this country; and in the midst of superstition and false philosophy, repeated efforts were made in Italy to restore the Roman classics. To mention no other instances, Alberti Mussato^m of Padua, and a commander in the Paduan army against the Veronese, wrote two Latin tragedies, *ECERRINIS*ⁿ, or the fate of the tyrant Ecerinus of Verona, and *ACHILLEIS*, on the plan of the Greek drama, and in imitation of Seneca, before the year 1320. The many monuments of legitimate sculpture and architecture preserved in Italy, had there kept alive ideas of elegance and grace; and the Italians, from their familiarity with those precious remains of antiquity, so early as the close of the fourteenth century, had laid the rudiments of their perfection in the ancient arts. Another circumstance which had a considerable share in clearing the way for this change, and which deserves particular attention, was the innovation introduced into the Italian poetry by Petrarch; who, inspired with the most elegant of passions, and clothing his exalted feelings on that delicate subject in the most melodious and brilliant Italian versification, had totally eclipsed the barbarous beauties of the Provencial troubadours; and by this new and powerful magic, had in an eminent degree contributed to reclaim, at least for a time, the public taste, from a love of Gothic manners and romantic imagery.

In this country, so happily calculated for their favourable reception, the learned fugitives of Greece, when their empire was now destroyed, found shelter and protection. Hither they imported, and here they interpreted, their ancient writers, which had been preserved entire at Constantinople. These being eagerly studied by the best Italian scholars, communicated a taste for the graces of genuine poetry and eloquence; and at the same time were instrumental in propagating a more just and general relish for the Roman poets, orators, and historians. In the mean time a more elegant and sublime philosophy was adopted; a philosophy more friendly to works of taste and imagination, and more agreeable to the sort of reading which was now gaining ground. The scholastic subtleties, and the captious logic of Aristotle, were abolished for the mild and divine wisdom of Plato.

^m He was honoured with the laurel, and died 1329.

ⁿ Printed at Venice, 1636. fol. with his *EPISTOLÆ, ELEGI, SOLILOQUIA, ECOLOGÆ, CENTO OVIDIANUS*, Latin History of Italy, and *BAVARUS ad Filium*. And in Muratori's *Rer. Ital. Scriptor.* tom. x. Mediojan. 1727. P. 1. 123. 569. 769. 785. See also in *Thesaur. Ital.* tom. vi. part ii. Lugd. Bat. 1722. Among his inedited works are mentioned *Liber de Lite Natu-*

ræ et Fortunæ, on Natural Causes and Fate; and three books in heroic verse, on the War against the Veronese above-mentioned. The name and writings of Mussato were hardly known, till they were brought forward to the public notice in the Essay on Pope; which I shall not be accused of partiality, as I only join the voice of the world, in calling the most agreeable and judicious piece of criticism produced by the present age.

It was a circumstance, which gave the greatest splendour and importance to this new mode of erudition, that it was encouraged by the popes; who, considering the encouragement of literature as a new expedient to establish their authority over the minds of men, and enjoying an opulent and peaceable dominion in the voluptuous region of Italy, extended their patronage on this occasion with a liberality so generous and unreserved, that the court of Rome on a sudden lost its austere character, and became the seat of elegance and urbanity. Nicholas the Fifth, about the year 1440, established public rewards at Rome for composition in the learned languages, appointed professors in humanity, and employed intelligent persons to traverse all parts of Europe in search of classic manuscripts buried in the monasteries^o. It was by means of the munificent support of pope Nicholas, that Cyriac of Ancona, who may be considered as the first antiquary in Europe, was enabled to introduce a taste for gems, medals, inscriptions, and other curious remains of classical antiquity, which he collected with indefatigable labour in various parts of Italy and Greece^p. He allowed Francis Philolphus, an elegant Latin poet of Italy, about 1450, a stipend for translating Homer into Latin^q. Leo the Tenth, not less conspicuous for his munificence in restoring letters, descended so far from his apostolical dignity, as to be a spectator of the *POENULUS* of Plautus; which was performed in a temporary theatre in the court of the capitol, by the flower of the Roman youth, with the addition of the most costly decorations^r: and Leo, while he was pouring the thunder of his anathemas against the heretical doctrines of Martin Luther, published a bull of excommunication against all those who should dare to censure the poems of Ariosto^s. It was under the pontificate of Leo, that a perpetual indulgence was granted for rebuilding the church of a mo-

^o See "Dominei Georgii Dissertatio de Nich. Quinti erga Lit. et Literat. Viros Patrocinio." Rom. 1742. 4to. Added to his Life.

^p See Fr. Burmanni Præfat. ad Inscription. Gruterian. Amstel. 1707. fol. Baluz. Miscell. tom. vi. p. 539. Ant. Augustini Dialog. de Numismat. ix. xi. Voss de Histor. Lat. p. 809. His Itinerarium was printed at Florence, by L. Mehus, 1742. 8vo. See Leon. Aretini Epistol. tom. ii. lib. ix. p. 149. And *Giornal. de' Letterati d'Italia*, tom. xxi. p. 428. See the Collection of Inscriptions, by P. Apianus, and B. Amantius, Ingoldstat, 1634. fol. at the *Monom. Gaditan.*

^q Philolph. Epist. xxiv. l. xxxvi. l. In the Epistle of Philolphus, and in his ten books of Satires in Latin verse, are many curious particulars relating to the literary history of those times. Venet. fol. 1502. His Nicolaus, or two books of Ly-

rics, is a panegyric on the life and acts of pope Nicholas the Fifth.

^r It was in the year 1513, on occasion of Julian Medicis, Leo's brother, being made free of Rome. P. Jovius, Hist. lib. xi. ad calc. and Vit. Leon. lib. iii. p. 145. Jovius says, that the actors were *Romana juvenutis lepidissimi*, and that several pieces of poetry were recited at the same time. Leo was also present at an Italian comedy, written by cardinal Bibienna, called Calander, in honour of the Duchess of Mantua. It was acted by noble youths in the spacious apartments of the Vatican, and Leo was placed in a sort of throne. Jov. in Vit. p. 189.

^s [This bull of Leo's was nothing more than the customary papal license for printing the work; and in which was included the usual denunciation against those who might attempt to pirate it. See Mr. Roscoe's Life of Leo X. vol. iv.—PRICE.]

nastery, which possessed a manuscript of Tacitus^a. It is obvious to observe, how little conformable, this just taste, these elegant arts, and these new amusements, proved in their consequences to the spirit of the papal system; and it is remarkable, that the court of Rome, whose sole design and interest it had been for so many centuries, to enslave the minds of men, should be the first to restore the religious and intellectual liberties of Europe. The apostolical fathers, aiming at a fatal and ill-timed popularity, did not reflect, that they were shaking the throne which they thus adorned.

Among those who distinguished themselves in the exercise of these studies, the first and most numerous were the Italian ecclesiastics. If not from principles of inclination, and a natural impulse to follow the passion of the times, it was at least their interest, to concur in forwarding those improvements, which were commended, countenanced, and authorised, by their spiritual sovereign: they abandoned the pedantries of a barbarous theology, and cultivated the purest models of antiquity. The cardinals and bishops of Italy composed Latin verses, and with a success attained by none in more recent times, in imitation of Lucretius, Catullus, and Virgil. Nor would the encouragement of any other European potentate have availed so much, in this great work of restoring literature; as no other patronage could have operated with so powerful and immediate an influence on that order of men, who, from the nature of their education and profession, must always be the principal instruments in supporting every species of liberal erudition.

And here we cannot but observe the necessary connection between literary composition and the arts of design. No sooner had Italy banished the Gothic style in eloquence and poetry, than painting, sculpture, and architecture, at the same time, and in the same country, arrived at maturity, and appeared in all their original splendour. The beautiful or sublime ideas which the Italian artists had conceived from the contemplation of ancient statues and ancient temples, were invigorated by the descriptions of Homer and Sophocles. Petrarch was crowned in the capitol, and Raphael was promoted to the dignity of a cardinal.

These improvements were soon received in other countries. Lasca-
ris, one of the most learned of the Constantinopolitan exiles, was invited into France by Lewis the Twelfth and Francis the First; and it was under the latter of these monarchs that he was employed to form a library at Fontainebleau, and to introduce Greek professors into the university of Paris^b. Yet we find Gregory Typhernas teaching Greek at

^a Paulus Jovius relates an anecdote of pope Leo the Tenth, which shows that some passages in the classics were studied at the court of Rome to very bad purposes. I must give it in his own words. "Non caruit etiam infamia, quod parum honeste

nonnullos e cubiculariis suis (erant enim e tota Italia nobilissimi) adamare, et cum his tenerius atque libere jocari videretur." In Vita Leonis X. p. 192.

^b Du Breul, Antiquites de Paris, liv. ii. 1639. 4to. p. 563. Bemb. Hist. Venet.

Paris so early as the year 1472^a. About the same time, Antonius Eparchus of Corsica sold one hundred Greek books to the emperor Charles the Fifth and Francis the First^b, those great rivals, who agreed in nothing but in promoting the cause of literature. Francis the First maintained even a Greek secretary, the learned Angelus Vergerius, to whom he assigned, in the year 1541, a pension of four hundred livres from his exchequer^c. He employed Julius Camillus to teach him to speak fluently the language of Cicero and Demosthenes, in the space of a month : but so chimerical an attempt necessarily proved abortive, yet it showed his passion for letters^d. In the year 1474, the parliament of Paris, who, like other public bodies, eminent for their wisdom, could proceed on no other foundation than that of ancient forms and customs, and were alarmed at the appearance of an innovation, commanded a cargo of books, some of the first specimens of typography, which were imported into Paris by a factor of the city of Mentz, to be seized and destroyed. Francis the First would not suffer so great a dishonour to remain on the French nation ; and although he interposed his authority too late for a revocation of the decree, he ordered the full price to be paid for the books. This was the same parliament that opposed the reformation of the calendar, and the admission of any other philosophy than that of Aristotle. Such was Francis's solicitude to encourage the graces of a classical style, that he abolished the Latin tongue from all public acts of justice, because the first president of the parliament of Paris had used a barbarous term in pronouncing sentence^e; and because the Latin code and judicial processes, hitherto adopted in France, familiarised the people to a base Latinity. At the same time, he ordered these formularies to be turned, not into good Latin, which would have been absurd or impossible, but into pure French^f; a reformation which promoted the culture of the vernacular tongue. He was the first of the kings of France that encouraged brilliant assemblies of ladies to frequent the French court : a circumstance, which not only introduced new splendour and refinement into the parties and carousals of the court of that monarchy, but gave a new turn to the manners of the French ecclesiastics, who of course attended the king, and destroyed much of their monkish pedantry^g.

When we mention the share which Germany took in the restitution of letters, she needs no greater panegyric, than that her mechanical

par. ii. p. 76; and R. Simon, *Critique de la Bibl. Eccles.* par du Pin, tom. i. p. 502. 512.

^a Hody, p. 233.

^b Morhoff, *Polyhist.* iv. 6.

^c Du Breul, *ibid.* p. 568. It is a just remark of P. Victorius, that Francis the First, by founding beautiful Greek and Roman types at his own cost, invited many students, who were caught by the elegance of the impression, to read the

ancient books. *Præfat. ad Comment. in octo libr. Aristotelis de Opt. Statu Civitat.*

^d Alciati *Epistol.* xxiii. inter *Gudianas*, p. 109.

^e *Matagonis de Matagonibus adversus Italogalliam Antonii Matharelli*, p. 226.

^f Varillas, *Hist. de François I.* livr. ix. pag. 381.

^g Brantome, *Mem.* tom. i. p. 227. Meserai, *Hist. France*, sur Hen. III. tom. iii. p. 446, 447.

genius added, at a lucky moment, to all these fortunate contingencies in favour of science, an admirable invention, which was of the most singular utility in facilitating the diffusion of the ancient writers over every part of Europe: I mean the art of printing. By this observation I do not mean to insinuate that Germany kept no pace with her neighbours in the production of philological scholars. Rodolphus Langius, a canon of Munster, and a tolerable Latin poet, after many struggles with the inveterate prejudices and authoritative threats of German bishops and German universities, opened a school of humanity at Munster; which supplied his countrymen with every species of elegant learning, till it was overthrown by the fury of fanaticism, and the revolutions introduced by the barbarous reformations of the anabaptistic zealots, in the year 1534^c. Reuchlin, otherwise called Capnio, co-operated with the laudable endeavours of Langius by professing Greek, before the year 1490, at Basil^d. Soon afterwards he translated Homer, Aristophanes, Plato, Xenophon, Æschines, and Lucian, into Latin, and Demosthenes into German. At Heidelberg he founded a library, which he stored with the choicest Greek manuscripts. It is worthy of remark, that the first public institution in any European university for promoting polite literature (by which I understand these improvements in erudition) appears to have been established at Vienna. In the year 1501, Maximilian the First, who, like Julius Cesar, had composed a commentary on his own illustrious military achievements, founded in the university of Vienna a COLLEGE OF POETRY. This society consisted of four professors: one for poetry, a second for oratory, and two others for mathematics. The professor of poetry was so styled, because he presided over all the rest: and the first person appointed to this office was Conradus Celtes, one of the restorers of the Greek language in Germany, an elegant Latin poet, a critic on the art of Latin versification, the first poet-laureate of his country, and the first who introduced the practice of acting Latin tragedies and comedies in public, after the manner of Terence^e. It was the business of this professor to examine candidates in philology, and to reward those who appeared to have made

^c D. Chytræus, Saxonia, l. iii. p. 80. Trithem. p. 993. De S. E. Et de Luminarib. German. p. 239.

^d See Epistol. Claror. Viror. ad Reuchlin. p. m. 4. 17. Maius, in Vita Reuchlini, &c. [See *supra*, pp. 521, 522.]

^e Celtes dedicates his AMORES, or Latin Elegies, to Maximilian, in a Latin panegyric prefixed; in which he compliments the emperor, "You who have this year endowed most liberally the muses, long wandering, and banished from Germany by the calumnies of certain unskilful men, with a college and a perpetual stipend: having, moreover, according to a custom practised in my time at Rome, de-

legated to me and my successors, in your stead, the authority of creating and laureating poets in the said college," &c. Paneg. Prim. ad Maximilian. Imp. Signat. a. ii. AMORES, &c. Noringb. 1502. 4to. The same author, in his Description of the City of Nuremburg, written in 1501, mentions it as a circumstance of importance and a singularity, that a person skilled in the Roman literature had just begun to give lectures in a public building, to the ingenuous youth of that city, in poetry and oratory, with a salary of one hundred aurei, as was the practice in the cities of Italy. Descript. Urb. Noringb. cap. xii.

a distinguished proficiency in classical studies with a crown of laurel. Maximilian's chief and general design in this institution, was to restore the languages and the eloquence of Greece and Rome^f.

Among the chief restorers of literature in Spain, about 1490, was Antonio de Lebrixa, one of the professors in the university of Alcalá, founded by the magnificent cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo. It was to the patronage of Ximenes that Lebrixa owed his celebrity^g. Profoundly versed in every species of sacred and profane learning, and appointed to the respectable office of royal historian, he chose to be distinguished only by the name of the grammarian^h; that is, a teacher of polite letters. In this department, he enriched the seminaries of Spain with new systems of grammar, in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and with a view to reduce his native tongue under some critical laws, he wrote comparative lexicons, in the Latin, Castilian, and Spanish languages. These, at this time, were plans of a most extraordinary nature in Spain; and placed the literature of his country, which from the phlegmatic temper of the inhabitants was tenacious of ancient forms, on a much wider basis than before. To these he added a manual of rhetoric, compiled from Aristotle, Tully, and Quintilian; together with commentaries on Terence, Virgil, Juvenal, Persius, and other classics. He was deputed by Ximenes, with other learned linguists, to superintend the grand Complutensian edition of the Bible; and in the conduct of that laborious work he did not escape the censure of heretical impiety, for exercising his critical skill on the sacred text, according to the ideas of the holy inquisition, with too great a degree of precision and accuracyⁱ.

Even Hungary, a country by no means uniformly advanced with other parts of Europe in the common arts of civilisation, was illuminated with the distant dawning of science. Mattheo Corvini, king of Hungary and Bohemia, in the fifteenth century, and who died in 1490, was a lover and a guardian of literature^k. He purchased innumerable volumes of Greek and Hebrew writers at Constantinople and other Grecian cities, when they were sacked by the Turks; and, as the operations of typography were now but imperfect, employed at Florence many learned librarians to multiply copies of classics, both Greek and Latin, which he could not procure in Greece^l. These, to the number

^f See the imperial patent for erecting this college, in Freherus's *German. Rerum Scriptor. Var. & c.* tom. ii. fol. Francof. 1602. p. 237; and by J. Henry Van Seelen, *Lubec. 4to.* 1723; and in his *Select. Literar.* p. 488. In this patent, the purpose of the foundation is declared to be, "restituere abolitum prisci sæculi eloquentiam."

^g See Nic. Anton. *Bibl. Nov. Hispan.* tom. i. pp. 104—109.

^h L. Vives, de *Causis Corruptarum Art.* ii. p. 72.

ⁱ See Alvarus Gomesius de Vita Ximenes, lib. ii. pag. 43. Nic. Anton. ut supr. p. 109. Imbonatus, *Bibl. Latino-Hebr.* p. 315.

^k See Petr. Jaenichii *Notit. Biblioth. Thoruniensis*, p. 32; who has written a *Dissertation De meritis Matthie Corvini in rem literariam.*

^l See Joh. Alex. Brassicani *Præfat. ad Salvianum*, Basil. 1530. fol.; and Maderus de *Bibliothecis*, pp. 145. 149.

of fifty thousand, he placed in a tower, which he had erected in the metropolis of Buda^m: and in this library he established thirty amanuenses, skilled in painting, illuminating, and writing; who, under the conduct of Felix Ragusinus, a Dalmatian, consummately learned in the Greek, Chaldaic, and Arabic languages, and an elegant designer and painter of ornaments on vellum, attended incessantly to the business of transcription and decorationⁿ. The librarian was Bartholomew Fontius, a learned Florentine, the writer of many philological works^o, and a professor of Greek and oratory at Florence. When Buda was taken by the Turks in the year 1526, cardinal Bozmanni offered for the redemption of this inestimable collection, two hundred thousand pieces of the Imperial money: yet without effect; for the barbarous besiegers defaced or destroyed most of the books, in the violence of seizing the splendid covers and the silver bosses and clasps with which they were enriched^p. The learned Obsopaeus relates, that a book was brought him by an Hungarian soldier, which he had picked up, with many others, in the pillage of king Corvino's library, and had preserved as a prize, merely because the covering retained some marks of gold and rich workmanship. This proved to be a manuscript of the *ETHIOPICS* of Heliodorus; from which, in the year 1534, Obsopaeus printed at Basil the first edition of that elegant Greek romance^q.

But as this incidental sketch of the history of the revival of modern learning is intended to be applied to the general subject of my work, I hasten to give a detail of the rise and progress of these improvements in England: nor shall I scruple, for the sake of producing a full and uniform view, to extend the inquiry to a distant period.

Efforts were made in our English universities for the revival of critical studies, much sooner than is commonly imagined. So early as the year 1439, William Byngham, rector of Saint John Zachary in London, petitioned king Henry the Sixth, in favour of his grammar scholars, for whom he had erected a commodious mansion at Cambridge, called *God's House*, and which he had given to the college of Clare-hall; to the end, that twenty-four youths, under the direction and government of a learned priest, might be there perpetually educated, and be from

^m Anton. Bonfinii *Rer. Hungar. Decad.* iv. lib. 7. p. 460. edit. 1690.

ⁿ Belius, *Apparat. ad Histor. Hungar.* Dec. i. cap. 5.

^o Among other things, he wrote Commentaries on Persius, Juvenal, Livy, and Aristotle's Poetics. He translated Phalaris's Epistles into the Tuscan language, published at Florence 1491. Crescimbeni has placed him among the Italian poets. Lambecius says, that in the year 1665, he was sent to Buda by the emperor Leopold, to examine what remained in this library. After repeated delays and diffi-

culties, he was at length permitted by the Turks to enter the room; where he saw about four hundred books, printed, and of no value, dispersed on the floor, and covered with dust and filth. Lambecius supposes, that the Turks, knowing the condition of the books, were ashamed to give him admittance. *Comment. de Bibl. Vindobon.* lib. ii. c. ix. p. 993.

^p *Collectio Madero-Schmidiana, Access.* i. p. 310 seq. Belius, ut *supr.* tom. iiii. p. 225.

^q In the Preface. See Neandri *Prefat. ad Gnomolog. Stobæi*, p. 27.

thence transmitted, in a constant succession, into different parts of England, to those places where grammar schools had fallen into a state of desolation^r. In the year 1498, Alcock bishop of Ely founded Jesus College in Cambridge, partly for a certain number of scholars to be educated in grammar^s. Yet there is reason to apprehend, that these academical pupils in grammar, with which the art of rhetoric was commonly joined, instead of studying the real models of style, were chiefly trained in systematic manuals of these sciences, filled with unprofitable definitions and unnecessary distinctions; and that in learning the arts of elegance, they acquired the barbarous improprieties of diction which those arts were intended to remove and reform. That the foundations I have mentioned did not produce any lasting beneficial effects, and that the technical phraseology of metaphysics and casuistry still continued to prevail at Cambridge, appears from the following anecdote. In the reign of Henry the Seventh, that university was so destitute of skill in latinity, that it was obliged to hire an Italian, one Caius Auberinus, for composing the public orations and epistles, whose fee was at the rate of twenty-pence for an epistle^t. The same person was employed to explain Terence in the public schools^u. Undoubtedly the same attention to a futile philosophy, to unintelligible elucidations of Scotus and Aquinas, notwithstanding the accessions accruing to science from the establishment of the Humfredian library, had given the same

^r "Ubi scholæ grammaticales existunt desolatæ." Pat. Hen. VI. ann. reg. xvii. p. 2. memb. 16.

^s Rymer, Fœder. xii. 653. We find early establishments of this sort in the colleges of Paris. In the year 1304, queen Jane founded the college of Navarre, at Paris, for thirty theologians, thirty artists, and twenty GRAMMARIANS, who are also called *Enfans escoliers en grammaire*. They are ordered to hear *lectiones* [lessons], *materias, et versus, prout in scholis grammaticalibus consuevit*. Boul. Hist. Acad. Paris. vol. iv. p. 74. But the college of Ave Maria, at Paris, founded in 1339, is for a Master and six boys only, from nine to sixteen years. Boul. ibid. p. 261. The society of Merton college, in Oxford, founded in 1272, originally maintained in the university such boys as claimed kindred to the founder, bishop Walter de Merton, in grammar learning, and all necessities, sometimes till they were capable of taking a degree. They were placed in Nunhall, adjoining to the college on the east. "Expens. factæ per Thomam de Herlyngton, pro pueris de genere fundatoris a fest. Epiph. usque ad fest. S. Petri ad vincula, 21 Edw. III. A.D. 1347."—"Item, in filo albo et viridi, et ceteris pertinenciis, ad reparationem vestium tam artistarum quam GRAMMATICORUM,

vid. Item, Mag. Joh. Cornubiensi pro salario scholæ, in tertio quadragesimali. x d. Et hostiario [usher] suo, ii d. ob. Item, Mag. Joh. Cornubiensi pro tertio estivali, x d. Et hostiario suo, ii d. ob." A. Wood, MS. Coll. Merton Collectan. [Cod. MSS. Ballard. Bibl. Bodl. 46.]

^t MSS. Bibl. C. C. C. Camb. Miscell. P. p. 194. *Officium magistri Glomeris*. I observe here, that Giles du Vadis, or Egidius Dewes, successively royal librarian at Westminster, to Henry the Seventh and Eighth, was a Frenchman. The last king granted him a salary for that office, of ten pounds, in the year 1522. Priv. Sig. 13 Henr. VIII. Offic. Pell. He was preceptor in French to Henry Eighth, prince Arthur, princess Mary, the kings of France and Scotland, and the marquiss of Exeter. Stowe, London, p. 230. Among other things of the sort, he wrote at the command of Henry, *An Introductoris for to lerne to rede, to pronounce, and to speak French truly compyled for the princess Mary*. Lond. p. Waley, 4to. [See Pref. Palgrave's *Lesclairsissement*.] He died in 1535.

^u "Quod fecit admodum frigide, ut ea erant tempora." Lib. Matt. Archiep. Parker, MSS. Baker, MSS. Harl. 7046. f. 125, 6.

tincture to the ordinary course of studies at Oxford; for, about the year 1468, the university of Oxford complimented Chadworth, bishop of Lincoln, for his care and endeavours in restoring grammatical literature, which, as they represent, had long decayed and been forgotten in that seminary^w.

But although these gleams of science long struggled with the scholastic cloud which enveloped our universities, we find the culture of the classics embraced in England much sooner than is supposed. Before the year 1490, many of our countrymen appear to have turned their thoughts to the revival of the study of classics; yet, chiefly in consequence of their communications with Italy, and, as most of them were clergymen, of the encouragements they received from the liberality of the Roman pontiffs^x. Millyng, abbot of Westminster, about the year 1480, understood the Greek language; which yet is mentioned as a singular accomplishment, in one, although a prelate, of the monastic profession^y. Robert Flemmyng studied the Greek and Latin languages under Baptista Guarini at Ferrara; and at his return into England, was preferred to the deanery of Lincoln about the year 1450^z. During the reign of Edward the Fourth, he was at Rome; where he wrote an elegant Latin poem in heroic verse, entitled *LUCUBRATIONES TIBURTINÆ*, which he inscribed to pope Sixtus his singular patron^a. It has these

^w Registr. Univ. Oxon. FF. [Epistol. Acad.] fol. 254. The Epistles in this Register contain many local anecdotes of the restoration of learning at Oxford.

^x Such of our countrymen as wrote in Latin at this period, and were entirely educated at home without any connections with Italy, wrote a style not more classical than that of the monkish Latin annalists who flourished two or three centuries before. I will instance only in Ross of Warwick, author of the *Historia Regum Angliæ*, educated at Oxford, an ecclesiastic, and esteemed an eminent scholar. Nor is the plan of Ross's History, which was finished so late as the year 1483, less barbarous than his latinity; for in writing a chronicle of the kings of England, he begins, according to the constant practice of the monks, with the creation and the first ages of the world, and adopts all their legends and fables. His motives for undertaking this work are exceedingly curious. He is speaking of the method of perpetuating the memories of famous men by statues: "Also in our churches, tabernacles in stone-work, or niches, are wrought for containing images of this kind. For instance, in the new work of the college of Windsor, [i. e. saint George's chapel,] such tabernacles abound, both within and without the building. Wherefore, being requested, about the latter end of the reign of king Edward the Fourth,

by the venerable master Edward Seymor, Master of the Works there, and at the desire of the said king, to compile a history of those kings and princes who have founded churches and cities, that the images placed in those niches might appear to greater advantage, and more effectually preserve the names of the persons represented; at the instance of this my brother-student at Oxford, and especially at the desire of the said most noble monarch, as also to exhilarate the minds of his royal successors, I have undertaken this work," &c. Edit. Hearne, Oxon. 1745. p. 120. 8vo.

^y Leland, in V. One Adam Eston, educated at Oxford, a Benedictine monk of Norwich, and who lived at Rome the greatest part of his life, is said to have written many pieces in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. He died at Rome, in the year 1397. Tanner, p. 266. Leland mentions John Bate, a Carmelite, of York, about the year 1429, as a Greek scholar. Scrip-tor. Batus.

^z Wood, Hist. Univ. Oxon. ii. 63. Wharton, Append. p. 155. Bate, viii. 21.

^a Printed at Ferrara, 1477. 8vo. In two books. He was prothonotary to pope Sixtus. In this poem he mentions Baptista Platina, the librarian at Rome; who, together with most of the Italian scholars, was his familiar friend. See Carbo's funeral Oration on Guarini. I know not

three chaste and strong hexameters, in which he describes the person of that illustrious pontiff:

Sane, quisquis in hunc oculos converterit acreis,
In facie vultuque viri sublime videbit
Elucere aliquid, majestatemque verendam.

Leland assures us, that he saw in the libraries of Oxford a Greco-Latin lexicon, compiled by Flemmyng, which has escaped my searches. He left many volumes beautifully written and richly illuminated, to Lincoln college in Oxford, where he had received his academical education^b. About the same period, John Gunthorpe, afterwards, among other numerous and eminent promotions, dean of Wells, keeper of the privy seal, and master of King's hall in Cambridge, attended also the philological lectures of Guarini; and for the polished latinity with which he wrote EPISTLES and ORATIONS, compositions at that time much in use and request, was appointed by king Edward the Fourth Latin secretary to queen Anne, in the year 1487^c. The manuscripts collected in Italy, which he gave to both the universities of England, were of much more real value than the sumptuous silver image of the virgin Mary, weighing one hundred and forty-three ounces, which he presented to his cathedral of Wells^d. William Gray imbibed under the same preceptors a knowledge of the best Greek and Roman writers; and in the year 1454, was advanced by pope Nicholas the Fifth, equally a judge and a protector of scholars, to the bishopric of Ely^e. This prelate employed at Venice and Florence many scribes and illuminators^f, in preparing copies of the classics and other useful books, which he gave to the library of Baliol college in Oxford^g, at that time esteemed the best in the university. John Phrea, or Free, an ecclesiastic of Bristol, receiving information from the Italian merchants who trafficked at Bristol, that multitudes of strangers were constantly crowding to the capitals of Italy for instruction in the learned languages, passed over to Ferrara, where he became a fellow-student with the prelate last-

whether one John Opicius, our countryman as it seems, and a Latin poet, improved his taste in Italy about this time; but he has left some copies of elegant Latin verses. MSS. Cotton. Vespas. B. iv. One is, *De regis Henrici Septimi in Galliam progressu*. It begins, "Bella canant alii Trojæ, prostrataque dicant." Another is, *De ejusdem laudibus sub prætextu rosæ purpureæ*, a dialogue between Mopsus and Melibeus. One of the poems, *On Christmas*, has the date 1497.

^b Lel. *ibid*.

^c Pat. 7. Edw. IV. m. 2. Five of his Orations before illustrious personages are extant, MSS. Bodl. NE. F. ii. 20. In the same manuscript are his ANNOTATIONES quædam CRITICÆ in verba quædam apud

poetas citata. He gave many books, collected in Italy, to Jesus college at Cambridge. Lel. Coll. iii. 13. He was ambassador to the king of Castile in 1466 and 1470. Rymer, Fœd. xi. 572. 653. Bale mentions his *Diversi generis CARMINA*, viii. 42. and a book on Rhetoric.

^d Registr. Eccles. Wellens.

^e Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. 672.

^f One of those was Antonius Marius. In Baliol college library, one of bishop Gray's manuscripts has this entry: "Antonius Marii filius Florentinus civis transcripsi ab originalibus exemplaribus, 2 Jul. 1448." &c. MSS. lxviii. [Apud MSS. Langb. Bal. p. 81.] See Leland. Coll. iii. p. 21.

^g Leland, Coll. ut suprà. p. 61.

mentioned, by whose patronage and assistance his studies were supported^b. He translated Diodorus Siculus, and many pieces of Xenophon, into Latin¹. On account of the former work, he was nominated bishop of Bath and Wells by pope Paul the Second, but died before consecration in the year 1464^k. His Latin Epistles, five of which are addressed to his patron the bishop of Ely, discover an uncommon terseness and facility of expression. It was no inconsiderable testimony of Phreæ's taste, that he was requested, by some of his elegant Italian friends, to compose a new epitaph in Latin elegiacs for Petrarch's tomb; the original inscription, in monkish rhymes, not agreeing with the new and improved ideas of Latin versification^l. William Sellynge, a fellow of All Souls college in Oxford, disgusted with the barren and contracted circle of philosophy taught by the irrefragable professors of that ample seminary, acquired a familiarity with the most excellent ancient authors, and cultivated the conversation of Politian at Bononia^m, to whom he introduced the learned Linacerⁿ. About the year 1460, he returned into England; and being elected prior of Christ-Church at Canterbury, enriched the library of that fraternity with an inestimable collection of Greek and Roman manuscripts, which he had amassed in Italy^o. It has been said, that among these books, which were all soon afterwards accidentally consumed by fire, there was a complete copy of Cicero's Platonic system of politics *DE REPUBLICA* P. King Henry the Seventh

^b Among Phreæ's Epistles in Balliol library, one is *PRECEPTORI SUO GUARINO*, whose epistles are full of encomiums on Phreæ, MSS. Bal. Coll. Oxon. G. 9. See ten of his epistles, five of which are written from Italy to bishop Gray, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. ii. 20. In one of these he complains, that the bishop's remittances of money had failed, and that he was obliged to pawn his books and clothes to Jews at Ferrara.

¹ He also translated into Latin Synesius's Panegyric on Baldness. Printed, Basil. 1521. 8vo. [Whence Abraham Flemming made his English translation, London, 1579.] Leland mentions some flowing Latin heroics, which he addressed to his patron Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, in which Bacchus expostulates with a goat gnawing a vine. Coll. iii. 13. And Scriptor. Phreæ. His *Cosmographia Mundi* is a collection from Pliny. Leland, Coll. iii. p. 58. See MSS. Br. Twyne, 8. p. 285.

^k See Leland, Coll. iii. 58. Wood, Hist. Univ. Oxon. ii. 76.

^l See Leland, Coll. iii. 13. 63. Leland says that he had the new epitaph, *Novum ac elegans*. Scriptor. Phreæ. "*Tuscia me genuit*," &c.

^m Leland, Cellingus.

ⁿ Id. Itin. vi. f. 5.

^o Wood, Hist. Univ. Oxon. ii. 177. In

a monastic *OBITARY*, cited by Wharton, he is said to be, "*Latina quoque et GRÆCA lingua apprimè instituta*." It is added, that he adorned the library over the prior's chapel with exquisite sculptures, and furnished it with books, and that he glazed the south side of the cloysters of his monastery, for the use of his studious brethren, placing on the walls new *TEXTS*, or inscriptions, called *CAROLI*, or carols. Angl. Sacr. i. p. 145. *see*.

^p This is asserted on the authority of Leland. Scriptor. ut *supr*. [See *supr*. p. 403.] Cardinal Pole expended two thousand crowns in searching for Tully's *Six Books De Republica* in Poland, but without success. *Epistol. Aschami ad Sturm.* dat. 14 Sept. 1555. lib. i. p. 99. And Sturm. in a letter to Ascham [dat. 30 Jan. 1552.], says, that a person in his neighbourhood had flattered him with a promise of this inestimable treasure. Barthius reports, that they were in the monastery of Fulda, on vellum, but destroyed by the soldiers in a pillage of that convent. *Christiani Feustell. Miscellan.* p. 47. Compare Mabillon, *Mus. Italic.* tom. i. p. 79. Isaac Bullart relates, that in the year 1576, during the siege of Moscow, some noble Polish officers, accompanied by one Voinuskus, a man profoundly skilled in the learned languages, made an excursion into

sent Sellynge in the quality of an envoy to the king of France, before whom he spoke a most elegant Latin oration^q. It is mentioned on his monument, now remaining in Canterbury cathedral, that he understood Greek*.

Doctor theologus Selling, GRÆCA atque Latina
Lingua perdoctus. — — —

This is an uncommon topic of praise in an abbot's epitaph. William Grocyn, a fellow of New college at Oxford, pursued the same path about the year 1488; and having perfected his knowledge of the Greek tongue, with which he had been before tinctured, at Florence under Demetrius Chalcondylas and Politian, and at Rome under Hermolaus Barbarus, became the first voluntary lecturer of that language at Oxford, before the year 1490^r. Yet Polydore Virgil, perhaps only from a natural partiality to his country, affirms, that Cornelius Vitellus, an Italian of noble birth and of the most accomplished learning, was the first who taught the Greek and Roman classics at Oxford^s. Nor must I forget to mention John Tiptoft, the unfortunate earl of Worcester; who, in the reign of Henry the Sixth, rivalled the most learned ecclesiastics of his age, in the diligence and felicity with which he prosecuted the politer studies. At Padua, his singular skill in refined Latinity endeared him to pope Pius the Second, and to the most capital ornaments of the Italian school^t. His Latin Letters still remain, and abundantly prove his abilities and connections^u. He translated Cicero's dialogue on FRIENDSHIP into English^v. He was the common patron of all his ingenious countrymen, who about this period were making rapid advances in a more rational and ample plan of study; and, among other instances of

the interior parts of Muscovy; where they found, among other valuable monuments of ancient literature, Tully's Republic, written in golden letters. Acad. Art. Scient. tom. p. 87. It is to be wished, that the same good fortune which discovers this work of Cicero, will also restore the remainder of Ovid's Fasti, the lost Decads of Livy, the Anticatones of Cesar, and an entire copy of Petronius.

^q From his Epitaph.

^r [In the library at Holkham is a MS. copy of a Homily of St. Chrysostom, translated from the Greek into Latin by Sellyng.—M.]

^s Wood, Hist. Univ. Oxon. i. 246. See Fiddes's Wolsey, p. 201.

^t Angl. Histor. lib. xxvi. p. 610. 30. edit. Basil. 1534. fol. But he seems to have only been schoolmaster of Magdalen or New-college. See Nic. Harpsfield, Hist. Eccles. p. 651; who says, that this Vitellus spoke his first oration at New-college. "Qui primam suam orationem in collegio Wiccamensj habuit."

^u See Ware, Script. Hibern. ii. 133.

Camd. Brit. p. 436. and the Funeral Oration of Ludovico Carbo, on Guarini.

^v In this correspondence, four letters are written by the earl, viz. To Laurence More, John Fre or Phrea, William Atteclyff, and Magister Vincent. To the earl are letters of Galeotus Martius, Baptista Guarini, and other anonymous friends. MSS. Eccles. Cathedr. Lincoln.

^w Printed by Caxton, 1481. fol. Leland thinks, that the version of Tully's De Senectute, printed also by Caxton, was made by this earl. But this translation was made by William of Wyrcestre, or William Botoner, an eminent physician and antiquary, from the French of Lawrence Premierfait, and presented by the translator to bishop Waynflete, Aug. 20, 1473. See MSS. Harl. 4329. 2. 3. Typtoft also translated into English two elegant Latin Orations of Banatusius Magnomontanus, supposed to be spoken by C. Scipio and C. Flaminius, who were rivals in the courtship of Lucretia. This version was printed by Caxton, with Tully's two Dialogues above-mentioned. He has left other pieces.

his unwearied liberality to true literature, he prepared a present of chosen manuscript books, valued at five hundred marcs, for the increase of the Humphredian library at Oxford, then recently instituted^w. These books appear to have been purchased in Italy; at that time the grand and general mart of ancient authors, especially the Greek classics^x. For

^w Epist. Acad. Oxon. 259. Registr. F. P. f. 121. I suspect, that on the earl's execution, in 1470, they were never received by the university. Wood, Antiq. Univ. Oxon. ii. 50. who adds, that the earl meditated a benefaction of the same kind to Cambridge.

^x As the Greek language became fashionable in the course of erudition, we find the petty scholars affecting to understand Greek. This appears from the following passage in Barclay's *Ship of Fools*, written, as we have seen, about the end of the fifteenth century:

Another boasteth himself that hath bene
In Greece at scholes, and many other
lande;

But if that he were apposed¹ well, I wene
The Greekes letters he scant doth understand.

edit. 1570. ut supr. fol. 185 a. With regard to what is here suggested, of our countrymen resorting to Greece for instruction, Rhenanus acquaints us, that Lily, the famous grammarian, was not only intimately acquainted with the whole circle of Greek authors, but with the domestic life and familiar conversation of the Greeks, he having lived some time in the island of Rhodes. Præfat. ad T. Mori Epigram. edit. Basil. 1520. 4to. He stayed at Rhodes five years. This was about the year 1500. I have before mentioned a Translation of Vegetius's *Tactics*, written at Rhodes, in the year 1459, by John Newton, evidently one of our countrymen, who perhaps studied Greek there. MSS. Laud. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. K. 53. It must however be remembered, that the passion for visiting the holy places at Jerusalem did not cease among us till late in the reign of Henry the Eighth. See *The pilgrimage of syr Richard Torkyngton, parson of Mulberton in Norfolk, to Jerusalem*, An. 1517. Catal. MSS. vol. ii. 182. William Wey, fellow of Eton college, celebrated *mass cum cantu organico*, at Jerusalem, in the year 1472. MSS. James. Bibl. Bodl. vi. 153. See his *Itineraries*, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. 2. 12. in which are also some of his English rhymes, on

The Way to Hierusalem. He went twice thither.

Barclay, in the same stanza, like a plain ecclesiastic, censures the prevailing practice of going abroad for instruction; which, for a time at least, certainly proved of no small detriment to our English schools and universities.

But thou, wayne boaster, if thou wilt take
in hand

To study cunning², and ydelnes despise,
Th'royalme of England might for thee
suffice:—

In England is sufficient discipline,
And noble men endowed with science, &c.

And in another place, *ibid.* fol. 54 a.

One runneth to Almayne, another into
Fraunce,
To Paris, Padway³, Lombardy, or Spayne;
Another to Bonony⁴, Rome, or Orleausce,
To Cayns, to Tholous⁵, Athens, or Colayne⁶:

And at the last returneth home agayne,
More ignoraunt. — —

Yet this practice was encouraged by some of our bishops, who had received their education in English universities. Pace, one of our learned countrymen, a friend of Erasmus, was placed for education in grammar and music in the family of Thomas Langton, bishop of Winchester, who kept a domestic school within the precincts of his palace, for training boys in these sciences. "Humaniores literas (says my author) tanti estimabat, ut domestica schola pueros ac juvenes ibi erudiendos curavit," &c. The bishop, who took the greatest pleasure in examining his scholars every evening, observing that young Pace was an extraordinary proficient in music, thought him capable of better things; and sent him, while yet a boy, to the university of Padua. He afterwards studied at Bononia: for the same bishop, by will, bequeaths to his scholar, Richard Pace, studying at Bononia, an exhibition of ten pounds annually for seven years. See Pace's *Tractatus de fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur*, edit. Basil. 1517, 4to. p. 27, 28. in which the author calls himself bishop Langton's

¹ examined.

² knowledge.

³ Padua.

⁴ Bononia.

⁵ Caen and Toulouse.

⁶ Cologne in Germany.

the Turkish emperors, now seated at Constantinople, particularly Bajazet the Second, freely imparted these treasures to the Italian emissaries, who availing themselves of the fashionable enthusiasm, traded in the cities of Greece for the purpose of purchasing books, which they sold in Italy: and it was chiefly by means of this literary traffic, that Cosmo and Laurence of Medici, and their munificent successors the dukes of Florence, composed the famous Florentine library⁷.

It is obvious to remark the popularity which must have accrued to these politer studies, while they thus paved the way to the most opulent and honourable promotions in the church; and the authority and estimation with which they must have been surrounded, in being thus cultivated by the most venerable ecclesiastics. It is indeed true, that the dignified clergy of the early and darker ages were learned beyond the level of the people⁸. Peter de Blois, successively archdeacon of

a manu minister. See also Langton's Will, Cur. Prærog. Cant. Registr. Moone, qu. 10. Bishop Langton had been provost of Queen's College at Oxford, and died in 1501. At Padua, Pace was instructed by Cuthbert Tunstall, afterwards bishop of Durham, and the giver of many valuable Greek books to the university of Cambridge; and by Hugh Latimer. Tractat. ut supr. p. 6. 99. 103. Leland, Coll. iii. 14.

We find also archbishop Wareham, before the year 1520, educating at his own expense, for the space of twelve years, Richard Croke, one of the first restorers of the Greek language in England, at the universities of Paris, Louvain, and Leipsic; from which returning a most accomplished scholar, he succeeded Erasmus in the Greek professorship at Cambridge. Croke dedicated to archbishop Wareham his *Introductiones in Rudimenta Græcæ*, printed in the shop of Eucharis Cervicornius, at Cologne, 1520.

With regard to what has been here said concerning the practice of educating boys in the families of our bishops, it appears that Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln in the thirteenth century, educated in this manner most of the nobility in the kingdom, who were placed there in the character of pages: "Filios Nobilium procerum regni, quos secum habuit DOMICELLOS." Joh. de Athona, in Constit. Ottonon. Tit. 23. in Voc. BARONES. Cardinal Wolsey, archbishop of York, educated in his house many of the young nobility. Fiddes's Wolsey, p. 100. See what is said above of the quality of pope Leo's Cubicularii, p. 411. Fiddes cites a record remaining in the family of the earl of Arundel, written in 1620, which contains instructions how the younger son of the writer, the earl of Arundel, should behave himself in the family of the bishop of Norwich, whither he is sent

for education as page; and in which his lordship observes, that his grandfather the duke of Norfolk, and his uncle the earl of Northampton, were both bred as *pages with bishops*. Fiddes, ibid. Records, No. 6. c. 4. pag. 19. Sir Thomas More was educated as a page with cardinal Moreton, archbishop of Canterbury, about 1490, who was so struck with his genius, that he would often say at dinner, *This child here waiting at table is so very ingenious, that he will one day prove an extraordinary man*. Mori Utop. cited by Stapleton, p. 138. 157. And Roper's More, p. 27. edit. ut supr.

⁷ Many of them were sent into Italy by Laurence of Medicis, particularly John Lascaris. Varillas says, that Bajazet the Second understood Averroes's commentaries on Aristotle. Anecd. de Florence, p. 183. P. Jovii Elog. c. xxxi. p. 74. Lascaris also made a voyage into Greece by command of Leo the Tenth; and brought with him some Greek boys, who were to be educated in the college which that pope had founded on mount Quirinal, and who were intended to propagate the genuine and native pronunciation of the Greek tongue. Jov. ut supr. c. xxxi.

⁸ The inferior clergy were in the mean time extremely ignorant. About the year 1300, pope Boniface the Eighth published an edict, ordering the incumbents of ecclesiastic benefices to quit their cures for a certain time, and to study at the universities. [See his ten *Constitutiones*, in the *Bullarium Magnum* of Laertius Cherubinus, tom. i. p. 198. seq. where are his *Erectiones studiorum generalium in civitate Firmana, Roma, et Avenione*, A. D. 1303.] Accordingly our episcopal registers are full of licences granted for this purpose. The rector of Bedhampton, Hants, being an acolyte, is permitted to study for seven years

Bath and London, about the year 1160, acquaints us, that the palace of Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, was perpetually filled with bishops

from the time of his institution, *in literarum scientia*, on condition that within one year he is made a sub-deacon, and after seven years a deacon and priest. Mar. 5, 1302. Registr. Pontissar. Winton. fol. 38. Another rector is allowed to study for seven years, *in loco quem eligit et ubi viget studium generale*, 16 kal. Octobr. 1303. *ibid.* fol. 40. Another receives the same privilege, to study at Oxford, Orleans, or Paris, A. D. 1304. *ibid.* fol. 42. Another, being desirous of study, and able to make a proficiency, is licenced to study in *aliquo studio transmarino*, A. D. 1291. *ibid.* fol. 84. This, however, was three years before Boniface became pope. Another is to study *per terminum constitutionis novellæ*, A. D. 1302. *ibid.* fol. 37 b. But these dispensations, the necessity of which proves the illiteracy of the priests, were most commonly procured for pretences of absence or neglect; or, if in consequence of such dispensations, they went to any university, they seem to have misspent their time there in riot and idleness, and to have returned more ignorant than before: a grievance to which Gower alludes in the *Vox Clamantis*, a poem which presents some curious pictures of the manners of the clergy, both secular and monastic, cap. xvii. lib. 3. MSS. Coll. Omn. Anim. Oxon. xxix. *Hic loquitur de Rectoribus illis, qui sub episcopo licentiam fingunt se ire scolæ, ut sub nomine virtutis vitia corporalia frequentent.*

Et sic Ars nostrum Curatum reddit inertem,

De longo studio fert nihil inde domum:
Stultus ibi venit, sed stultior inde redibit,
&c.

By *Ars* we are here to understand the scholastic sciences, and by *Curatus* the beneficed priest. But the most extraordinary anecdote of incompetency which I have seen, occurs so late as the year 1448. A rector is instituted by Waynflete bishop of Winchester, on the presentation of Merton priory in Surrey, to the parish of Sherfield in Hampshire; but previously he takes an oath before the bishop, that on account of his insufficiency in letters, and default of knowledge in the superintendence of souls, he will learn Latin for the two following years; and at the end of the first year he will submit himself to be examined by the bishop, concerning his progress in grammar; and that, if on a second examination he should be found deficient, he will resign the benefice. Registr. Waynflete. Winton. fol. 7. In the Statutes of New College at Oxford, given in the year

1386, one of the ten chaplains is ordered to learn grammar, and to be able to *write*; in order that he may be qualified for the arduous task of assisting the treasurers of the society in transcribing their Latin evidences. Statut. Coll. Nov. Rubric. 58. In the statutes of Bradgare college in Kent, given in 1398, it is required that the governor of the house, who is to be a priest, should read well, construe Latin well, and sing well, *sciat bene legere, bene construere, et bene cantare.* Dugd. Monast. tom. iii. Eccles. Collegiat. p. 118. col. 2. At an episcopal visitation of saint Swithin's priory at Winchester, an ample society of Benedictines, bishop William of Wykeham orders the monastery to provide an *INFORMATOR*, or Latin preceptor, to teach the priests, who performed the service in the church without knowing what they were uttering, and could not attend to the common stops, to read grammatically, Feb. 8, 1386. MSS. Harl. 328. These, indeed, were not secular priests: the instance, however, illustrates what is here thrown together.

Wicliffe says, that the beneficed priests of his age "kunnen [know] not the ten commandments, ne read their sauter, ne understand a verse of it." Life of Wicliffe, p. 38. Nor were even the bishops of the fourteenth century always very eminently qualified in literature of either sort. In the year 1387, the bishop of Worcester informed his clergy, that the Lollards, a set of reformers whose doctrines, a few fanatical extravagances excepted, coincided in many respects with the present rational principles of protestantism, were *followers of MAHOMET*. Wilkins, Concil. tom. iii. p. 202. [See *supr.* p. 381. note ^m.]

But at this time the most shameful grossness of manners, partly owing to their celibacy, prevailed among the clergy. In the statutes of the college of saint Mary Ottery in Devonshire, dated 1337, and given by the founder bishop Grandison, the following injunction occurs: "*Item statuimus, quod nullus Canonicus, Vicarius, vel Secundarius, pueros choristas [collegii] secum pernoscere, aut in lectulo cum ipsis dormire, faciat seu permittat.*" Cap. 50. MS. apud Archiv. Wulves. Winton. And what shall we think of the religious manners and practices of an age, when the following precautions were thought necessary, in a respectable collegiate church, consisting of a dean and six secular canons, amply endowed? "*Statutum est, quod siquis convictus fuerit de peccato Sodomitico, vel arte magica,*" &c. From

highly accomplished in literature; who passed their time there, in reading, disputing, and deciding important questions of the state. He adds, that these prelates, although men of the world, were a society of scholars; yet very different from those who frequented the universities, in which nothing was taught but words and syllables, unprofitable subtleties, elementary speculations, and trifling distinctions^a. De Blois was himself eminently learned, and one of the most distinguished ornaments of Becket's attendants. He tells us, that in his youth, when he learned the *ARS VERSIFICATORIA*, that is, philological literature, he was habituated to an urbanity of style and expression; and that he was instituted, not in idle fables and legendary tales, but in Livy, Quintus Curtius, Suetonius, Josephus, Trogus Pompeius, Tacitus, and other classical historians^b. At the same time he censures with a just indignation, the absurdity of training boys in the frivolous intricacies of logic and geometry, and other parts of the scholastic philosophy; which, to use his own emphatical words, "*Nec domi, nec militiæ, nec in foro, nec in claustro, nec in ecclesia, nec in curia, nec alicubi prosunt alicui*." The Latin Epistles of De Blois, from which these anecdotes are taken, are full of good sense, observations on life, elegant turns, and ingenious allusions to the classics. He tells Jocelyne, bishop of Salisbury, that he had long wished to see the bishop's two nephews, according to promise; but that he feared he expected them as the Britons expected king Arthur, or the Jews the Messiah^c. He describes, with a liveliness by no means belonging to the archdeacons of the twelfth century, the difficulties, disappointments, and inconveniences, of paying attendance at court^d. In the course of his correspondence, he quotes Quintilian, Cicero, Livy, Sallust, Seneca, Virgil, Quintus Curtius, Ovid, Statius, Suetonius, Juvenal, and Horace, more frequently and familiarly than the fathers^e. Horace seems his favorite. In one of the letters,

the statutes of Stoke-Clare college, in Suffolk, given by the dean Thomas Barnesley, in the year 1422. Dugd. Monast. ut supr. p. 169. col. 1.

From these horrid pictures let us turn our eyes, and learn to set a just value on that pure religion, and those improved habits of life and manners, which we at present enjoy.

^a Epist. Petr. Blesens. vi. fol. 3 a. Opera, edit. Paris. 1519. fol.

^b Epist. cii. fol. 49 b.

^c Ibid. That is, "Which are of no real use or service, at home, in the camp, at the bar, in the cloyster, in the court, in the church, or indeed in any place or situation whatsoever."

^d Epist. li. fol. 24 a.

^e "Ut ad ministeriales curiæ redeam, apud forinsecos janitores biduanam forte gratiam aliquis multiplici obsequio merebitur.—Regem dormire, aut ægrotare, aut esse in consiliis, mentientur.—Ostiariorum

cameræ confundat altissimus! Si nihil derideris ostiario, actum est. Si nihil attuleris, ibis, Homere, foras. Post primum Cerberum, tibi superest alius horribilior Cerbero, Briareo terribilior, nequior Pygmalione, crudelior Minotauro. Quantum tibi mortis necessitas, aut discrimen exheredationis incubat, non intrabis ad regem." Epist. xiv. fol. 8 b.

^f Latin and French, the vernacular excepted, were the only languages now known. Foliot bishop of London, cotemporary with De Blois and Becket, was esteemed, both in secular and sacred literature, the most consummate prelate of his time. Becket, Epistol. lib. iii. 5. Walter Mapes, their cotemporary, giving Foliot the same character, says he was *TRIUM peritissimus linguarum, Latinæ, Gallicæ, Anglicæ, et lucidissime disertus in singulis*. Apud MSS. James, xiv. p. 86. Bibl. Bodl. [Ex Nugis Curial.]

he quotes a passage concerning Pompey the Great, from the Roman History of Sallust, in six books, now lost, and which appears at present only in part among the fragments of that valuable historian*. In the *NUGÆ CURIALIUM* of Mapes, or some other manuscript Latin tract written by one of the scholars of the twelfth century, I remember to have seen a curious and striking anecdote, which in a short compass shows Becket's private ideas concerning the bigotries and superstitious absurdities of his religion. The writer gives an account of a dinner in Becket's palace; at which was present, among many other prelates, a Cistercian abbot. This abbot engrossed almost the whole conversation, in relating the miracles performed by Robert, the founder of his order. Becket heard him for some time with a patient contempt; and at length could not help breaking out with no small degree of indignation, *And these are your miracles!*

We must however view the liberal ideas of these enlightened dignitaries of the twelfth century under some restrictions. It must be acknowledged, that their literature was clogged with pedantry, and depressed by the narrow notions of the times. Their writings show that they knew not how to imitate the beauties of the ancient classics. Exulting in an exclusive privilege, they certainly did not see the solid and popular use of these studies; at least, they did not choose, or would not venture, to communicate them to the people, who on the other hand were not prepared to receive them. Any attempts of that kind, for want of assistances which did not then exist, must have been premature; and these lights were too feeble to dissipate the universal darkness. The writers who first appeared after Rome was ravaged by the Goths, such as Boethius, Prudentius, Orosius, Fortunatus, and Sedulius, and who naturally, from that circumstance, and because they were Christians, came into vogue at that period, still continued in the hands of common readers, and superseded the great originals. In the early ages of Christianity a strange opinion prevailed, in conformity to which Arnobius composed his celebrated book against the gentile superstitions, that pagan authors were calculated to corrupt the pure theology of the gospel. The prejudice, however, remained, when even the suspicions of the danger were removed. But I return to the progress of modern letters in the fifteenth century.

* "De magno Pompeio refert Sallustius, quod cum alacribus saltu, cum velocibus cursu, cum validis vecte certabat," &c. &c. Epist. xciv. fol. 45 a. Part of this passage is cited by Vegetius, a favor-

ite author of the age of Peter de Blois. De Re Milit. lib. i. c. ix. It is exhibited by the modern editors of Sallust, as it stands in Vegetius.

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RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.







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